

The status (quo) of VET in Brazil: An empirical study about its function, meaning and impingements from the perspective of former dual system apprentices

Dissertation

zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades

Doktor Philosophie (Dr. Phil.)

genehmigt durch die Fakultät für Humanwissenschaften
der Otto-von-Guericke-Universität Magdeburg

von **Marcelo Kauer**

geb. am 27.04.1982 in Esteio, Rio Grande do Sul, Brasilien

Gutachter: Prof. Dr. rer. pol. habil. Dietmar Frommberger

Gutachter: Prof. Dr. Frank Bünning

Eingereicht am: 28.04.2014

Verteidigung der Dissertation am: 30.01.2015

ABSTRACT

The German dual system apprenticeship was adopted by the *Instituto de Formação Profissional Administrativa* (IFPA) School in Brazil, and has been recognized by the Brazilian government as a valid secondary level vocational education training (VET) program since 1996. This dissertation seeks to understand the conditions and mechanisms in the process that led former apprentices to undergo this German dual system, the analysis of the biography incumbents' discernment and experience within this VET program, as well as the biographical impingements this educational modality had on one's post-VET development. Therefore, this research was undertaken with the assistance of autobiographical narrative interviews, and has also employed the narrative analysis for interpretative purposes. Results have demonstrated that the process leading the biography incumbents to the IFPA School initiates with the incumbents' primary post-high school educational aspiration, which is heavily influenced by one's perception of a general structural duality present within the Brazilian educational system, the influence of significant others, as well as crucial event carriers. Yet, concatenations of superimposed impediments may hinder or deviate pre-established intentions regarding a primary post-high school vertical educational advancement. As a result, a second order decision making process initiates that is accompanied by several biographical side effects. It could be identified that the IFPA and its dual system apprenticeship work as very specific functional mechanisms and that not even the distinct structure of the German dual system was capable of overcoming the general structural duality present in the Brazilian educational system. Undergoing the German dual system was also a source of cognitive dissonance for the incumbents, based on incongruent perception-behavior regarding school track choice leading to the IFPA's dual system apprenticeship within a second order choice in a horizontal post-high school educational advancement. Yet, the process of undergoing the IFPA's dual system apprenticeship has demonstrated to be self-determining in the post-VET biographical impingements in the development of the incumbents, both professionally and educationally. Essentially, the vocational school apprenticeship has been the genesis for a continuation of an institutional expectation process in the biography of the former apprentices.

KEY WORDS: VET in Brazil, German dual system apprenticeship, biographical research

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	9
2. General facts about Brazil and its educational system	15
2.1 The Brazilian population: Census indicators	16
2.2 General Education in Brazil.....	19
2.2.1 Pre-school Education	25
2.2.2 Elementary Education.....	25
2.2.3 Secondary education: High school and VET	28
2.2.4 Further educational policies and measures in basic education	34
2.2.5 Higher Education.....	37
2.2.6 Adult education	43
3. The Brazilian vocational education and training system	44
3.1 Current VET structure in Brazil.....	44
3.2 Secondary level VET offer in the country	47
3.3 VET reputation and its relation to historical issues and political reforms	51
3.4 The socioeconomic profile of students in VET in Brazil	59
4. IFPA School Sao Paulo	88
4.1 Structure and organization.....	88
4.2 Training costs and the role of the company	89
4.3 The dual system at IFPA: Further main aspects.....	90
5. Methods and Methodology	93
5.1 Establishing a research question and defining the problem	93
5.2 Important considerations regarding the theoretical sampling	96
5.3 The selection of the data collection procedure.....	98
5.3.1 Contact and negotiation phase.....	103
5.3.2 The setting of the autobiographical interviews	105
5.3.3 Formulation of the stimulus question	106
5.3.4 The main narration and the questioning phases.....	109
5.3.5 The narrative questioning part of the interview.....	111
5.3.6 Finding the theoretical variation: deviant cases	112
5.4 The exhaustive data analysis part of the research	115
5.4.1 Text sort differentiation	116
5.4.2 Transcribing the autobiographical narrative interviews.....	118
5.4.3 The contextual level of single narrative units	121
5.4.4 Translation and language barriers.....	128

5.4.5 Sequential structural description	130
5.4.6 Putting together partial structural descriptions of presentation	134
5.4.7 Analytical abstraction of the single case	135
5.4.8 Outlining the overall biographical structuring	136
5.5 Developing a generalized grid structure of analytical categories	140
5.6 The selection of additional single cases	142
5.7 Contrastive comparison as the basis for the development of a theoretical model	143
6. Portrait Chapter	148
6.1 The reconstructed “gestalt” of the overall biographical structuring of Lisa Steinway	148
6.2 The reconstructed “gestalt” of the overall biographical structuring of Virginia Müller	181
6.3 The reconstructed “gestalt” of the overall biographical structuring of Eva Schmidt	210
6.4 The reconstructed “gestalt” of the overall biographical structuring of Alice Bauer	234
6.5 The reconstructed “gestalt” of the overall biographical structuring of Mary Weiss	246
6.6 The reconstructed “gestalt” of the overall biographical structuring of Jessica Mai	258
6.7 The reconstructed “gestalt” of the overall biographical structuring of John Taylor	271
6.8 The reconstructed “gestalt” of the overall biographical structuring of Nicole Bush	284
6.9 The reconstructed “gestalt” of the overall biographical structuring of C. Hoffmann	303
6.10 The reconstructed “gestalt” of the overall biographical structuring of Lauren Klein	315
7. Theoretical model	329
7.1 The biographical processes, conditions and mechanisms leading to IFPA	330
7.1.1 The incumbent’s primary post-high school educational aspirations	332
7.1.2 The parents’ educational action scheme for the incumbent	333
7.1.3 The influence of significant others as agents of societal influence	343
7.1.4 The influence of an important non-human event carrier	347
7.1.5 The incumbent’s general perception of the educational system	350
7.1.6 Lack of occupational orientation prior to IFPA	352
7.2 A concatenation of potential impediments hindering aspirations	357
7.2.1 Impediments superimposed by structural conditions	358
7.2.2 Interlinks of biographical importance and its hindering outcomes	362
7.2.3 Self-chosen or self-erected impediments affecting aspirations	364
7.2.4 Impediments superimposed by significant others	366
7.2.5 Dominant biographical process prior to IFPA’s apprenticeship	368
7.2.6 Loss of occupational orientation prior to IFPA’s apprenticeship	373
7.3 Readjustment of primary objectives and second order alternatives	377
7.3.1 Significant others and central relationships in a second order choice	378
7.3.2 The role of additional event carriers	382

7.3.3 The human world social units concerning a horizontal advancement	382
7.3.4 The non-human world social units in a horizontal advancement	384
7.4 Perception, experience and meaning given assigned to IFPA's VET	391
7.4.1 The incumbent's perception of VET within a Brazilian context	392
7.4.2 The incumbent's incongruent perception-behavior concerning VET	398
7.4.3 Ones' confrontation with his or her social world concerning IFPA	402
7.4.4 The meaning of education concerning IFPA's apprenticeship	407
7.5 The incumbent's individual experience within IFPA's apprenticeship	412
7.5.1 Conditions related to one's negative perception of the VET program	412
7.5.2 Conditions closely related to one's positive perception of the VET program	417
7.5.3 The effort justification paradigm and IFPA's apprenticeship	421
7.6 Post-IFPA biographical development impingements	422
7.6.1 Post- apprenticeship impingements on further educational developments	424
7.6.2 Impact of the dual system on further professional developments	431
7.6.3 IFPA as a central condition for occupational orientation	436
7.6.4 IFPA School as a genesis for a metamorphosis of biographical identity	441
7.6.5 Current dominant biographical process and interrelation with IFPA	445
8. Final overview to theoretical model and general considerations	449
8.1 The pathway to the dual system apprenticeship in Brazil	449
8.2 The biography incumbent's experience within the dual system	453
8.3 IFPA' dual system and its biographical impact	460
8.4 A brief contrastive comparison of the final results	462
8.5 Relevant remarks regarding the empirical results of this study	467
8.6 Limitations to this study approach	472
8.7 Recommendation for further studies	476
9. References	478
10. Apendix	489
10.1 Transcription of single case (1): Lisa Steinway	489
10.2 Transcription of single case (2): Virginia Müller	538
10.3 Transcription of single case (3): Eva Schmidt	586
10.4 Structural description of single case (1): Lisa Steinway	621
10.5 Structural description of single case (2): Virginia Müller	716
10.6 Structural description of single case (3): Eva Schmidt	807
10.7 Structural description of additional cases	864

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express the deepest appreciation to my committee chair Professor Dr. Dietmar Frommberger. Without his supervision and constant help this dissertation would not have been possible. I would also like to thank my second adviser, Professor Prof. Dr. Frank Bünning, who has also believed in this research project and has always demonstrated his prompt support. I also would like to gratefully and sincerely thank Prof. Dr. Fritz Schütze for taking the time to listen to my interpretations and for providing me with very important help. Thank you for all the writing and remarks about my empirical data. I also would like to express my deepest appreciation to Dr. Carsten Detka. He was of imperative importance during this research project. He is a remarkable researcher and possesses an incredibly vast expertise in the area of biographical research. Furthermore, I would also like to acknowledge with much appreciation the help of IFPA School, especially Andres Bossert and Giselle Welter, for trusting that this would be an extremely important research for the vocational school and its dual system apprenticeship. I also want to thank Midge, Cole and Nathalie for their constant help. Finally, and most importantly, my special thanks to Eva, who has always been by my side supporting and encouraging me through thick and thin. I also thank my parents for their faith in me and for providing me with the best education I could possibly have so I could be where I am today. Each and every one of you is already part of my biographical development. Thank you all very much!

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BPC	- Social pension benefit
CCT	- Conditional cash transfer policy
CEFET	- Federal Centers for Technological Education
CEFET- MG	- Federal Center for Technological Education of Minas Gerais
CEFET-RJ	- Federal Center for Technological Education of Rio de Janeiro
CEFET-RS	- Federal Center for Technological Education of Rio Grande do Sul
CNC	- National Trade Confederation
ENADE	- National Student Performance Exam
ENEM	- High School National Exam
ETESP	- Vocational Schools of Sao Paulo
FIES	- Higher Education Student Financing Fund
FUNDEF	- Fund for Maintenance and Development of Education
FUNDEB	- Fund for the Development of Basic Education
HDI	- Human Development Index
IBGE	- Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics
IDEB	- Basic Education Quality Index
IFET	- Vocational education and scientific education
IFPA	- Institute of Administrative Vocational Education
INEP	- Anisio T. National Institute for Educational Studies and Research
LDB	- Directives and Basis of Education Law
MEC	- Ministry of Education and Culture in Brazil
OECD	- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PDE	- Plan for the Development of Education
PNE	- National Education Plan
PISA	- Program for International Student Assessment
PROEP	- Program of Expansion of Vocational Education and Training
PRONATEC	- (National Program of Employment and Access to Trade Schools)
PROUNI	- University for All Programme
SAEB	- National Assessment of Basic Education
SENAC	- National Commercial Training Service
SENAI	- National Service of Industrial Learning
SENAR	- National Service of Rural Learning
SESC	- Support Service to Small and Microenterprises
SETEC	- National VET and Technology Secretariat
SINAES	- National System of Higher Education Evaluation
SISU	- National Unified Admissions System
VET	- Vocational Education and Training

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Overview of the Brazilian history	15
Table 2: Percentage of population by skin color or race.....	17
Table 3: Family income in Brazil (per capita).....	17
Table 4: Households in Brazil	18
Table 5: Human Development in Brazil and other countries	19
Table 6: GDP invested in education in Brazil 2000-2010.....	22
Table 7: Comparison of education outcomes 2001- 2009.....	23

Table 8: Pre-school enrollments in Brazil 2007 -2012	25
Table 9: Enrollments in elementary education 2006- 2012.....	26
Table 10: Best ENEM scores in Brazil 2010.....	31
Table 11: IDEB grades set by the Brazilian PNE 2011-2020	35
Table 12: PISA results in Brazil 2000 – 2009	36
Table 13: PISA average score goal set by the Brazilian PNE.....	36
Table 14: Under- and Postgraduate Study Programs in Brazil.....	37
Table 15: Number of HE institutions in Brazil - 2004- 2009.....	39
Table 16: Enrollments in VET at the secondary level by institution – 2002-2010	49
Table 17: Enrollments in elementary, secondary and VET schools	51
Table 18: Summary of VET history and its reforms in Brazil – 1909 – 2010	56
Table 19: Literature review - socioeconomic profile VET students in Brazil	60
Table 20: Publications which met the criteria the literature review	61
Table 21: Socioeconomic profile - CEFET/MG	63
Table 22: Socioeconomic profile - VET at SENAC in 2005	64
Table 23: Socioeconomic profile - at CEFET – MG	66
Table 24: Socioeconomic profile - State Vocational School D. Escolástica Rosa.....	67
Table 25: Socioeconomic profile - State Vocational School Paulino Botelho.....	69
Table 26: Socioeconomic profile of the students of FAETEC RJ.....	71
Table 27: Socioeconomic profile - State Vocational School República Quintino	72
Table 28: Students enrolled in high school and in VET at CEFET RS	74
Table 29: Socioeconomic profile of candidates to CEFET/RJ – Rio de Janeiro.....	75
Table 30: Socioeconomic profile of schools A and B in Curitiba, Parana.....	79
Table 31: Socioeconomic profile - external concomitant students of IFET.....	81
Table 32: Socioeconomic profile of the students - Centro Paulo Souza in 2005	83
Table 33: Socioeconomic profile of the students - federal agricultural schools	84
Table 34: Socioeconomic profile according to VET modality	87
Table 35: Structural presentation activities of a full-sized narrative unit	121

List of figures

Figure 1: Education system levels in Brazil.....	21
Figure 2: Structure of the education system in Brazil.....	24
Figure 3: Secondary education pathways.....	29
Figure 4: High School Enrollments 2012.....	30
Figure 5: Higher Education Enrollments	40
Figure 6: Secondary level VET modalities in Brazil.....	46
Figure 7: Enrollment in VET in all three different modalities - 2007-2010	47

List of illustrations

Illustration (1): Post-high school educational advancements in Brazil.....	329
Illustration (2): Process scheme leading to IFPA School and its VET system	331
Illustration (3): Perception, experience and meaning scheme	392
Illustration (4): Post-IFPA biographical development impingements scheme.....	424

1. Introduction

The German dual system apprenticeship was transferred by IFPA School to Sao Paulo in 1984. It is currently the only school offering this specific VET program at secondary level within the subsequent modality in the country. IFPA (*Instituto de Formação Profissional Administrativa*) is a private vocational school that was founded in 1982 in Brazil. Its secondary level VET courses only began being acknowledged by the Brazilian government in 1996, though, when the last VET reform occurred. Since then, IFPA has been offering the German dual VET system in Brazil in cooperation with the Chamber of Commerce and Industry Brazil-Germany (AHK) and other several companies in Brazil. Since its transfer to Brazil, no study has been made on the school track choice process that has led individuals to undergo this educational modality in a Brazilian context. In addition, there is no information about the experience made by individuals within this VET modality at the subsequent level, nor there is any information concerning the post-VET biographical impingements it has on the life of the biography incumbent. It characterizes an evident gap regarding previous knowledge related to German dual system apprenticeship within a secondary level subsequent modality in Brazil. A further impulse for the realization of this dissertation is the fact that the dual system apprenticeship offered by IFPA in Sao Paulo has managed to attract the more socioeconomically privileged individuals, coming from middle and upper class families. It certainly constitutes a different tendency to that which is generally attributed to secondary level VET in Brazil. Due to a high historical value attributed to higher education degrees in Brazil alongside with VET (vocational education and training) image issues, secondary level VET has basically been depicted as a second-rate education or education for the working class in Brazil. Santos (2011, p.12) suggests that VET at secondary level serves an underprivileged class of society who cannot afford private universities and are not intellectually prepared to pass an entrance examination at a public university. Campos (2007) also argues VET in Brazil has been considered, for a long time, as an education modality for the underprivileged. Consequently, middle and upper-class individuals, the socioeconomically privileged individuals, do not tend to enroll in secondary level VET programs to obtain qualification with the purpose of accessing the labor market. On the contrary, these individuals tend to enroll at private high schools for a more propaedeutic education which could prepare them to pass entrance examinations so they can access higher education, especially at public universities which are the best-ranked ones in the country. Thus, this dissertation is focused at comprehending four main questions: (a) What

conditions and mechanisms can be identified in the process that led former VET students to undergo the German dual system offered at IFPA in Sao Paolo, Brazil? (b) What was and is their discernment of this German VET dual training system? (c) What was the experience made by these individuals during their VET training? (d) What biographical impingements did this educational modality have on their lives?

The concrete subject area of this dissertation is the German dual system apprenticeship within school track choice, from a biographical development perspective of the biography incumbent, especially focused on post-high school educational pathways in a Brazilian context. Firstly, it must be clearly stated that this dissertation is not focused on scrutinizing existing theories. On the contrary, this research project is focused on data collection and analysis with the intention of generating a theoretical model that is directly concerned with social reality; on the basis of Grounded Theory; see Glaser and Strauss (1967). However, the researcher does not begin a research process naively, without any general knowledge concerning the research field. Thus, it must be pointed out that there are a number of approaches to the study of conditions regarding school track choice. The most influential are the cultural reproduction by Bourdieu's; see Bourdieu és Passeron (1977) and Bourdieu (1986), rational choice; see Boudon (1974) and Goldthorpe (1996), and also cultural explanations of schooling decisions and school choice; see Ball et al. (1995), Reay and Ball (1997). This dissertation, however, assumes that school track choice is interrelated with previous biographical processes. It means that understanding these individuals' actions, namely the conditions and mechanisms that have led them to choose to undergo IFPA's vocational training, how they experienced this VET training and the consequences it had on their lives, demand a closer examination of their biography for they are greatly embedded in a wider social context. It is important to bear in mind that using the term "choice" introduces the existence of more than one alternative during decision making process. Larsen (2001) reminds us that choice of education is a social and biographical process which is enrolled in the whole life history. Nielsen and Rudberg (1993) also pertinently remind us that a "choice" generally attempts to make an agreement between inner and outer reality – between the societal and cultural possibilities and the subjectivity. Rosenthal (in Seale et al 2004, p.49) equally explains that in order to understand and explain people's actions it is necessary to find out about both subjective perspective of the actors and the courses of action. We want to find out what they experienced, what meaning they gave their actions at the time, what meaning they assign today, and in what biographically consti-

tuted context they place their experiences. This life historical position was primarily developed within German biographical research by Fritz Schütze and in continuation of this by Peter Alheit (Schütze, 1984; Alheit, 1994 and 1995). This method enables us to understand the inherent dynamics of the process that has led young Brazilian individuals to look for the dual system apprenticeship in Brazil, especially due to the fact that it attempts to *explain* or *normalize* what has occurred; it can lay out the motives leading to the comprehension of how things are the way they are or have become the way they are; see Bamberg (2010).

Accordingly, this dissertation was undertaken with the assistance of autobiographical narrative interviews, a data collection method developed by Fritz Schütze. The method of interpretation adopted, was the narrative analysis also developed by the same author; see Schütze (1977; 1983; 2001; 2007) - there is also a modest literature available in Portuguese regarding the matter. In Brazil, Weller (2007); Bueno et al (2006); Germano and Serpa (2008); Souza (2007, 2008) have published materials regarding on the matter. Autobiographical narrative interviews, in combination with the narrative analysis, possess crucial characteristics of adequateness for the objective of this research through determined tools, given that they allow the identification of biographical processes, super-imposed and self-imposed impediments as well as the influence of significant others along the pathway leading to one's decision to undergo IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. Moreover, this data collection method was also chosen due to the fact that such interviews have the capability of providing the flux of events in one's biography from an entire lifespan perspective. It can, as a result, enable the researcher to identify systematically conditions, mechanisms and processes that have led individuals to seek out IFPA's dual system apprenticeship in Sao Paolo, Brazil, among other educational choices.

Detka (2005, p.353) reminds us that the narrative interview is a language-related qualitative research method, through which the medium of language is used to obtain information on the reality constituted by social interactions and the resulting perceptions, actions and evaluation orientations which are obtained from it. Larsen (2003, p. 3) also explains that the narrative on the life course is perceived as containing elements of the production of identity, in that events and occurrences are reflected, linked and interpreted. The identification and analysis of former apprentices' biographical processes through autobiographical narrative interviews could possibly point out circumstances which have triggered middle and upper-class students interest and led them to look for the German dual system apprenticeship modality, offered by

IFPA in Sao Paolo, over other ones offered at secondary level or even direct access to higher education. Schütze (2008, p.9) explains that narrative rendering of one's own life deals not just with the outer events occurring to the individual but also with the inner changes she or he has to undergo in experiencing, reacting to, and shaping (and partially even producing) those outer events. Hence, these individuals' biographical gestalts could also provide answers clarifying processes which possibly generated the impulse to seek this apprenticeship modality as well as their further education achievements. Therefore, it is also fairly imperative to conduct narrative autobiographical interviews with former students, due to the fact that they are able to clearly provide details on their future education achievements (post-IFPA German dual system apprenticeship). Current students, on the contrary, would only be able to mention future intentions, plans or expectations. The analysis of the empirical data collected in this dissertation contains ten (10) autobiographical narrative interviews with former IFPA School apprentices that underwent the dual system apprenticeship, in Sao Paolo, in areas. One should consider that the number of informants in a study through autobiographical narrative interviews must be extremely reduced compared with the number of informants in statistically representative random surveys, given the complexity of its analysis; see Schütze (2008, p.3).

This dissertation is divided into 7 chapters. The initial chapter provides the reader with an overview of the political system, geography, history and economy in the Federal Republic of Brazil. This chapter also discloses more detailed information on the Brazilian general education system and a brief description and discussion about its different levels (basic education, elementary education and secondary level education) is introduced. The following chapter is exclusively dedicated to the Brazilian vocational education and training system. This section of the paper describes and explains some of the key terms involving vocational education and training in the country, seeks to explain facts regarding the reputation of VET and its relation to historical issues and political reforms, and also explores the socioeconomic profile of secondary level VET students in Brazil. This chapter is followed by a section entirely dedicated to providing sufficient information about IFPA School in Sao Palo and its German dual system apprenticeship. The next chapter entails the methods and methodology section, which is used as an informative instrument for study comprehension and replication. The next is the portrait chapter with the reconstructed "gestalt" of the overall biographical structuring of the three main single cases as well as an additional seven. The following chapter entails the theoretical model, which was developed on the basis on the definition of Glaser und Strauss

(1967) in relation to theory. The final chapter makes reference to an overview and general considerations regarding the results of this dissertation.

The analysis of the empirical data has indeed demonstrated that there is a clear process leading individuals to this school and its VET modality in Brazil. In a brief anticipation of the findings regarding the research questions proposed by this dissertation it can be argued that the process leading the biography incumbent to IFPA School initiates with the incumbent's primary post-high school educational aspiration, which is heavily influenced by one's perception of a general structural duality present within the Brazilian educational system, as well as the value assigned to higher education by the informant. The origination of this discernment and the establishment of a primary educational objective is impacted by the family milieu of the incumbent, the parents' educational action scheme, significant others as agents of societal influence, as well as important non-human event carriers such as the labor market, a lack of occupational orientation prior to a horizontal advancement, or even a concatenation of superimposed impediments. Yet, crucial conditions may hinder or deviate pre-established intentions regarding a primary post-high school vertical educational advancement (prompt post-high school access to higher education), such as superimposed structural impediments, self-imposed barriers, which appear in form of self-chosen or self-erected impediments, impediments superimposed by significant others, dominant biographical process during decision making process, impingements of interlinks of biographical processes, loss of occupational orientation. These impediments and conditions have demonstrated to occur concomitantly and, as a result, the pathway leading to IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship within a post-high school horizontal educational advancement is never based on a single condition or superimposed impediment. After perceiving that the accomplishment of a primary first order post-high school educational aspiration of making a vertical advancement became endangered or even unfeasible, an alternative, second order choice decision making process initiated. Thus, a first order choice is postponed or suppressed and a search for an alternative pathway within a horizontal advancement begins, thus characterizing the emergence of an educational pathway track readjustment process. Parents, significant others, and a number of other human and non-human event carriers have also played a significant influential role leading individuals to decide in favor of a horizontal advancement by accessing IFPA's dual system apprenticeship in Brazil. The analysis of the empirical data has made clear that this subsequent nec-

essary adjustment of educational intentions leading to a post-high school horizontal advancement has several side-effects.

As for the perception and experience made by individuals within a routine during IFPA's dual system apprenticeship, it can be pointed out that one's discernment of the VET program is strongly related to the motives that led the individual to seek this school and its apprenticeship modality. It could be observed a tendency to develop cognitive dissonance based on conditions that were determinant in a process leading to incongruent perception-behavior regarding school track choice leading to IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. A further interesting finding regarding the experience of the incumbent within the dual system apprenticeship is the fact that one had to engage in an effort justification paradigm, which is related to one's inclination to attribute and focus more on the outcome of a determined process than the effort one had to put into achieving objectives therein; see Festinger (1957). Even though it is regarded as a potential secondary level VET school, which entails a variety of atypical characteristics due to its VET structure, informants still assess and assign meaning to it using the general duality structure present in the Brazilian educational system as a reference point. In addition, it could be identified that IFPA and its dual system apprenticeship work as very specific functional mechanisms by the incumbents. Five main mechanisms could be identified in the data analysis. Moreover, there is clear evidence that IFPA and its apprenticeship function as a temporary or initial educational level, which will compulsorily have to be supplemented by a vertical advancement. Regardless of socioeconomic background, individuals assume that secondary level VET is insufficient qualification, despite any of the distinctive characteristics of IFPA's apprenticeship, which are also used in post-hoc rationalization processes by the incumbent. Yet, the process of undergoing IFPA's dual system apprenticeship has demonstrated to be determining in the post-VET biographical impingements in the development of the incumbent, both professionally and educationally. Essentially, the vocational school has been the genesis for a continuation of an institutional expectation processes in the biography of the apprentices.

2. General facts about Brazil and its educational system

Brazil is a South American country which has the 5th largest territory in the world. It is bordered on the north by Guyana, Suriname and Venezuela, and French Guiana; on the northwest by Colombia; on the west by Bolivia and Peru; on the southwest by Argentina and Paraguay and on the south by Uruguay; see map below. Brazil has 26 states and one federal district (where the capital city, Brasília, is located) and its official language is Portuguese. According to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, Brazil has a total population of 190,755,799 million inhabitants and 85% of them live in urban areas. Approximately 42% of these live in the southeast region which is composed by (São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro and Espírito Santo); see IBGE (2011). The population density in 2010 corresponds to 22.4 inhabitants/km², substantially less than the 229.0 observed in Germany, for instance. Politically, Brazil is a democratic republic, with a presidential system. Presidents are democratically and directly elected and are both head of state and head of government. Presidents are elected for a four-year term, with the possibility of re-election for a second successive term. The current president is Dilma Rousseff, first female president in the history of the country. It must be pointed out that understanding a country and its education system without a basic knowledge of its history is also a complex assignment. Hence, the table below indicates the major historical events which took place in Brazil.

Table 1: Overview of the Brazilian history

Source: By the author (2013)

Year	Event	Currency	Inflation (y)
1500	Brazil is discovered by the Portuguese Pedro Álvares Cabral	Reis	NA
1822	Independence from Portugal – Time of the empire of Brazil	Reis	NA
1888	Abolition of slavery in Brazil	Reis	NA
1889	Proclamation of the Republic of Brazil. The country's name became the Republic of the United States of Brazil (changed in 1967: Federative Republic of Brazil.).	Reis	NA
1889-1930	Women and illiterate (majority of the population) were prevented from voting	Reis	NA
1930-1964	Populism and democracy from 1945 - 1964	Reis / Cruzeiro	6%

Year	Event	Currency	Inflation (y)
1964-1985	Military dictatorship (country's name change to Federative Republic of Brazil)	Cruzeiro Novo Cruzeiro	40% up to 330% in 1980
1985	Redemocratization and first direct elections after dictatorship	Cruzado	--
1989	Fernando Collor de Melo is the new president. Hyper inflation becomes a problematic issue. There was an impeachment against Collor in 1992.	Cruzado Novo	764%
1994	Fernando Henrique Cardoso is elected – Brazilian economy goes through changes and inflation decreases	Cruzeiro real / Unidade Real de Valor	794% until 1994
2002	Luis Inácio Lula da Silva is elected in Brazil (PT – Worker's Party)	Real	12,53%
2006	Luis Inácio Lula da Silva is re-elected in Brazil (PT – Worker's Party)	Real	3,14%
2010	Dilma Rousseff was elected (first female president – PT - Worker's Party)	Real	5,91% 2012 – 5,84%

As it can be seen above, Brazil had a very long, and historically recent, military dictatorship. This has had an effect on the economy as well as on the education in the country. As a matter of fact, one could argue the Brazilian educational system mirrors, to a great extent, the history of the country; the following chapters of this dissertation will deal with the country's historical implications on the educational system. As for the economy, it is perceptible that Brazil, in actual fact, has truly started to further economically develop in the last 10 years. At present, the country is considered one of the BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China) and could become one of the four most dominant economies by the year 2050. Brazil has finally reached a more reasonable inflation of 5.84% in 2012 and the interest rate corresponds to 7.25% per year. Even though the Brazilian economy is among the 15 largest in the world and, despite the economic growth, it is one of the countries with the highest social inequality in the whole world; see Pierro and Graciano (2003, p.3).

2.1 The Brazilian population: Census indicators

According to IBGE (2010) the Brazilian population can be considered young for 42% of its population is younger than 24 years old. Most of the inhabitants are female and life expectan-

cy has an average of 73.1 years. As for the skin color or race these are the numbers found in 2009.

Table 2: Percentage of population by skin color or race

Source: By the author; based on Census (IBGE, 2010)

White	48.2% (majority)
Brown	44.2%
Black	6.9%
Yellow or indigenous	0.7%

The majority of the population is white. Nonetheless, skin color is closely related to geographical location in the country. Whereas the southern states have a population which is predominately white, the northern states present the exactly opposite numbers and in some cities more than 80% of the population is black. In regard to families and their living conditions in Brazil, there has been a decrease in the number of members, within the last years. Currently the country has an average of 3.1 members per family (one household) and, according to the last census, 17% of all married couples in Brazil do not have any children; see IBGE (2010). In addition, the income of the Brazilian families is generally extremely low, see table below.

Table 3: Family income in Brazil (per capita)

Source: By the author; based on Census (IBGE, 2010)

until ½ minimum wage¹	until 1 minimum wage	more than 1 up to 2 minimum wages	more than 2 up to 3 minimum wages
22,9%	56,8%	8,3%	6,0%

The table above confirms that more than half of the Brazilian families lived on a per capita income of maximum one minimum wage (approximately €232.00 per month). In addition, nearly 48% of the poorest families in Brazil live in the northeast region of the country (see

¹ Minimum wage in 2009 (monthly income) = 465,00 reais and 678,00 reais in 2013 (approximately €232,00)

illustration 1) and around 75% of all families analyzed by the last census express difficulty to get through the month with the income they have at their disposal. Even though the income above mentioned can be considered considerably low, the last census indicates the income gap between the richest and the poorest has decreased in the country, also due to CCTs (conditional cash transfer policies) and other welfare programs initiated by the government. The BPC (social pension) is one example of such programs. This social pension benefit guarantees an income of one minimum wage for the elderly and disabled who cannot be financially assisted by their families. The family must, however, have a per capita income of less than 1/4 of a minimum wage. The table below illustrates that the greatest majority of the Brazilian population live in urban areas. Yet, more than half live on an income up to one minimum wage. These are also numbers which could elucidate the contrasts encountered in many Brazilian cities. Different social classes live and share certain specific areas of metropolis, consequently, increasing the number of slums in urban areas. Nevertheless, absolute poverty has increasingly been eradicated in the country. Access to technologies also developed considerably in Brazil and, as a result, nearly 1/3 of the population has already internet access and approximately 1/4 possesses a computer.

Table 4: Households in Brazil
Source: by the author; based on Census (IBGE, 2010)

Total number of households	58,6 million
Location	85% in urban areas.
An average of people per house	3.3 people
Income distribution	Up to 1 minimum wage - 56,8%
Type of housing	87,5% are houses and 12,1%, apartments
Internet Access	31,5% of all homes
Has a computer	39,3% of all homes
Fridge and colored TV set	96% of all homes
Has electricity, telephone, Internet, computer, fridge, colored TV set and washing machine	21.1%. of all homes

Another key basic factor which calls one attention in Brazil is the human development index (HDI). According to the last HDI report published by the United Nations Development Program, Brazil still has a very low HDI, even though the country has decreased its poverty conditions and the gap between the richest and the poorest. In comparison with other South American countries, Brazil is even behind Argentina, Uruguay and Peru.

Table 5: Human Development in Brazil and other countries
Source: from the author (2011); based on Klugman, J. *et al.* (2010).

Human Development Index (HDI)	Position
Norway (first one)	1
USA	4
Germany	10
Argentina	46
Uruguay	52
Peru	63
Brazil	73
Zimbabwe (last one)	169

Currently, there are an escalating number of people living healthier and longer, education has expanded and people have generally more access to goods and services in Brazil. The government has been making efforts to enhance equality, a concern which still needs to be faced in this South American country. Yet, this is still a persistent and delicate issue. Many citizens live on relative poverty due to, mainly, income inequality which could also be associated to inequality of educational opportunities encountered in Brazil.

2.2 General Education in Brazil

Comprehending the Brazilian vocational education and training (VET) system demands some knowledge, description as well as understating of general education in the country. Hence, before attempting to examine secondary level VET, key concepts regarding the education system in this South American country should be introduced. The following section of this

chapter provides the reader with an overview of general education in Brazil which ought to assist a further analysis of interrelations and the effects basic education has on VET and, most importantly, vocational education and training at secondary level; the main focus of discussion in this dissertation.

According to the Brazilian constitution, education is the right of all and a duty of both the state and families, in cooperation with general society. The state has a duty to offer free elementary education; which is compulsory in Brazil. In addition, the state should progressively offer high school education. Private schools are part of the education system and must comply with rules of national education; see Brazil (2006h, chapter 3, p.34). There are currently more than 52 million pupils enrolled in basic education, namely 84% attend public and 16% private schools; see Brazil (2012f). Basic education corresponds to pre-school, elementary school and high school and the Directives and Basis of Education Law (LDB) in its article four, states that basic education (pre-school, elementary and high school education) is a duty of the state and the right of every citizen. The expansion of basic education must be guaranteed by the state for the reason that it is considered the minimal education citizens must possess to perform their role in society; see Queiroz *et al* (2008, p.14). The article 22 of the Brazilian constitution indicates that basic education is aimed at developing the students through an indispensable education which provides them with the necessary means for progress in labor and future educational levels.

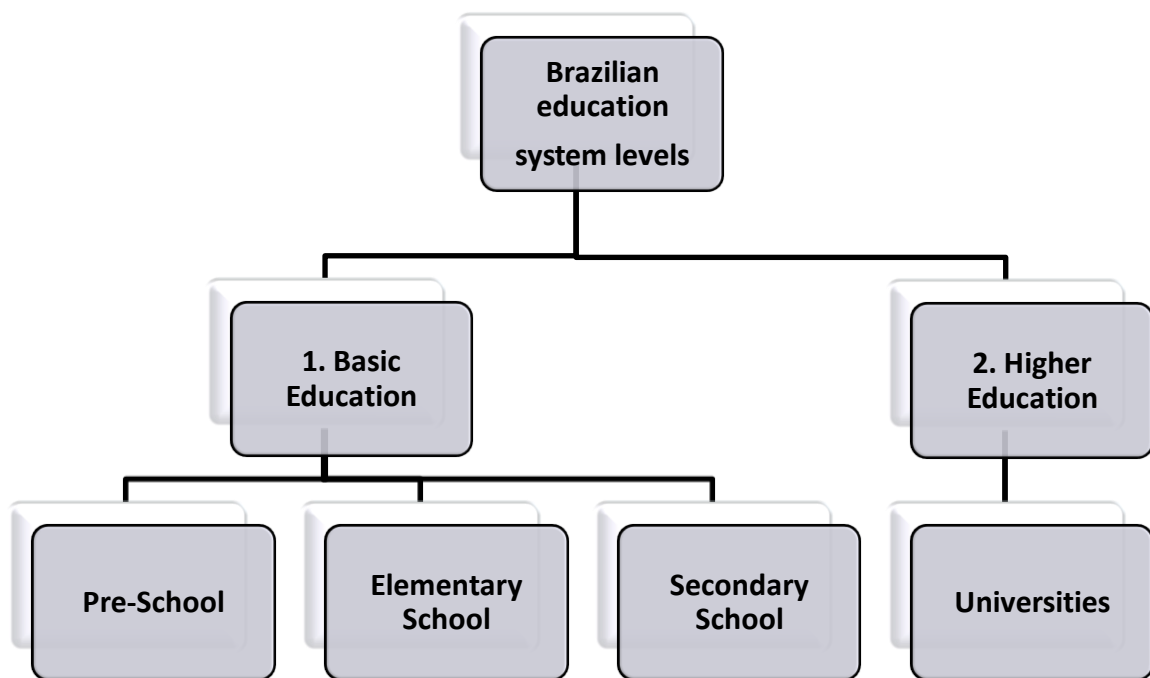
The Brazilian constitution education, in its article 206, states among other details, that education will be provided on the basis of equal conditions of access and coexistence of public/private schools. Another key aspect approached by this article is quality. It affirms there should be a guarantee of quality in the education system. Yet, quality can be associated to a variety of issues such as accountability, assessment, alignment, student requirements, infrastructure, qualification of teachers, school management, among others. Unfortunately, to a certain extent, these variables are not unambiguously cited in article 206.

The Brazilian government has established some specific goals which it ought to achieve in basic education, namely, the eradication of illiteracy, universal school assistance, improved quality, professional training, and humanistic, scientific, and technological advances (Brazil, 2006h, article 214, p.35). Once more, however, the quality aspect is not detailed. The LDB

(Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education - No. 9.394/96) states the Brazilian education system consists of two different main levels: basic education and higher education. The first one integrates pre-school, elementary and high school education, whereas higher education relates to universities and other tertiary education institutions. Figure 1 below demonstrates the education system in Brazil in its different levels. Please see figure 2 below for a more detailed map of the education system in Brazil, according to level, duration and age target.

Figure 1: Education system levels in Brazil

Source: from the author (2011)



Another point worthy of consideration is the financing aspect. The Union, the states, Federal District and municipalities have been trying to invest more in education, and such investments have helped Brazil to come to remarkable improvements within the last decade. According to Brazil (2010d), illiteracy rates have dropped in the last years accounting for 9.7% among people over 15 years old and the country already counts with 194.939 basic education schools. In addition, the government has been investing 5.1% of the GDP on education. According to the Brazilian National Education Plan (PNE), the government's goal is to achieve a level of 7% within the next few years.

Table 6: GDP invested in education in Brazil (2000-2010)

Source: from the author (2013)

Year	Percentage
2000	3.9%
2004	3.9%
2008	4.7%
2010	5.1%

Nevertheless, further investigation demonstrates that, when comparing Brazil's education outcomes with other South American countries or even developed ones, there is still a lot to accomplish. This also explains the reasons that have led experts to claim the Brazilian government needs to invest substantially more of its GDP on education. Brazil's low per capita GDP and its high educational debt demand investments in education amounting to 6% to 7% of the GDP, if the country yearns to hasten its educational development and overcome a century of education delay; see Brazil (2007g, p.40).

According to Brazil (2012f) Brazil has reached a nearly 99% rate in primary education enrollments in 2012, a quite representative number which could roughly be compared to developed countries. However, nearly 50% of the individuals above 25 years old don't hold a high school diploma. There is still a lot of improvement to be done, once several the developed countries demonstrate a nearly 90% rate and above. The weak number regarding high school education has two reasons which demand attention: repetition and dropout rate. These are still, undoubtedly, two serious problems in the Brazilian education system. The higher the dropout rate, the lower are the enrollment numbers and, most importantly, the lower is the number of educated and qualified workforce in the country. Moreover, a high dropout rate also means a higher social stratification in Brazil which increases the gap between social classes and, consequently, decreases human development in the country.

Alongside the above-mentioned issues in basic education, tertiary education also demands a lot more attention due to the fact that merely 30% of the population who is higher education

eligible finds itself enrolled at this educational level. Table 7 illustrates the education outcomes in different develop and South American countries. Brazil's outcomes are awfully fragile and the dropout rate attests the failure of the education system.

Table 7: Comparison of education outcomes (2001 – 2009)

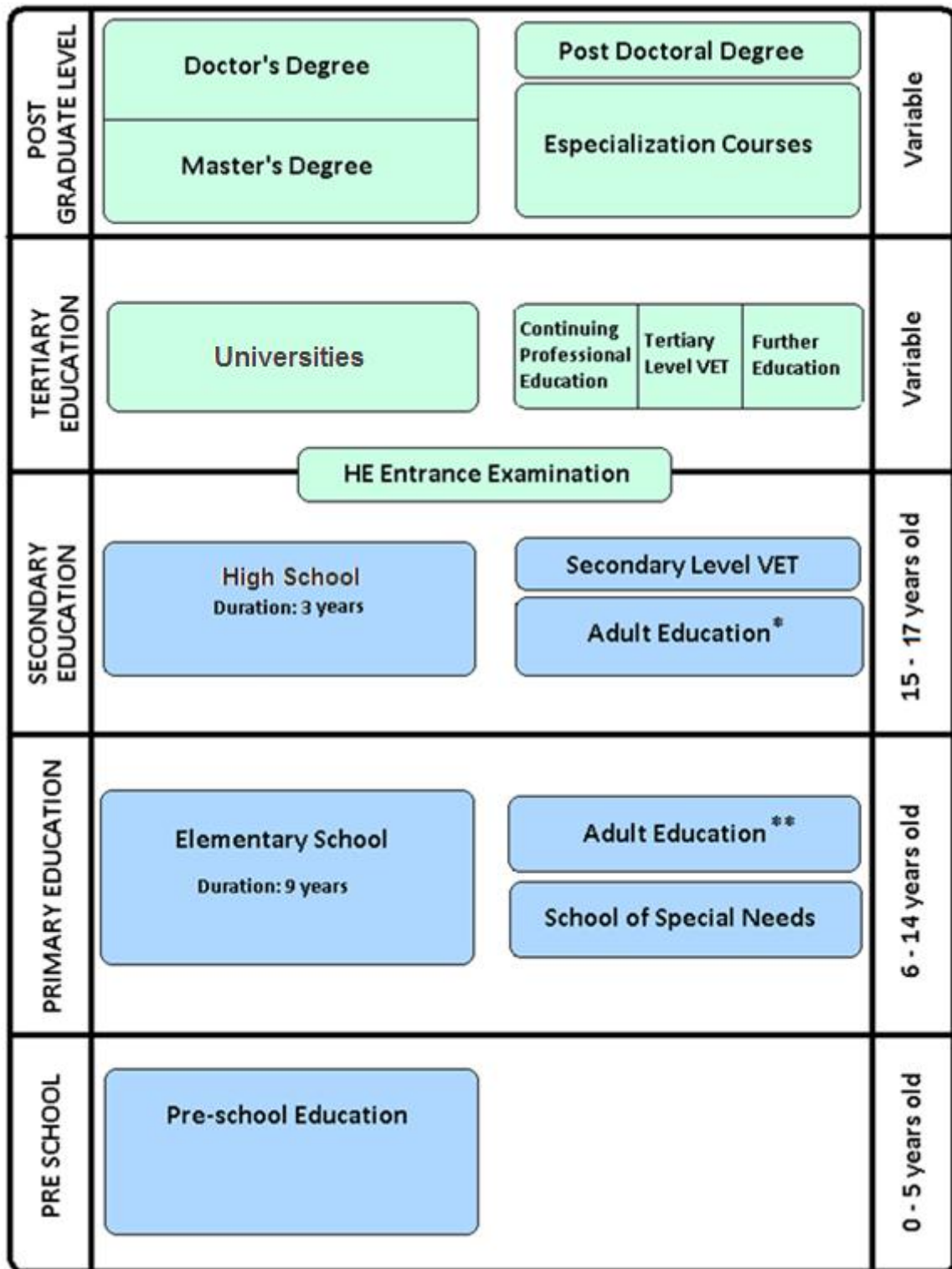
Source: from the author (2013); Based on Human Development Report 2010 (UNDP)

Country (ranked according to HDI)	Population with at least high school education (% net)	Primary education enrollment rate (% net)	High school enrollment rate (% net)	Tertiary education enrollment rate (% gross)	Dropout rate - all grades (% net)
Norway	87.3	98.4	96.6	75.9	0.2
USA	89.7	91.5	91.5	94.3	1.5
Germany	97.2	98.2	---	---	4.4
Argentina	44.6	98.5	79.4	68.1	5.1
Uruguay	44.6	97.5	67.7	64.3	6.3
Peru	50.5	96.8	75.9	34.5	17.0
Brazil	21.9	92.6	77.0	30.0	24.4
Zimbabwe	33.4	89.9	38.0	3.8	---

The following sections of this chapter are devoted to describing the different levels of basic and higher education in Brazil. This ought to facilitate the understanding of the influence these educational levels have on secondary level VET in Brazil.

Figure 2: Structure of the education system in Brazil

Source: from the author (2011)



* / **: Students must be at least 15 years old as to enroll at a school offering this modality.

2.2.1 Pre-school Education

Pre-school in Brazil is divided into two stages. The first one is directed at children aged 0-3 years old (child care level or *creche*) and the second stage is aimed at children aged 4-5 years old (pre-school). The table below illustrates the number of enrollments in both stages.

Table 8: Pre-school enrollments in Brazil 2002 – 2012
Source: MEC / INEP / DEED – School Census 2012

Year	Total	Creche	Pre-school
2007	6.509.868	1.579.581	4.930.287
2008	6.719.261	1.751.736	4.967.525
2009	6.762.631	1.896.363	4.866.268
2010	6.756.698	2.064.653	4.692.045
2011	6.980.052	2.298.707	4.681.345
2012	7.295.512	2.540.791	4.754.721
$\Delta\%$ 2011/2012	4,5	10,5	1,6

A total of 63.1% of all day care institutions are public and in terms of pre-schools this number reaches up to 74.2%. However, several children do not have access to pre-schools in Brazil. It can be observed due to the number of enrollments in the first year of elementary education which is extremely higher than the number of enrollments in pre-school. Concerned about this matter, the Brazilian National Education Plan has the goal of providing day care for at least 50% of the children aged 0-3 until 2020. In addition, the government wishes to expand the number of enrollments among children aged 4-5 years old.

2.2.2 Elementary Education

This educational level is mandatory and free of charge at public schools for all children aged 6 – 14 years old. Students can, however, attend elementary private schools. Needless to mention, private schools have costly tuition fees and are normally attended by the more socio-economic privileged individuals. Considering that 56.8% of all Brazilian families live on a maximum one minimum wage (per capita) it is safe to affirm they do not have the financial means

to afford private elementary education. To illustrate, the average monthly fee for private elementary schools in Sao Paulo can vary from one up to 2 or more minimum wages.

Elementary education lasts 9 years, comprises a minimum of 800 hours and is divided in two stages, namely *elementary education I* (grades 1-5) and *elementary education II* (grades 6-9). One of the basic differences between these two stages is the number of teachers. In stage one, students have only one teacher, who is in charge of all subjects taught, whereas in stage II, there is a different teacher for every single subject taught. The number of enrollments (see table 9 below) shows an upsetting problem in the education system in Brazil which already starts in elementary education: educational inequality. It is observable that private schools have only 14.3% of all enrollments, while public schools are responsible for 85.7%. Taking into consideration that generally the best-ranked elementary schools in Brazil are private, it is clear that the socioeconomic profile of the students will have an impact on school choice and on future educational achievements. It is, though, an illusion to accept as true that all private schools offer high-quality education for there are certainly many exceptions to this assumption.

Table 9 –Enrollments in elementary education 2006 - 2012
Source: from the author (2013); based on School Census 2006 and 2012

Year	Number of enrollments	Federal Schools	State Schools	Municipal Schools	Private Schools
2006	33.282.663	0,1%	35,4%	54,1%	10,4%
2010	31.005.341	0,1%	32,6%	54,6%	12,7%
2012	29.702.498	0,1%	30,7%	54%	14,3%

The decrease in the number of enrollments observed between 2006 and 2012 can be associated to two different main causes; demographic changes as well as decrease in offer. Birth rate has been decreasing in Brazil and these influences directly on the number of children attending the education system in the country. According to OCDE, each Brazilian woman has on average 1.8 children. By the same token, some elementary schools, for different reasons, slightly decreased their offer in the last 4 years. The 90's were characterized by significant achievement in terms of access to primary education which can be partly explained by an im-

provement in flow; see Franco et al (2007, p. 12). The flow improves when fewer students fail and, consequently continue their education at subsequent levels at the appropriate age. Nowadays, elementary education in Brazil has reached reasonable numbers in terms of enrollment which could be compared to those observed in developed countries. Yet, quantity does not mean quality. Firstly, the widening of access and participation in elementary school happened at a fast pace and schools started receiving several new students. Nevertheless, the federal government did not necessarily keep pace with investments and, as a result, quality was affected. In a logical manner, a widening participation process demands higher investments in teachers, training, infrastructure, personnel, new schools, among other aspects. Even though, from 1998 until 2007, investments have doubled, they are not sufficient yet. Currently, Brazil invests around R\$ 1.414,85 (nearly €475) per primary level student, per year (MEC, 2011b). The countries which belong to the OECD invest nearly four times more in their students. One could argue that the GDP is higher in these countries, though. However, it is not only a question of gross domestic product income. It is rather a question of its distribution in education. In addition, higher investments in education are not only related to students, but also to teachers. Even though the federal government established a monthly minimum wage to be legally paid to public teachers in Brazil in 2008, many federal states haven't yet managed to comply with the law. In 15 federal states (there are 27 in total), teachers do not receive a minimum wage established by law, do not receive extra remuneration in order to previously prepare their classes and correct assignments and many even work more hours than they are supposed to and paid for.

A further problem in elementary education in Brazil is the exceedingly high repetition rate and a significant dropout rate, which only help impeding a substantial improvement in flow. In 2010, the repetition rate in primary education reached an average of 9.6% (half of these students dropped out); see Brazil (2012f). Historically, the Brazilian educational system was inefficient in its ability to have students attending the correct grade for their age; see Brazil (2010d, p.2). Unfortunately, the country is far from the world repetition rate average of 2.9%. High repetitions rates can be related to different causes. Yet, a very important issue to which policy makers ought to pay attention in Brazil is teachers' education. Gatti (2009) found out that in a higher education study programs in pedagogy, as well as diplom study programs in teaching (aimed at the individuals who would like to become a teacher) generally have curric-

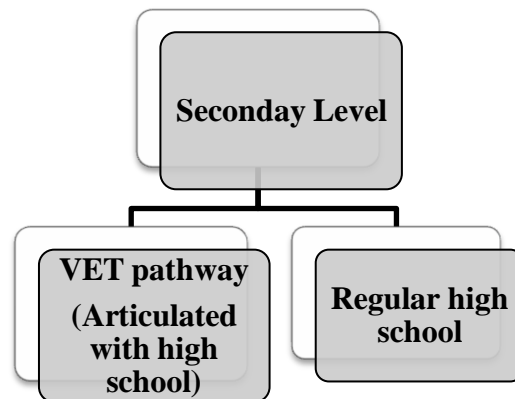
ulums which deal with evaluation in an extremely superficial manner. As a matter of fact, the author argues only 1% of these curriculums are dedicated to the topic “evaluation”. Unprepared teachers could certainly contribute to an aggravation of the repetition problem. More investment does not mean higher quality. It is necessary to invest in key elements, such as teachers’ training and education, in case the country wishes to expand education with quality. What is more, public teachers do not receive their salaries based on performance. There has to be a full commitment in a process of expanding education with quality for a fragmented analysis of the education system could certainly lead to palliative political measures. One cannot ignore, though, the fact that Brazil is a country which possesses a very extensive territory and it has an impact on elementary education, too. A portion of students throughout the country still have transport difficulties, there is a lot of difference in terms of socioeconomic background in the different federal states, and most importantly, private schools still offer better quality, a fact which also contributes to fosters the elitist characteristic of the education system in Brazil.

2.2.3 Secondary education: High school and VET

High school is offered at public and private schools in Brazil. According to the Brazilian constitution in its article 208, paragraph II, the state must offer progressive extension of compulsory and gratuity of high school education. High school is the final educational level of basic education and lasts 3 years; although some professional schools offer high school and VET training in an integrated modality which could last 4 years (secondary level VET is not part of basic education, which corresponds only to pre-school, elementary school and high school). High school education has a minimum of 2,200 hours and, in order to be able to enroll, students must have finished their elementary education. The regular, appropriate age for the first year of high school is 15 years old and students should finish this educational level at the age of 17. Secondary education in Brazil has two possible pathways to be followed by the students: high school or a combination of both VET and high school education; secondary level VET will be described and discussed separately in the following chapter.

Figure 3: Secondary education pathways

Source: from the author (2013)



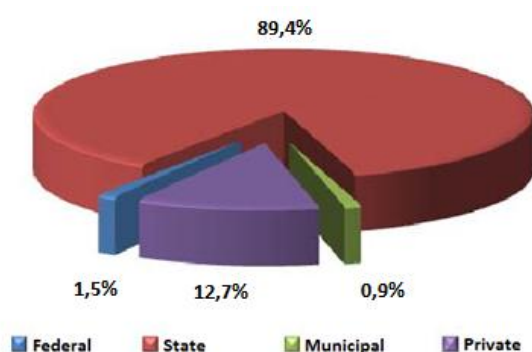
These two possible pathways in secondary education constitute a structural duality in the Brazilian educational system. On the one hand high school, which has a more propaedeutic approach and frequently attended by students who intend to access higher education and, on the other hand, VET pathway which prepares students to acquire professional skills and competencies in order to enter the labor market; Ferreti (2002), Ferreti and Júnior (2000), Kuenzer (2002). Secondary level has always been divided into these two pathways, one aimed at preparing for higher education entry through entrance examinations, and another one for the labor market (Queiroz *et al.*, 2008, p.4). Kuenzer (2000, p.38) states this is an issue yet to be solved in secondary education in the country, to overcome the structural duality: VET x propaedeutic education. Nonetheless, it is also indispensable to mention that the VET pathway also grants its students with a general higher education entrance qualification. In other words, secondary level VET students have the right to access any type of university (regular or of applied sciences). They only need to pass the higher education entrance examination like the students coming from regular high schools.

There are currently 8.376,852 students enrolled in high schools in Brazil; see Brazil (2012f). Figure 4 reveals state schools are the majority with nearly 90% of all enrollments. An important issue related to the high number of state schools offering this educational level is once more quality. As already observed in elementary schools, private high schools offering high school education are also, generally, of superior quality when compared to the vast majority of the public high schools. As a result, it is plausible to declare that students coming from upper classes, whose parents can afford a private high school, are better prepared for their

higher education entrance examination at a public university, which has an excellent reputation and quality, at no cost whatsoever. The Brazilian government has already started a quota program in the country in order to benefit students coming from public high schools. Federal universities and federal vocational schools must reserve, for instance, 50% of its vacancies for these students. However, in states where these quotas have been offered for ten years already, as it is the case of Rio de Janeiro, only half of the vacancies offered through quotas are actually being filled. Recent research carried out in three public schools in Rio de Janeiro (Educafro, 2011) demonstrated that 70% of the students did not know about these quotas offered at public universities and federal vocational schools; see. It is simply unacceptable to launch such programs without consistently well informing the actors involved and benefited from it. In addition, these quotas are not sufficient for public universities and public federal vocational schools demonstrate an offer problem; the demand is simply much higher than the offer. The offer problem is clear a reflex of a political posture assumed by the Brazilian government since its education truly started to expand in the 90's. The state extensively opened its doors to the private sector in education for the costs were and still are simply exceedingly too high for the government to assume education individually. It is a risky posture for it can foster inequality in the educational system and benefit the ones who can afford education; once they are the ones who can pay in order to go further in their education.

Figure 4 – High School Enrollments in Brazil 2012

Source: School Census – Brazil (2012f)



High school in Brazil faces many challenges and has several issues in its structure. Firstly, of the 10.2 million young people in Brazil aged 15 – 17 (appropriate age to be attending high schools) 45% did not finish elementary school. Moreover, only 37% of the Brazilian population aged 18 years old has a high school diploma. Moreover, high school also faces financing

issues, quality and, most importantly, very high repetition and dropout rates, even higher than elementary education. By examining the number of enrollments in high school education published by the ministry of education in Brazil, it is visible that the number of enrollments decreases in the second and third year in high schools; a crystal clear demonstration that the dropout rate is high and equally a problem. High school is still far from becoming universal in Brazil. Bearing in mind it is part of basic education, there is an obvious need for the expansion with quality of this educational level, since it is not possible to participate socially, politically and productively in the Brazilian society without at least 12 years² of schooling (Kuenzer, 2000, p.18). The policy makers are aware of this situation and have also been attempting to solve the matter. For instance, in 1998, ENEM (High School National Exam) was introduced. The exam was initially used to select students for the program PROUNI (University for All Programme) which provide students from lower-classes with scholarships. ENEM has the objective to assess students' performance at the end of elementary and high school education (basic education). The exam is composed by 180 questions and essay writing and the highest obtainable score is 1.000 points. What calls one attention about ENEM is the ranking of the schools with the highest score in Brazil, they are practically all private. The table below shows the ranking of the 30 schools with the best score in 2010.

Table 10 – Best ENEM scores in Brazil 2010 (schools with 75% - 100% participation)
Source: From the author (2011); based on ENEM results 2010 – Brazil (2010c)

Ranking position	School	Location	Private or Public
1	Colégio de São Bento	Rio de Janeiro	Private
2	Instituto Dom Barreto	Piauí	Private
3	Objetivo Colégio Integrado	São Paulo	Private
4	Vértice Colégio Unid. II	São Paulo	Private
5	Colégio Bernoulli	Minas Gerais	Private
6	Colégio Santo Antônio	Minas Gerais	Private
7	Colégio Cruzeiro - Centro	Rio de Janeiro	Private
8	Educandário Santa Maria Goretti	Piauí	Private
9	Coluni Colégio de Aplicação UFV	Minas Gerais	PUBLIC
Ranking position	School	Location	Private or Public

² Author mentioned 11 years due to the fact that the text was published in 2000, when elementary education lasted only 8 years.

10	Colégio Santo Agostinho - Novo Leblon	Rio de Janeiro	Private
11	Colegium -Ensino Fund. e Médio	Minas Gerais	Private
12	Colégio Magnum Agostiniano NF	Minas Gerais	Private
13	Colégio Andrews	Rio de Janeiro	Private
14	Colégio Santo Agostinho	Rio de Janeiro	Private
15	Colégio PH	Rio de Janeiro	Private
16	Colégio Franco-Brasileiro	Rio de Janeiro	Private
17	Colégio Bionatus	Mato Grosso do Sul	Private
18	Colégio Ipiranga	Rio de Janeiro	Private
19	Colégio Alexander Fleming	Mato Grosso do Sul	Private
20	Escola Modelar Cambauba	Rio de Janeiro	Private
21	Objetivo colégio integrado	São Paulo	Private
22	Col militar de belo horizonte	Minas Gerais	Private
23	Colégio Espanhol Santa Maria cidade nova	Minas Gerais	PUBLIC
24	Escola SESC de ensino médio	Rio de Janeiro	Private
25	Inst de aplic Fernando R da S.	Rio de Janeiro	PUBLIC
26	Colégio PH	Rio de Janeiro	Private
27	Juarez de Siqueira Britto Wanderley Eng. Colégio	São Paulo	Private
28	Colégio Santo Agostinho	Minas Gerais	Private
29	Colégio de A A Z	Rio de Janeiro	Private
30	Colégio WR	Goiás	Private

The list is dominated by private schools. A total of 4640 schools with 75% to 100% participation rate took part in the edition of 2010. Among the 100 schools with the best score only 13 are public. In addition, the 10 worst schools in 2010 are all public. It not only demonstrates the low-quality of education offered at public schools (elementary and secondary ones) in Brazil, but also raises the conceivable conclusion that students coming from private schools once more have education progression advantages and are better prepared for ENEM. In 2009 ENEM became part of SISU (National Unified Admissions System) and start being used as an admission test to enroll in several federal universities and other tertiary education institutions; substituting the old entrance examination elaborated by the universities (MEC, 2011g). This political measure has a fundamental failure in itself. It simply ignores social background and, therefore, could have an inverse effect on students. As a result, socioeconomically privileged students have better chances to access a public university, for instance, which generally has a high-quality education at no cost at all. The Brazilian government has been trying to avoid this inequality by offering quotas for students coming from public schools, as already men-

tioned in this chapter section. Nonetheless, the offer problem remains for 73.7% of all universities in Brazil are private. Even if a quota system is effectively introduced, the demand in public universities is simply much higher than the offer. The quota system imposed by the government is a measure of necessity which only attests the quality difference between public and private institutions and serves as a palliative solution to an offer problem and most importantly, quality issue. The quality problem involves many different aspects, accounting for repetition, dropout rates, underpaid and unprepared teachers, lack of financial means at schools' disposal, among others.

What is more, once evaluation tools, such as ENEM, are turned into selection instruments, instead of being a performance indicator aimed at education quality improvement, they shift their purpose entirely and, consequently, actors involved in it tend to assume a very different posture. The results can be catastrophic for schools start preparing student for this specific exam, private courses start being offered to prepare students for the exam and, as a consequence, socioeconomic privileged individuals who can afford it end up becoming the ones who are going to fill the top of the list. It is not possible to reach education for all when educational policies favor the socioeconomically advantaged. Moreover, policy makers need to be aware that ENEM ought to be an instrument seeking for areas and barriers which are quality related and demand enhancement. It is necessary to be cautious with the creation of competition between schools as well through with the elaboration of rankings. Competition does not necessarily mean better quality for the school has the responsibility to educate and not to prepare students like programmed computers for an exam.

Yet, the Brazilian government has established crucial goals which must be met in high school education until 2020. The most important one is to substantially increase the number of students attending high schools, reaching an 85% in number of enrollments; a very challenging objective; number similar or even above developed countries (the average in the European Union corresponds to approximately 80%). Even so, the problem is not only participation and the Brazilian government must avoid having a fragmented view of the education in the country. The education system needs to be addressed as a whole. It is vital to create educational policies that are capable of articulating the entire system. Also, policy makers must look back in history and avoid mistakes made in the expansion of elementary education. Reducing repe-

tition rates and dropout rates in elementary education are fundamental measures which need to be addressed before attempting to expand participation in high school education.

2.2.4 Further educational policies and measures in basic education

The Brazilian government has been making certain efforts to increase quality, offer and equality in basic education in the country. An excellent example of policy measures was the creation of FUNDEF (Fund for Maintenance and Development of the Fundamental Education and Valorization of Teaching) in 1996 and FUNDEB (Fund for the Development of Basic Education and Appreciation of the Teaching Profession) in 2006. FUNDEF was introduced by the Brazilian government in 1996 in order to decrease inequality and variation in per student spending between different regions. The program was mainly focused on teachers' salaries and schools. About 60% of all investments were done towards teacher salaries and 40% towards schools. Most likely the biggest limitation in the program was that it focused only on elementary schools. In other words, the rest of the education system was still suffering and inequality was only partially solved. The program lasted only until 2006 when another program was introduced, namely, a program called FUNDEB (Fund for the Development of Basic Education and Appreciation of the Teaching Profession). This program has basically the intentions FUNDEF had; the focus is a lot more ample, though. It is aimed at financing basic education as a whole and includes kindergarten, preschool, elementary, and high school education. The program should also last longer than the last one, fourteen years (MEC, 2011b). It substantially raised Union's commitment to basic education, extending its contribution from US\$ 250 million (FUNDEF average) to around US\$ 2.5 billion investment per year; see Brazil (2007g, p. 17).

Alongside FUNDEB, conditional cash transfer policies (CCTs) have also become very popular in Brazil and currently 26% of the population receives financial aid from the government which is directed at basic education. One of the most famous, even worldwide, is a program called *Bolsa Família* (Family Allowance). It is the largest program of its kind in the world. The program is aimed at assisting underprivileged Brazilian families financially, under the condition that families ensure that their children attend school and are vaccinated. Nowadays,

around 12 million Brazilian families are benefited by the program *Bolsa Família*, (MDS, 2011).

In addition to the above-mentioned measures, the Brazilian education system has also initiated different national assessment programs to evaluate quality of basic education. The most recent and important one was created in 2007, the Basic Education Quality Index (IDEB). The index is reported twice a year and its average is calculated with basis on SAEB (National Assessment of Basic Education), the *Prova Brasil* ("Test of Brazil") which assesses all students in public urban education in the 4th and 8th grades of elementary school (MEC, 2011f). The index also considers census data (number of enrollments, repetition rate and number of students with a high school diploma) in its calculation. It has a scale of 1 – 10 (10 being the best grade possibly achievable). The Brazilian National Education Plan has the following IDEB grades as goals which have to be reached until the year 2020.

Table 11: IDEB grades set by the Brazilian PNE 2011-2020

Source: National Plan of Education - Brazil (2010i)

IDEB	2011	2013	2015	2017	2019	2021
Elementary Education (grades 1-5)	4,6	4,9	5,2	5,5	5,7	6,0
Elementary Education (grades 6-9)	3,9	4,4	4,7	5,0	5,2	5,5
High school education	3,7	3,9	4,3	4,7	5,0	5,2

Since 2007, IDEB has already demonstrated basic education in Brazil has been developing and that constant assessment is important to identify issues which need to be addressed. However, the grades obtained by the students in the last IDEB are a source for preoccupation, especially the public elementary schools. To illustrate, the government established the goal of reaching a 5.5 grade by 2021 in elementary education (grades 6-9). Private elementary schools (grades 6-9) have reached an average grade of 5.9 in 2009 already. Some schools have reached grades above 9, whereas some public elementary schools have reached a grade close to zero. As already stated and discussed about ENEM (National High School Exam) it is necessary to keep IDEB as a tool to keep improving education as a whole and not to use it as selection tools which do not take socioeconomic background of students into considerations or even turn it into a bunch of rankings which cause competition between schools leading

them to prepare students for assessments and not for what is established in the constitution: supply students with indispensable education which provides them with the necessary means for progress in labor and future educational levels. What is more, in a more international comparison, the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) has also confirmed that the quality of the education offered in Brazil is still poor.

Table 12: PISA results in Brazil 2000 - 2009

Source: from the author (2011); Based on PISA Results 2000 – 2009

	PISA 2000	PISA 2003	PISA 2006	PISA 2009
Science	375	390	390	405
Reading	396	403	393	412
Mathematics	334	356	356	386
Average (Brazil)	368	383	384	401
Average (established by OECD)	496	498	493	496

The table above illustrates that Brazil has notably improved its results from 2000 until 2009. The country's education has evolved 33 points in this last decade and is already among the three best ranked countries in terms of improvement. Nonetheless, this enhancement has not yet even gotten close to the average grades established by OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development); see (OECD, 2011). Currently, Brazil occupies position 53 in the overall ranking. To illustrate, the best Brazilian students, who are attending the best schools in the country, obtained an average of 439 points in the last PISA. It is just slightly more than the 428 average points achieved by students attending *Hauptschule* in Germany, for instance. Thus, the Brazilian government has also established PISA goals in its National Education Plan 2011 – 2020.

Table 13: PISA average score goal set by the Brazilian PNE

Source: from the author (2011); Based on PNE 2011 – 2020 Brazil (2010i)

PISA	2009	2012	2015	2018	2021
Total average	395	417	438	455	473

The Brazilian government has also developed a PDE (Plan for the Development of Education). It establishes some fundamental objectives as for instance, valorization of professionals in education, financing education adequately and promoting assessment which leads to future adjustments and improvements (Brazil, 2007g, p.20). Such measure could help enhancing quality of education which is still poor as well as the teachers' qualification issues, remuneration, infrastructure, offer and high repetition rate. To illustrate the concerns regarding the teachers, these professionals still receive, in average, a salary which is 40% lower when compared to other occupations which have higher education as a pre-requisite. This low income is also accompanied by high levels of stress and workload. It consequently leads to other two vital problems in basic education: lack of teachers and teachers' absence. To illustrate, in the state of São Paulo where a total of 5,463 basic public education schools are located, 12,000 teachers miss class every day. These absences are even protected by law for in many states teachers can miss class without further notice 10 times a year or more. Many states and municipalities must hire additional monitors who replace teachers when they do not come to work. Obviously, it causes many difficulties in the classroom as well as on students' performance and, as a result, quality is substantially affected.

2.2.5 Higher Education

In Brazil, higher education is composed by undergraduate and graduate levels. Undergraduate level study programs include bachelor's degrees and diplom programs. Master's degree, doctor's degree, sequential courses and extension program programs compose the graduate level.

Table 14: Under- and Postgraduate Study Programs in Brazil

Source: from the author (2013)

	Bachelor's Degree (regular university)	Bachelor's Degree (university of applied sciences)	Sequential and Extension Courses	Master's Degree	Doctor Degree
Duration	3 years or more (between 2400 and 4000)	2 or 3 years (between 1600 and 2400 hours)	1 or 2 years	2 years or more	3 years or more

	hours)				
	Bachelor's Degree (regular university)	Bachelor's Degree (university of applied sciences)	Sequential and Extension Courses	Master's Degree	Doctor Degree
Degree Level	Undergrad.	Undergrad.	graduate	Graduate	graduate
Permeability	grants access to master's or doctor degrees	grants access to master's or doctor degrees (depending on duration)	Do not grant access to doctor degrees	grants access to doctor degrees	grants access to post-doctorate programs
Offered by	Public and private universities	Public and private universities	Public and private universities	Public and private universities	Public and private universities
Requirement	High school diploma	High school diploma	Bachelor's Degree	Bachelor's Degree	Master's Degree

According to the Brazilian constitution in its article 47, higher education must have at least two hundred days of effective academic work. Moreover, tertiary education institutions must offer evening undergraduate courses, in the same quality standards maintained during the daytime. This measure attends students who need to work daytime in order to financially provide for themselves. Yet, the evening public offer is much inferior when compared to daytime offer and it is a barrier for socioeconomically underprivileged students who must work daytime in order to provide for themselves.

Higher education is offered in Brazil at public and private universities. According to Brazil (2010b) the country had 6.953.300 enrollments in this educational level in 2011. The public offer has increased within the last years, but it is still far from being able to attend the huge demand.

Table 15: Number of higher education institutions in Brazil - 2004 – 2009

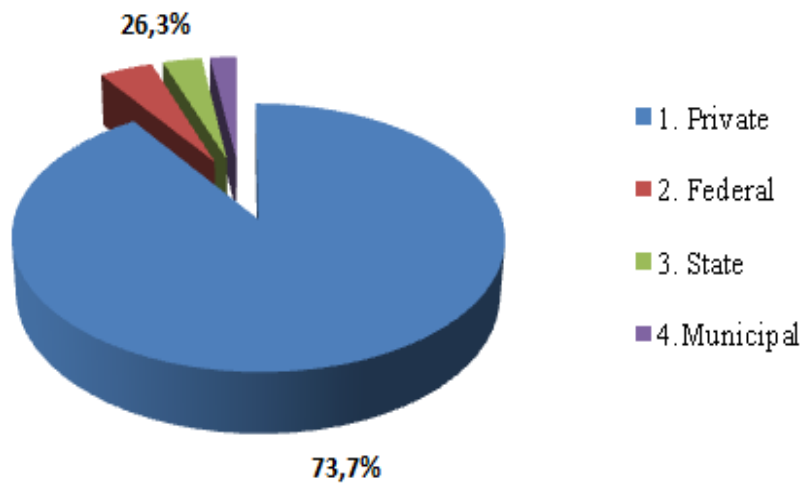
Source: Higher Education Census 2009 / DEED / MEC / INEP

Ano	Total	Pública								Privada	%
		Total	%	Federal	%	Estadual	%	Municipal	%		
2004	2.013	224	11,1	87	4,3	75	3,7	62	3,1	1.789	88,9
2005	2.165	231	10,7	97	4,5	75	3,5	59	2,7	1.934	89,3
2006	2.270	248	10,9	105	4,6	83	3,7	60	2,6	2.022	89,1
2007	2.281	249	10,9	106	4,6	82	3,6	61	2,7	2.032	89,1
2008	2.252	236	10,5	93	4,1	82	3,6	61	2,7	2.016	89,5
2009	2.314	245	10,6	94	4,1	84	3,6	67	2,9	2.069	89,4

The pie chart below (Figure 5) also demonstrates higher education in Brazil is predominantly offered at private institutions. In 2011, private universities and other tertiary education institutions accounted for 73.7% of the whole offer and have, as a matter of fact, always had nearly entire control of the higher education in the country. Even though public universities in Brazil have a good reputation, quality and are free of charge, the offer is extremely low (only 26.3% of all vacancies) and the competition to access one of these institutions is fierce. Higher education entrance examinations are still predominantly used, even though ENEM is slowly becoming the main selection exam which substitutes the classic entrance examinations. In 2013, some public universities have even begun adopting ENEM as the only entry requirement, therefore, abolishing the higher education entrance examination.

The vast majority of the public universities have begun using ENEM at least as a part of its selection process. It is also necessary to mention that the Brazilian government is aware of the HE access inequality in the country. In 2012, the Decree No. 12.711/2012 was enacted in August. It guarantees the reservation of 50% of all vacancies in any given higher education course in federal universities to students who attended public elementary and high schools. According to the last HE census, federal universities accounted to only about 13% of all higher education enrollments in Brazil in 2011. Moreover, the decree will be implemented gradually, and in 2013 the quota should begin with a reservation of only 12.5% of all vacancies.

Figure 5: Higher Education Enrollments
Source: from the author (2011); Based on
 Census of Higher Education 2011



In 2009 about 1 million candidates did not pass the entrance examination and could not, therefore, access higher education. As a result, these students have VET as an option or they can even try direct access to the labor market without any professional qualification.

As nearly 74% of the universities in Brazil are private and many students do not due to economic reasons rather than lack of merit, the government has created a program called PROUNI (University for All Program) in 2005, through decree n° 11.096. The program is aimed at students who attended high school at a public school or at the ones who had integral scholarships at private schools, disabled students and public school teachers who teach at any level of basic education and would like to attend an undergraduate course. The program offer full scholarships to Brazilians citizens who do not hold a college degree and whose monthly family income per capita does not exceed the amount of up to one and a half minimum wages. It is also possible to receive partial scholarships (50% or 25%) for the ones whose monthly family income per capita does not exceed the amount of up to three minimum wages (MEC, 2011d). In order to be able to participate in PROUNI the university and the students have to achieve a certain performance and quality level, respectively. Private universities are benefited by tax exemptions which allow them to grant students with scholarships. However, the law that created PROUNI establishes that the college courses that receive unsatisfactory results in two consecutive SINAES (National System of Higher Education Evaluation) assessments must be removed from the program (Brazil, 2007g, p.30). As for the beneficiaries (students or public school teachers), they are selected by their High School National Exam (ENEM) grade.

This governmental initiative is aimed at widening higher education participation by providing scholarships based on students' merit. Nevertheless, the program has been criticized by experts who believe it provides low-quality universities with public money. Moreover, the offer is still low. Considering the number of enrollments in 2009, more than 5 million students were attending private universities. In the same year approximately 150 thousand scholarships were granted (full and partial). It represents only 3% of all enrollments done at private universities. In 2010 more scholarships were offered, but the number is still low compared to the high demand.

For the students who do not meet the criteria for one of the PROUNI scholarship, but are equally in need of financial aid, there is another option, a program called FIES (Higher Education Student Financing Fund). This program was initiated in 1999 and offers full or partial study loans so students can pay college tuition at private universities. The universities offering the program must be registered as well as evaluated by the ministry of education in Brazil and distance or online courses do not qualify for the program; see MEC (2011a). From 2011 on, students who wish to join the program should take part in ENEM. The beneficiaries have three times the period of the course to pay their debts and the student who enrolls in undergraduate courses lasting at least 8 semester have up to 12 years to pay for his or her debts. The Brazilian government wishes to expand this program in the next years and also reduce interest rates.

In order to control the quality of higher education in Brazil, MEC (Ministry of Education) requires all higher education students who are enrolled in their first and final year in federal and private universities to take an exam named ENADE (National Student Performance Exam). The government aims at assessing the quality of the undergraduate study programs offered by the tertiary education institutions. ENADE is part of SINAES (National System for Assessment of Higher Education) a national program created in 2004 which aimed at assessing the Brazilian universities and their students, meeting quality standards and improving higher education in Brazil; see MEC (2011c). ENADE is, however, limited in its scope for it focuses only on students' learning outcomes. It does not include the profile of the teachers, infrastructure, pedagogical project or social difference between the students. It seems to make

only students accountable for the quality aspect, when several other factors play equality or even more important roles.

Another relevant document published by the Brazilian government is the Plan for the Development of Education (PDE) which has established some fundamental goals for higher education in the country. Firstly, it is necessary to increase the offer, since only 11% of the population aged 18-24 have access to higher education. Secondly, there is a need for an expansion with quality and not only number of enrollments. Thirdly, there should be a promotion of social inclusion through education, making higher education accessible to the farthest regions of the country as well (Brazil, 2007g, p.26). In addition to PDE, Brazil also counts with PNE (National Education Plan) which has also established some vital goals which are to be met until 2020, namely, widening higher education participation by expanding the financial aid provided by the program FIES.

In addition to the current facts about higher education in Brazil, its history is equally important for the comprehension of how this educational level has developed in the last century. Higher education is intrinsically related to the history of Brazil and its society evolution. Universities appeared in Brazil only in 1808 and in 1889 the country had 14 universities; see Andrada (2010, p.23). In 1920, nearly 10 years after the first vocational schools were established in the country, Brazil had only a few universities, mostly private and aimed at the upper classes. In 1950 the private sector had 50% of the tertiary level students and in the 60's there were one hundred (100) universities in Brazil already. The public offer was always limited and the private universities took good advantage of it by expanding even more during the military dictatorship which started in 1964. During this period, the government expanded the private higher education offer which could only be afforded by the upper classes. Their goal was to provide the upper classes with tertiary education opportunities and by doing so; they intended to gain their approval on the imposed political system; see Cunha (2004, p.802). In the early 90's the new democrat government began offering all possible benefits and tried to facilitate the foundation of many new private universities. This happened due to the lack of offer the state has and had always had and also because of market demands, once there was already at this time an increasing necessity of qualified workforce in the country. The government was fully aware it could represent an extremely important measure to assist the eco-

conomic development Brazil was and still is going through. Nonetheless, it was not only until later that the Brazilian government initiated educational policies which could in fact provide the socioeconomically unprivileged with higher education access as well. A historical importance and value has always been given to higher education degrees in Brazil. Middle and upper class parents have always prepared their children to go to university and since the very beginning of the history of education in Brazil, the system was always divided into higher education for the ones who could afford it and VET for the ones who had no other option. Schwarzman (2000, cited in Andrada 2010, p.32) states that there is a need to change the mentality in Brazil that gives a lot of value and worth to the title (higher education), rather than to the acquisition of competencies. It is, however, also important to mention that individuals who hold a higher education degree received on average, in 2011, 219% more than those without a tertiary education degree; see IBGE (2012).

2.2.6 Adult education

Adult education in Brazil is an educational level which attends young people aged 15 years old or more. It includes primary and secondary education and most of it takes place at public schools. According to the School Census 2010, most of the adult education enrollment is done in public schools, distributed as follows: 54.8% in state schools, 41.7% in municipal and 0.4% in the federal schools. Private schools have a very low participation in adult education in Brazil, accounting for merely 3.1 %. In 2010, there were 4.234.956 students (in 2011 the number decreased to 3.906.877, but the distribution remained fairly similar) enrolled in adult education in Brazil, 67% at elementary schools and 33% at high schools. In 2009, there were 57.7 million people who were older than 18 years old, were not attending school and had not completed elementary education; see IBGE (2010). This information also justifies the fact that the offer in this educational level is equally low and the demand is very high, see Pierro and Graciano (2003, pp.3-4). The Brazilian government states in its National Education Plan (PNE) that it intends to increase the number of enrollments in adult education by 25% until 2020 in both levels, elementary and secondary education. Adult education in Brazil is also offered in an integrated VET modality, combining basic education (elementary or high school education) with vocational education and training. In 2009 there were nearly 52.000 students enrolled in this type of modality.

3. The Brazilian vocational education and training system

The Brazilian VET system increased considerably in terms of enrollments and number of schools throughout the country in this last century. From 1909 to 2010 more than 300 federal vocational and technological education schools units were authorized in the country. The number of enrollments has increased from 652 thousand in 2002 to more than 1.3 million in 2012. What is more, the government is fully aware that the country's further economic development depends on the availability to qualified workforce. Thus, investing in education and, most importantly, investing in VET in order to obtain more qualified-workforce is a must. The Brazilian authorities have set some important goals for VET in its National Plan for Education (PNE), including the expansion of enrollments as well as vacancies in public schools, to double the total number of vacancies in this education modality keeping a quality standard, expand cooperation with private vocational schools and create an assessment system to evaluate quality and students' performance in vocational education and training in Brazil; still a fundamental assessment missing in the secondary level VET system in the country.

3.1 Current VET structure in Brazil

Initially, it is imperative to identify the definition given to VET by the Brazilian government in its educational regulations. In Portuguese, vocational education and training is referred to as "*Educação Profissional*"; which could be literally translated as "Professional Education". According to the Brazilian Decree 9.394 in article 39; see Brazil (2010a, p.33), "vocational education and training ("*Educação Profissional*") should integrate different levels and modalities of education in the dimensions of work, science and technology". It may take place in schools, specialized institutions or in the workplace. Its objective is to create courses that ensure employability prospects for young people and facilitate their labor market access. VET in Brazil also suits professionals who are already working but feel that they lack the needed qualifications to carry out their activities and it works as an effective tool for the re-insertion of the worker into the labor market. According to the current legislation (Brazil, 2010a, p.34), professional education is structured as follows:

I—initial and continuing training of workers or vocational training;

II—vocational education at secondary level;

III— vocational education at tertiary and postgraduate levels;

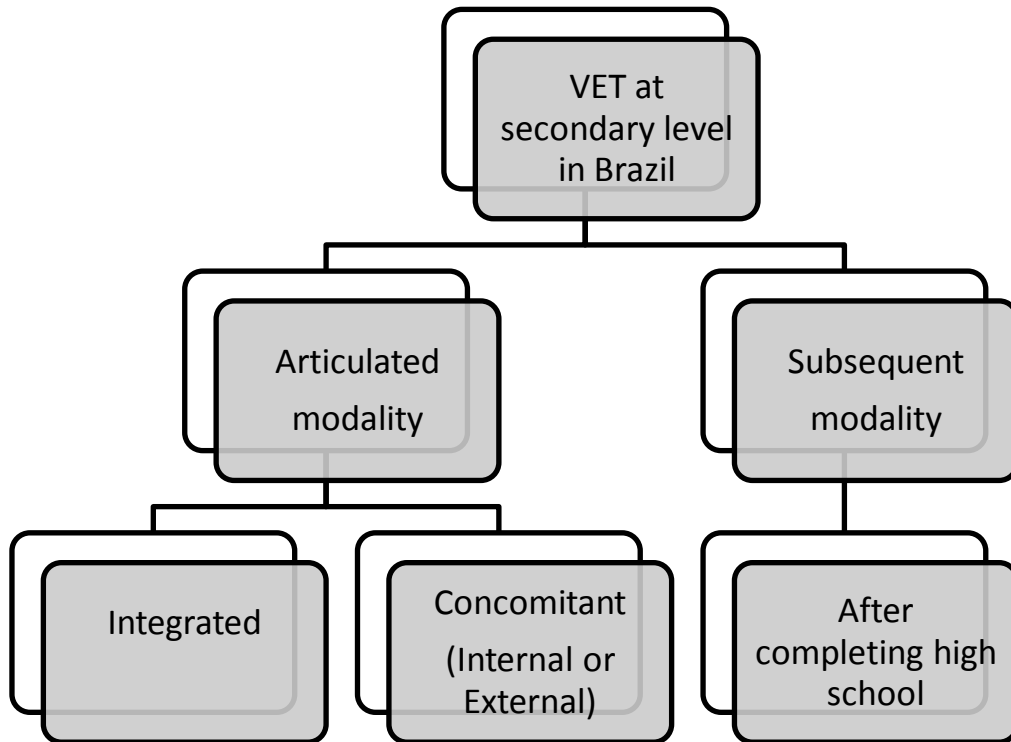
Initial and continuing training of workers or professional training should provide the initial qualification or requalification of workers who are employed or seeking a job, regardless of their formal schooling. These courses are of short duration and are offered by public institutions, associations, entrepreneurs, trade unions and NGOs. They are not subject to regulation or a curriculum, although they may be acknowledged and used as a form of equivalence for further training. Vocational education at tertiary and postgraduate levels, the third level of VET training is designed for higher education, both undergraduate and postgraduate, adult and youth. Only students who have a high school leaving certificate have access to this VET category. Individuals who wish to attend this modality should pass an entrance examination which is elaborated by the tertiary education institutions. Finally, the most important VET modality, the one which will be addressed in this dissertation, is the secondary level VET. According to the current legislation (Brazil, 2010a, p.31) in section IV-A of the LDB article 36b, this modality is divided into two main categories:

I – Articulated with high school (Integrated or Concomitant)

II – Subsequent, for individuals who have already finished high school.

The articulated with high school VET modality can be divided into two other sub-categories, respectively, integrated and concomitant. In the integrated VET modality, students with an elementary school leaving certificate are allowed to enroll. The students have regular high school education and VET under one single curriculum, with one single registration, at one school. The second type of articulated secondary level VET is the concomitant modality. In this case, high school and VET occur in a parallel manner, but under two separate curriculums (a high school curriculum and a VET curriculum). Therefore, the student has two different registrations. The concomitant secondary level VET modality can take place at the same school (internal concomitance - IC) or at two different schools (external concomitance - EC). Lastly, there is the subsequent modality. In order to enroll in this secondary level VET modality, students need to have a high school diploma. The subsequent modality takes place at a single school under a single VET curriculum.

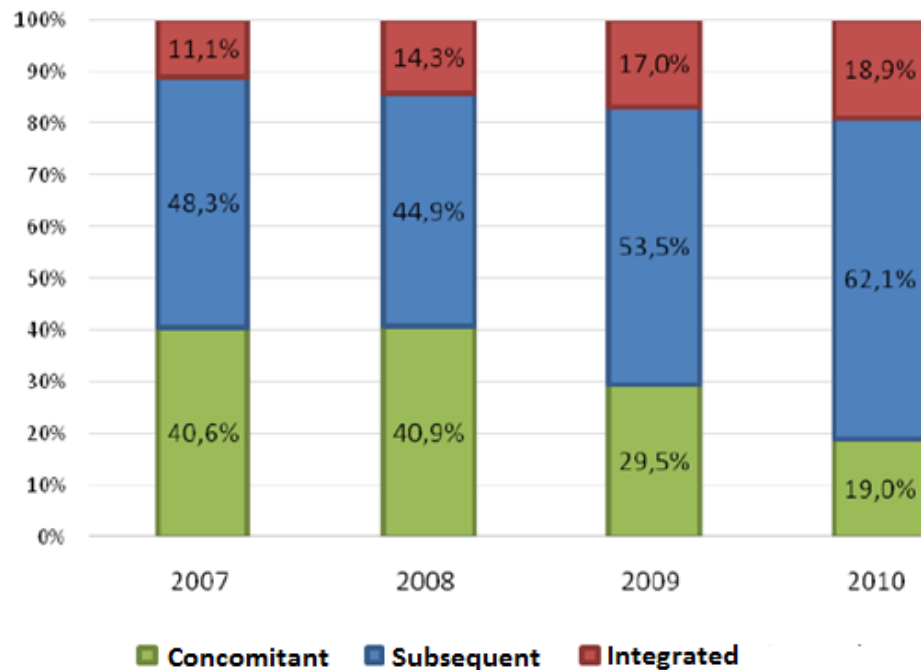
Figure 6: Secondary level VET modalities in Brazil
Source: from the author (2013)



In view of the offer aspect in VET at secondary level, federal, state, municipal and private technical schools are in charge of it. Event though, they are open to candidates who have completed primary education (9 years) and are enrolling, are already enrolled or already has a high school diploma, only individuals who have completed high school can obtain a secondary level VET certificate which is given to every individual after a successful conclusion of his or her VET program. Another important aspect to be considered is that, as stated by the legislation (Brazil, 2010a, p.32) in article 36, VET at secondary level provides students with general higher education entrance qualification (regular or university of applied sciences). The chart below demonstrates the number of enrollment in all 3 different modalities: integrated, concomitant (internal and external) and subsequent.

Figure 7: Enrollment in vocational education and training at secondary level in all three different modalities - 2007-2010.

Source: Inep – Censo Escolar 2010



The largest share of secondary level VET occurs in a subsequent modality in which students need to have finished high school education first. The other two modalities are nearly even. Lastly, it is also important to state that secondary level VET corresponds to only 14% of all secondary level enrollments. It is still a very low number considering the need for qualified workforce the country has been going through.

3.2 Secondary level VET offer in the country

As already stated in the last section of this chapter, there are different educational institutions which are active in vocational education and training. These include: municipal, state and federal vocational schools, colleges, other institutions such as churches or non-governmental organizations and private vocational schools. The private institutions are represented by various regular private vocational schools throughout the country, for instance, IFPA School Sao Paolo (Instituto de Formação Profissional Administrativa). Among the private schools is also the “S System”. This system consists of 11 organizations and institutions related to the productive sector such as industry, commerce, agriculture, transport and cooperative. One of the

objectives of the S System is to provide VET training at all educational levels, including secondary level VET. Two of the most important institutions that constitute the S System are SENAI (National Service of Industrial Learning) and SENAC (National Commercial Training Service). They offer, in addition to other vocational training programs, secondary level VET. SENAC is a very important institution of the S System providing vocational training in Brazil in the field of commercial training. It was created on January 10, 1946 by the National Trade Confederation (CNC), through Legislative Decree 8621. The institution offers VET courses at secondary level in a subsequent modality (the students must be attending last year of high school when enrolling for one of its VET programs) and, according to SENAC Annual Report (SENAC, 2010), the institution was responsible for nearly 11% of all secondary level VET enrollments done at private vocational schools. SENAI (National Service of Industrial Education) is another very important private VET institution which belongs to the S System. According to SENAI Annual Report (SENAI, 2010), it operates nationwide and is responsible for nearly 27% of all secondary level VET enrollments done at private vocational schools in Brazil (SENAI offers initial and tertiary level VET as well). The “S System” is supported by a tax of 2% on the payroll of the private industry sector. SENAI offers VET at different levels, including secondary level VET in the external concomitant and subsequent modalities. However, as stated in the Brazilian educational legislation, students must have completed high school to obtain their VET certificate which classifies them as *technicians*. SENAI and SENAC have a huge share of secondary level VET students, especially in the subsequent modality. Together, these two institutions of the S System account for nearly 38% of all secondary level VET enrollments at secondary level in Brazil.

The public federal, state and municipal vocational schools that offer VET at secondary level are normally much disputed in Brazil. This is could be attributed to the fact that, besides being free, with costs paid exclusively by federal, state or municipal government, they provide high-quality education. In an analysis of the last results of the High School National Exam (Folha, 2010), one can observe that only 13 of the top 100 secondary level schools in Brazil are public and these are mostly military, state or federal vocational schools. For instance the ETESP (Vocational Schools of Sao Paulo) were ranked best public schools in the state of Sao Paulo. A further example is IFBA (Federal Institute of Education, Science and technology of Bahia) that was also ranked best public school in its state as well. Among the 50 public schools in

Brazil with the best score on ENEM, 38 were vocational schools (Portal do Governo do Estado de São Paulo, 2009).

Nevertheless, as above stated, the main problem for students interested in entering a public vocational school is the competition. Not only the candidate needs to pass a vocational school admission test, but also the number of vacancies is substantially less than the demand. To illustrate, the above mentioned ETESP registered in 2010 an average of 14 candidates per vacancy in its vocational course of industrial mechanics and an average of 28 candidates per vacancy in its vocational course of nursing in one of its schools in Sao Paolo, see ETEC (2010). Obviously, there are also exceptions to these ratios, where the demand isn't as high. Nevertheless, the offer is far from being able to supply the demand and this visibly leads to a significant number of enrollments in private vocational schools. The table below published in the last census of vocational education and training in Brazil at secondary level in 2010 plainly demonstrates that the number of enrollments in VET in private schools is still massively high.

Table 16: Enrollments in VET at secondary level by institution – 2002-2010
Source: Inep. Censo da Educação 2010.

Year	TOTAL	Federal	State	Municipal	Private
2002	652.073	77.190	220.853	26.464	327.566
2003	629.722	82.943	181.485	22.312	342.982
2004	676.093	82.293	179.456	21.642	392.702
2005	747.892	89.114	206.317	25.028	427.433
2006	806.498	93.424	261.432	27.057	424.585
2007	780.162	109.777	253.194	30.037	387.154
2008	927.978	124.718	318.404	36.092	448.764
2009	1.036.945	147.947	355.688	34.016	499.294
2010	1.140.388	165.355	398.238	32.225	544.570
Δ% 2002-2010	74,9	114,2	80,3	21,8	66,2

It is inevitable to perceive that private schools have had a noteworthy share of VET at secondary level in the country. It is pertinent, however, to question whether the number of enrollments in private vocational schools, such as SENAI and SENAC for instance, is considerably elevated as a consequence of quality superiority or due to lack of public offer. The second possibility is most likely to be factual for the quality of public VET schools is noticeably

high. SENAI and SENAC already have nearly 38% of all secondary level VET enrollments done at private institutions. Thus, the Brazilian government has been making efforts to establish cooperation programs with this institution with the objective of offering free of charge VET for all. Yet, the major issue is that SENAI, for instance, has been an institution which has the objective of workforce qualification for the working class; see Filho (2007, p.4). This image poses a drastic image on secondary level VET. SENAC, besides supplying the industry with the workforce the government cannot provide through public education, has a posture of qualifying working class individuals in courses of shorter duration in order to generate faster access to the labor market. Not only it helps increasing the image secondary level VET has of being a social measure mainly attended by lower-class individuals, but it also ends up providing false sense of equity through education. What is more, it reinforces the concept that higher education is the most appropriate educational path, which should be associated with high value and prestige. This statement can be verified in the number of enrollments in tertiary education. After holding a high school diploma, students can decide whether they would like to undergo VET at secondary level in a subsequent modality or access tertiary education by passing a higher education entrance examination (or through the access via, or partially, ENEM – see previous section of this chapter). In 2009 nearly 6 million students enrolled in universities throughout the country, whereas only 920 thousand enrolled in the subsequent modality of VET at secondary level (Brazil, 2010b).

A further issue observed in the secondary level VET offer is the flow of students from elementary to high and VET schools in Brazil. By examining table 17 below, one can notice the number of enrollments continually decreases from elementary up to vocational education at secondary level. Besides, bearing in mind that obtaining a high school diploma is a prerequisite to receiving a technical certificate at secondary level, also established by law in Decree 9.394 (Brazil, 2010a), high school participation is still exceedingly low, especially when compared to the number of enrolled students in elementary school. It is not only a matter of expanding the offer of secondary level VET, but also the participation in high school as a whole. Currently less than 50% of individuals aged 15-17 are enrolled in high school (IBGE, 2010). In addition, high school has a dropout rate of 10% and failing rate of 23%. It is not possible to enhance participation in VET at secondary level without addressing high school issues first.

Table 17: Enrollments in elementary, secondary and VET schools
Source: from the author (2011); Based on School Census 2010

Elementary school	High school enrollments	Vocational school at secondary level enrollments
31.005.341 enrollments	8.357.675 enrollments	1.140.388 enrollments
Municipal schools - 54,6%	Municipal schools - 1%	Municipal schools – 2,5%
State schools - 32,6%,	State schools - 85,9%	State schools -31,3%
Federal schools -0,1%	Federal schools -1%	Federal schools -9,6%
Private schools - 12,7%	Private schools - 11,8%	Private schools - 56%

Another alarming detail, which has an effect on secondary VET offer, is the performance of the Brazilian students in elementary education. The last results of the Index of Basic Education Quality (IDEB) confirm that the best elementary schools in the country are private; see MEC (2011e). This fact elucidates that students coming from public elementary schools are not equally prepared to pass the selection processes established by public vocational schools in Brazil, where the demand is higher than the offer (as previously stated, federal vocational schools have also begun adopting a quota system for students who attended public schools exclusively. Federal VET schools should also offer up to 50% of its vacancies to these individuals). Entrance examinations are not only used by higher education institutions as a selection exam in Brazil, but also by public vocational schools. A poor-quality education could cause difficulties for students coming from public elementary schools when attempting to pass a public vocational school entrance examination.

3.3 VET reputation and its relation to historical issues and political reforms

Frommberger and Reinisch (2004) argue that to explain the dominance of work-based education and training in Germany, we have to look back to the history of the dual system, which

began in the 19th century. In Brazil, on the other hand, the historical high value which is attributed to higher education degrees alongside with secondary level VET historical and image negative issues, have basically led this educational modality to be addressed as second-rate education or education for the working class and not for the socioeconomically privileged. In order to better comprehend these assumptions, this chapter section focuses on the history secondary level VET in the last century.

Vocational training in Brazil underwent some major changes in its history. It is undeniable and even supported by government publications that VET in Brazil was merely focused on the socioeconomically unprivileged individuals at its creation. It was specifically intended to "protect the orphans and the socioeconomically underprivileged"(Brazil, 1999d, p.4). This has provided VET in Brazil with an image and reputation that has significantly marked its history. In 1854, the *Asilos da Infância dos Meninos Desvalidos* were created. They were institutions for socioeconomically unprivileged orphan children. There, children firstly acquired literacy and later they underwent vocational training. Other institutions aimed at the unprivileged children were also founded in the period between 1858 and 1886, for instance, "Liceus de Artes e Ofícios", where abandoned, orphan children received literacy and VET education (Brazil, 1999d, p.5). It is already observable that VET was set as an education modality to assist the marginalized and the poor. Through the decree nº 7.566, the first apprentice schools were created in Brazil in 1910. Once more it was classified as an educational modality for the "poor and the unprivileged" (Brazil, 1999d, p.5). This decree stated vocational schools should enable the children of the lower classes with essential technical skills and make them acquire habits of useful work that should distract them from idleness and crime. Vocational education could be referred to as the education of the poor who basically demonstrated unsocial behavior. This definition associated to VET in Brazil, at this time, has helped increasing and clearly defining a division of classes in education in Brazil, in which VET was not aimed at the socioeconomically privileged individuals. It was rather a social measure, to assist the poor and protect the wealthy, consequently fostering a social stratification in the country.

In 1937 VET became duty of the state and the government had to provide pre-vocational and vocational education and training for the lower classes. It was a consequence of the industrialization process started in 1930. VET was intended to serve as a modality which had to educate

the children of the working class (Brazil, 1999d, p.7). Yet, at this point, the government wasn't only concerned about the socioeconomically unprivileged, but also with its own economic development. VET still had a lower connotation aspect and the country had to find a manner to expand this education modality for qualified workforce was needed. The state starts viewing VET as a necessity rather than a merely social measure. In 1942, when the Organic Decree of Industrial Learning was introduced, the Brazilian government was truly concerned about the Brazilian economy. VET was then officially structured in a number of different courses, levels and curriculum. In addition, it began to be considered secondary level education. It did not provide students with general higher education entrance qualification, though. Through this reform VET remained as a modality education for the children of working class families as stated in the 1937 constitution. To a certain extent, vocational education was still aimed at the disadvantaged in an implicit manner. The government did not seem to be truly preoccupied with the image and permeability of VET. The government was focused on expanding the offer in order to attract more individuals who would become then qualified workforce to assist the country's economic in a moment of growth. However, by neglecting VET students to access higher education, once again VET serves as an education modality that divided society into working class education and propaedeutic education for the socioeconomically privileged. This reform reaffirmed the duality in the education system, since access to higher education was not accessible through a VET pathway.

With the creation of the Organic Laws of vocational education, there was the creation of SENAI (National Industrial Apprenticeship Service). In 1946 SENAC (National Commercial Training Service) was also founded. It characterized the beginning of a new period in which expansion of vocational industrial education is encouraged by the process of industrialization happening in Brazil (Wittaczik, 2008, p.77). Yet, VET was still considered to be a second-hand education modality at this point (Brazil, 1999d, p.8). In 1950, through the Decree 1.076/50 VET starts providing students with a general higher entrance qualification. However, they had to take exams to prove they had enough knowledge in the subjects not covered in their VET curriculum (Brazil, 1999d, p.8). The government created a half-solution to the duality of the educational system (propaedeutic education for the socioeconomically privileged leading to higher education x VET for the socioeconomically unprivileged leading to labor market) and VET students were still facing barriers to access tertiary education. In 1961, the

Brazilian government enacted another vocational training reform, LDB 1961 Decree 4.024/61 (Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação). VET started providing students with a general higher entrance qualification. Access to higher education was granted to everyone who had a high school diploma or had undergone VET at secondary level. Theoretically, the duality between “education for the elite” and “education for the socioeconomically disadvantaged” was eradicated (Brazil, 1999d, p.8). Nonetheless, in 1964, Brazil started a period of military dictatorship that lasted until 1985. The government wished to foster vocational training in order to enhance qualified-workforce and, thus, started investing in VET. The dictators in charge of the Brazilian government were about to take drastic measures to solve VET problems once and for all. A new decree was issued. Decree 5.692, from 1971, states that VET should be offered by every public high school in the country concomitantly with high school education. In addition, it established that vocational training was mandatory for everyone at the secondary level. To include the new vocational content in the high school curriculum, traditional subjects were simply reduced or left out (Portal da Revista Educação, 2011). Once more the socioeconomically privileged could find a breach in the government maneuvers. Middle class migrated almost entirely to private high schools, where VET was not mandatory and their children would be better prepared for tertiary education. The socioeconomically unprivileged, on the other hand, had to submit to government measures and undergo VET at secondary level. The result of this reform was severe and it came out to be a total disaster. Schools weren't prepared for such measures for the infrastructure was missing for such particular VET courses. Teachers were not prepared either and the rest of the middle class that remained in public high schools did nothing but complain against such reform. Hence, the homogeneity couldn't be reached once again. As time went by in the late 70's, the Brazilian government rethought its decision and another decree was issued in 1982, the decree 7.044. Qualification was replaced by the preparation for work. The compulsory VET at secondary level was extinguished. High schools changed their focus incredibly fast, going back to contents and subjects in line with a propaedeutic curriculum (Brazil, 1999d, p.9). This measure brought back the duality in secondary education and, once more, there is a clear education division of secondary level education into two categories: the propaedeutic and the VET education. One of the major setbacks in this period was that the greater part of high schools totally stopped offering VET. In 1990 secondary level VET was almost entirely restricted to federal vocational schools (Portal da Revista Educação, 2011). Consequently, vocational education and training in Brazil

underwent once more a period of turbulence and, even though the country had gone through major educational reforms on its VET system, the country had not yet found the right solution to enhance its outcomes. Once basically only federal vocational schools were offering secondary level VET, the lack of qualified workers just deteriorated. Yet, a new reform was about to come, 16 years later, in 1996.

After much debate, another reform occurred in 1996. This reform changed vocational education and training in Brazil drastically. The decree 9.394/1996 was issued and VET should integrate different forms of education with work, science and technology, and it should lead to a continuous development of skills for a productive life. The 1996 VET legislation is absolutely in line with the current posture of the United Nations (UN), "education and training throughout life: a bridge to the future"; see Regattieri and Castro (2010, p.21). From 1996 on, VET curriculum was to be based on competencies, and the courses were to be divided into modules. Despite of all these changes, this modular system has led to a high drop out in vocational training in Brazil and has changed the profile of the students attending secondary level VET in Brazil and it basically happened due to another decree issued in 1997. The decree 2.208/1997 determined the separation of VET from regular education. VET should become a complement to general education and not a part of it (Kuenzer, 2000, p.15). In other words VET is not considered a modality that integrates regular basic education in Brazil. The legislation claimed vocational schools should offer, in addition to its regular courses, VET aimed at the general population, open to everyone independently from the individual's level of education. Public vocational schools had to expand their offer in order to attend the demands of the government and as a consequence, the schools started receiving a new type of student. According to Regattieri and Castro (2010, p.24), these new students were actually workers, from low income families seeking for professional qualification. Consequently, a loss of the ethos of vocational schools took place. Public vocational schools had to offer short courses, targeted at a population that remains little time in school, in courses of three or four semesters.

One can already notice that in 1997 the government consolidated the duality in the educational system. VET was once again separated from regular education. The duality persists with the separation between high school and secondary level VET education, creating two separate

paths, one leading to the education of the ruling class and the other to the education of the working class (Vieira and Deitos, 2009, p.7). Once again, apparently acknowledging the policy deficiencies imposed on VET in Brazil, the government issues decree 5.154 in 2004, revoking the decree 2.208/1997. It enables the integration of high school and VET once more. High schools and secondary level VET can now be offered under one single registration which leads to a single “high school diploma – VET”. The Brazilian government seeks to make secondary level VET more flexible and aims at increasing the schooling and qualification of the workers. It led, however, to a false idea that the duality aspect in the educational system was finally overcome. The duality simply continued to exist due to the fact that the integrated modality is not compulsory. Each state among the 27 in Brazil and each vocational school should decide for itself whether or not they would like to offer an integrated modality of secondary and VET education; see Regattieri and Castro (2010, p.26). A summary of VET history and its reforms in Brazil, as well as further comments related to government policies, can be seen in Table 18.

Table 18: Summary of VET history and its reforms in Brazil - 1909–2010
Source: from the author (2011)

Year	Decree	Reform	Further comments
1909	Decree 7.566	VET should enable the children of the lower classes with essential technical skills and make them acquire habits of useful work that should distract them from idleness and crime.	Brazil has mainly an agrarian economy and VET was aimed at the socioeconomically disadvantaged. The government inaugurates 19 schools in 1910.
1937	Brazilian constitution – Article 129	Providing vocational education and training for the lower classes is a duty of the state	VET is aimed at the children of working class families.
1942	Decree 4.073/42 - Lei Orgânica do Ensino Industrial	VET is now officially structured. A number of different courses, levels and curriculum were established. VET is considered secondary level education and does not provide students with a general higher entrance qualification.	Brazil had to expand economically and there is a need of qualified workforce. SENAI is founded. In 1946 SENAC is founded.

Year	Decree	Reform	Further comments
1950	Decree 1.076/50	VET starts providing students with a general higher entrance qualification. However, they had to take exams to prove they had enough knowledge in the subjects not covered in their VET curriculum.	It was simply a half-solution to the duality of the educational system (professional x pro-paedeutic).
1961	Decree 6.052	VET starts providing students with a general higher entrance qualification and students do not need to take exams to prove they had enough knowledge in the subjects not covered in their VET curriculum. Access to higher education was granted to everyone who had a high school diploma or had undergone VET at secondary level.	Brazil lives in a military dictatorship from 1964 until 1985. The government has the concept that the individual should possess professional qualification in order to enter the labor market, with or without the intention to pursue higher education;
1971	Decree 5.692	From now on every high school should offer a VET concomitantly, and it became mandatory for everyone at this educational level.	Brazil needs more qualified workforce and the government must expand VET. Federal vocational schools significantly increase enrollments and new vocational courses were founded.
1982³	Decree 7.044	Qualification was replaced by the preparation for work. The compulsory VET at secondary level does not exist anymore.	In 1990 SENAR and SEBRAE are founded.
1996	Decree 9.394 LDB 1996	VET should integrate different forms of education with work, science and technology, and it should lead to a continuous development of skills for a productive life.	The curriculum is based on competencies, and the courses are divided into modules. Brazilian government accepts the German dual system offered in Sao Paulo as a valid VET at secondary level.

³ In 1982 the German Dual system is transferred to Sao Paulo and starts to be offered at IFPA in cooperation with the Chamber of Commerce and Industry Brazil/Germany – at first it wasn't recognized by the Brazilian government as a valid degree.

Year	Decree	Reform	Further comments
1997	Decree 2.208	VET becomes a complement to general education and not a part of it. Expansion of VET is once more addressed through the creation of a program called: <i>Expansão da Educação Profissional - PROEP</i>	Expansion and diversification of VET courses. Formal separation of high school and vocational education. Recognition and certification of skills formal and non-formal learning acquired within and outside the school environment.
2004	Decree 5.154	Enables the integration of high school education and a VET curriculum.	The Brazilian government seeks to make VET at secondary level more flexible and aims at increasing the schooling and qualification of the workers.
2008	National Catalogue of Vocational Education	155 official vocational courses listed	Significant instrument to regulate VET courses in Brazil.
2010	Census of VET	1.14 million students enrolled in 2010 in VET at secondary level in the country.	Private schools have had a noteworthy share of VET at secondary level in the country. Government builds new federal schools and increases investment in VET at secondary level.

In 2011 the last census of VET was published. Brazil has 1.3 million students enrolled in secondary level VET. Nonetheless, private schools still have a noteworthy share of VET at this level in the country and SENAI remains in control of the biggest share of the private secondary level VET together with SENAC and other institutions which belong to the S System. Government has built new federal schools and increased investment in VET at secondary level. Despite all the changes and an increasing number of enrollments, the reputation and image of VET in the country is still suffering and it still plays a key role in the duality present in the Brazilian education system. Santos (2011, p.12) has very harsh description of the finality of VET at secondary level in Brazil. The author suggests that VET at secondary level in Brazil serves an underprivileged class of society who cannot afford private universities and are not intellectually prepared to pass an entrance examination at a public university. In order to ana-

lyze this affirmation, it is also indispensable to identify the socioeconomic profile of VET students in Brazil, topic which will be addressed in the subsequent chapter of this dissertation.

3.4 The socioeconomic profile of students in VET in Brazil

In order to be able to better comprehend the profile of former IFPA School apprentices in Brazil, it is also essential to identify the socioeconomic profile of general VET students in Brazil through a more in-depth literature review. Consequently, a total of 701 potential publications from 3 different database sources were examined and, finally, 13 were selected. In order to be chosen as a relevant publication for in-depth review, the examined publication had to meet the following established criteria:

- Depict the socioeconomic profile of secondary level VET students in Brazil
- Explore future professional plans of secondary level VET students in Brazil
- Point out the reasons that motivated students to undergo secondary level VET in Brazil

The three (3) database sources used were: (a) CAPES (Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Level -or Education- Personnel). CAPES plays a key role in the expansion and consolidation of post-graduate studies in all states of Brazil. Moreover, it is responsible for the evaluation of the quality of under- and graduate programs in Brazil. Its website hosts a thesis and dissertation database where a vast number of selected scientific publications is available.

The second source used was the BDTD (Digital Brazilian Library of Theses and Dissertations). It is one of the most important databases available in Brazil and responsible for the publication of scientific research in various fields. Lastly, Google Scholar was also used in order to find out other possible publications which could not be found on CAPES or on BDTD databases. It is important to mention that many researches can be found on two or even on all three database sources here used (results overlap). This is the summary of the search conducted for the proposed literature review:

Table 19: Literature review on the socioeconomic profile of secondary level VET students in Brazil

Source: from the author (2012)

Source	Search Word	Total of re- sults examined	Number of rele- vant publications which met the cri- teria
CAPES (Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Level -or Education- Personnel)	“profile of students vocational school” “Socioeconomic profile of students vocational school”	194 results	6 publications
BDTD (Digital Brazilian Library of Theses and Dissertations)	“profile of students vocational school” “Socioeconomic profile of students vocational school”	7 results	3 publications
Google Scholar (online search)	“profile of students vocational school” “Socioeconomic profile of students vocational school”	500 results	4 publications

Bearing in mind the offer, reputation and the historical problems associated to VET in Brazil, topics already explored in the previous section of this chapter, some hypotheses regarding the socioeconomic profile of secondary VET students and their reasons to undergo secondary level VET were established:

- (H1) Secondary level VET students come from low-income families;
- (H2) Their parents have low level of education and low-paid jobs;
- (H3) These students normally live near their vocational school (proximity aspect);
- (H4) They are aged 15-17 years old, except for the ones in the subsequent modality;
- (H5) They don't wish to access higher education immediately after finishing their VET;
- (H6) These students live with their parents and have 2 or more siblings;
- (H7) Most of them attended public elementary schools;
- (H8) The main reason to undergo secondary level VET is to obtain a better qualification in order to enter the labor market.

In table 20 below one can view all 13 publications which were examined in order to find out whether the hypotheses established contained some veracity.

Table 20: Publications which met the criteria for the literature review

Source: from the author (2012)

Author, year and title of publication	Type of academic work	Main aspects covered and addressed in the publication
Biagini, 2005. Reforma do Ensino Técnico: A Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional e a Reestruturação Curricular do CEFET/MG.	Doctoral Dissertation	Socioeconomic profile of students Future professional plans Reason that motivated students to undergo VET at secondary level
Braga, Pereira and Cunha, 2004. The profile of the students of SENAC. Rio de Janeiro.	Article published by the institution (SENAC)	Socioeconomic profile of students
Campos, 2007. Modalidades de cursos técnicos e desempenho educacional: um estudo comparativo do perfil sócio-econômico e resultados escolares de alunos e egressos de modalidades diversas de cursos técnicos do CEFET-MG.	Master Thesis	Socioeconomic profile of students
Costa, 2008. Jovens afro-brasileiros: expectativas sobre o ensino técnico e o mercado de trabalho de alunos da Ete Dona Escolástica Rosa.	Master Thesis	Socioeconomic profile of students reason that motivated students to undergo VET at secondary level
Culhari, 2010. A escolha do ensino técnico: o que revelam as trajetórias de seis ex-alunos concluintes do curso de eletrônica (1984 – 1995) sobre a Escola Técnica Estadual Paulino Botelho.	Master Thesis	Socioeconomic profile of students
Freitas, 2004. Educação profissional da juventude na crise do emprego.	Doctoral Dissertation	Socioeconomic profile of students Reason to undergo VET at secondary level
Handfas, 2008. O processo de escolarização dos alunos das escolas técnicas: O caso da FAETEC, RJ.	Scientific Article	Socioeconomic profile of students
Krüger, 2007. O resgate histórico da função social da educação profissional brasileira, à 2.208/97: um estudo do perfil socioeconômico do aluno do CEFET- RS.	Master Thesis	Socioeconomic profile of students Reason that motivated students to undergo VET at secondary level

Author, year and title of publication	Type of academic work	Main aspects covered and addressed in the publication
Maciel, 2005. O lugar da Escola Técnica frente às aspirações do mercado de trabalho / Claudia Monteiro Maciel.	Master Thesis	Socioeconomic profile of students
Nascimento, 2009. Ensino Médio Integrado: Um Estudo sobre o Curso de Informática da Rede Pública Estadual do	Master Thesis	Socioeconomic profile of students Future professional plans
Pires, 2008. As possibilidades e limites da modalidade de concomitância externa da educação profissional na perspectiva da inclusão de jovens trabalhadores.	Master Thesis	Socioeconomic profile of students Reason that motivated students to undergo VET at secondary level
Ramos, 2008. O trabalho de conclusão de curso no ensino técnico – um olhar sobre o processo de implementação.	Master Thesis	Socioeconomic profile of students
Tavares, 2005. Formação de trabalhadores para o meio rural: os impactos da reforma da educação profissional no ensino técnico agrícola.	Master Thesis	Socioeconomic profile of students Future professional plans Reason that motivated students to undergo VET at secondary level

Considering all 13 publications selected for further analysis, the following part of this chapter section is dedicated to a review of all authors' findings. This review will be added by further comments so that general characteristics of the socioeconomic profile of secondary level VET students in Brazil can be more precisely asserted.

1. Biagini (2005) examined three main aspects: reasons that motivated students to undergo VET at secondary level at a federal vocational school in Minas Gerais (Centro Federal de Educação Tecnológica de Minas Gerais, CEFET/MG), the age of the students entering this school and their educational background. It is important to clarify the author examined the profile of the students between 1994 - 1996 (before the decrees 9.394/96 and 2.208/97) and after 1996 (after the decrees 9.394/96 and 2.208/97).

Table 21: Socioeconomic profile of the students of Centro Federal de Educação Tecnológica de Minas Gerais, CEFET/MG

Source: from the author (2012); Based on Biagini (2005)

	1994- 1996 (before the Decrees 9.394/96 and 2.208/97)	After 1996 (after the decrees 9.394/96 and 2.208/97)
Age	Average of 14-15 years old (morning course) Average of 16-18 (evening course), but several students are 21 years or older	Average of 16 – 21 years old (morning course) However, age average is higher in the external concomitant and in the subsequent modality)
Reason to undergo this VET at secondary level	Interest in the VET field offered by the institution High quality of education offered by the school	High quality of education offered by the school
Future professional plans	The majority wishes to work as a technician in the related field of VET in order to be able to finance tertiary education.	Would like to become a technician in the labor market (mostly expressed by students enrolled in the external concomitant and in the subsequent modality)
Elementary school in a private or public school	Majority came from public elementary schools	Majority came from public elementary schools

Biagini (2005) findings are rather remarkable. The average age has increased after 1996, demonstrating that the new decree started attracting slightly older students. It could be said that the modular system offered in a subsequent modality has indeed attracted different candidates with different goals to those enrolled in an integrated modality. Once students need to have a high school diploma to undergo this VET modality, it is expectable to have this modality attending slightly older students. It proves that the VET reforms imposed by the government have helped to change the profile of the students attending secondary level VET. In a sense the subsequent modality became a VET course of short duration, attended by older students who are seeking for a qualification which can provide them with access to the labor market or even re-access, in the case of unemployed individuals. The author's findings are in line with hypothesis H7 and H8, once indicate the majority of the students come from public schools and their main reason to undergo secondary level VET is to obtain a better qualification in order to enter the labor market. However, the researcher also points out that the wish to

undergo VET at secondary level in order to enter the labor market was mostly expressed by students enrolled in the external concomitant and in the subsequent modality. In other words, they are interested in undergoing VET for qualification purposes. One could then argue that these students enrolled in the external concomitant and in the subsequent modality have opted for a VET pathway demonstrating they do not wish or do not have the financial means to access higher education (H5). This is in line with Stefanini, D. (2008, p.144) for the author's findings led to the conclusion that for lower class students it is relevant to continue their studies after they have undergone VET at secondary level. However, it heavily depends on obtaining a job first, consequently having an income at their disposal, which could finance their higher education studies.

2. Braga, Pereira and Cunha (2004) conducted a research which was exclusively aimed at identifying the socioeconomic profile of secondary level VET students at SENAC. The institution has more than 500 units in Brazil and is located in more than three thousand cities. It is also relevant to mention once again, SENAC had, in 2010, nearly 11% of all private schools secondary level VET enrollments in Brazil. A total of 6800 questionnaires were answered and later examined by the authors. The relevant aspect of this research is that it is aimed at a private institution which composes the "S System" which is composed by 13 institutions which offer, among other programs, VET in the productive sector such as industry, commerce, agriculture and transport; as already previously explained in chapter 4.

Table 22: Socioeconomic profile of the secondary level students at SENAC in 2005.
Source: from the author (2012); Based on Braga, Pereira and Cunha (2004)

Age of the students	Under 18 years old – 9% 18 – 24 years old – 39% 25-29 years old – 20% // 30 years old or older – 32%
Family income of the students	1 until 3 minimum wages = 54% 3 until 5 minimum wages = 24% 6 or more minimum wages = 21%
Have a job	63% of all students have a job
From public schools	74% came from public schools
Has a computer	57% at vocational education at secondary level
Social class	At vocational education at secondary level – 50% belong to classes C, D and E. Only 10% belong to class A.

Most of SENAC students are older than 18 years old. This can be associated to the subsequent modality offered by the institution as well as for the reason that candidates seek this type of education at SENAC in order to obtain a better qualification which could assist them entering the labor market. More than half of the students come from families with very low income (H1) and 74% of them come from public schools (H7). The research shows that more than 50% of the students belong the social classes C, D and E; extremely low income. These social classes live on a monthly income which varies from approximately 2.4 minimum wages (nearly €372.00 to less than one minimum wage; less than €155.00⁴). It appears that SENAC justifies, to a certain extent, the image other institutions of the S System also have: they are private VET institutions aimed at workforce qualification for the working class.

Another interesting fact is that 63% of the students already have a job. The subsequent modality attracts students coming from low-income families for they need to work to finance themselves. The question which remains is: How can they possibly afford it? Perhaps, they finance their vocational training themselves, they are part of a social measure established by the government and have their VET subsidized by the state or it is financed by the companies they work for. This information is, however, not mentioned in Braga, Pereira and Cunha (2004). Unfortunately this research does not mention the reasons these students presented to undergo secondary level VET at this institution. It is, however, plausible to admit the majority is seeking for further qualification to enter or re-enter the labor market and this would justify the sociological theories suggest by different experts that the children from lower classes normally seek shorter educational tracks which could lead them faster to an entry possibility into the labor market.

3. Campos (2007) analyzed the socioeconomic profile of secondary level VET after the 1996/1997 reform, and after the one in 2004 at CEFET MG (Federal Center for Technological Education of Minas Gerais). The author applied a socioeconomic questionnaire in 2006 to 370 students of different VET courses in 3 different modalities: Internal concomitant (IC), external concomitant (EC) and integrated modality (IM).

⁴ Exchange rate from 01.10.2013.

Table 23: Socioeconomic profile of VET at secondary level candidates after the VET reform from 1996/1997 and after the one in 2004 at CEFET-MG

Source: from the author (2012); Based on Campos (2007)

Socioeconomic classification	77% of the EC (external concomitant) students come from lower classes 35% of the IC (internal concomitant) students come from lower classes 26% of the IM (integrated modality) students come from lower classes
Dropout rate	EC students have the lowest dropout rate when compared to CI or IM students. IC students have the highest dropout rate
Parents' educational level	Not provided
Elementary school in a private or public school	Not provided

The author attempted to be more precise in terms of VET modalities and its data outcome. Thus, a very determinant aspect could be observed: a greater part of the candidates in an external concomitant modality come from lower class families (H1). In the integrated modality this number reduces drastically. It once more demonstrates the integrated modality attracts students who are normally not seeking for VET to obtain better qualification in order to enter the labor market. They are rather concerned with a high-quality high school education which is in fact provided by such institution at no cost whatsoever, once it could truly prepare them for their higher education entrance examination; it would be necessary to conduct a research which could identify the percentage of IM (integrated modality) students who are indeed working as a technician in their VET field, after undergoing it. Another appealing datum is the dropout rate in these different VET modalities. It is absolutely not by chance that the external concomitant modality (EC) has the lowest rate. Its students are very likely seeking for a better qualification in order to enter the labor market as soon as possible; therefore they intend to go through with their VET program and do not plan to dropout for their secondary level VET is likely to be a matter of necessity. Students in the internal concomitant modality (IC), however, have the highest dropout rate for they may be more interested in their high school education and later higher education access. The author also points out that the average family

income of students enrolled in the IC (internal concomitant) modality is higher than those attending the EC (external concomitant) modality. IM (integrated modality) normally have the highest income of all VET modalities and students do not have an equally high dropout rate for they cannot stop undergoing their VET, once it is integrated in one single curriculum as already previously explained. These dropout rates and different incomes somehow demonstrate a unique trend. The income of the students' family can be associated to the secondary level VET modality they undergo. It configures then a class division inside secondary VET as well, because each modality, generally, attends students with different family average income. Here is can be observed that, not only secondary level education is divided into two main tracks (regular high school x secondary level VET), fact that already attracts students with different socioeconomic profile, but there are also subdivisions in the secondary level VET.

4. Costa Santos F (2008) tried to analyze the socioeconomic profile as well as the reasons that have attracted a group of African-Brazilian students to secondary level VET in Brazil at the State Vocational School Dona Escolástica Rosa in Sao Paolo. Through semi-structured interviews with five students, the author came to the following findings:

Table 24: Socioeconomic profile of the students of the State Vocational School Dona Escolástica Rosa – Sao Paolo.
Source: from the author (2012); Based on Costa Santos F (2008)

	Student 1	Student 2	Student 3	Student 4	Student 5
Age	21 years old	35 years old	17 years old	18 years old	24 years old
Current occupation	Works, but not in the field of metallurgic	Works, but not in the field of metallurgic	Doesn't work	Doesn't work	Works, but not in the field of metallurgic
Reason given to undergo VET at secondary level	Have a good qualification in line with the demands of the labor market. Have a better future	Have a good qualification in line with the demands of the labor market	In order to have qualification in a good industry field. Have a better future	Seeks for better qualification in the field of metallurgic	Seeks for better qualification and higher chances to enter the labor market

	Student 1	Student 2	Student 3	Student 4	Student 5
Reason to chose this vocational school	Due to the good reputation of the institution	Due to the good reputation of the institution	Due to proximity. Said there are no other options in his region of residence	Due to proximity. Said there are no other options in his region of residence	Due to proximity. Said there are no other options in his region of residence
Elementary school	Entirely in a public school	Studied partially in public and private schools	Entirely in a public school	Entirely in a public school	Entirely in a public school
High school and VET at secondary level	Public State Vocational School - Dona Escolástica Rosa - Sao Paolo	Public State Vocational School - Dona Escolástica Rosa - Sao Paolo	Public State Vocational School - Dona Escolástica Rosa - Sao Paolo	Public State Vocational School - Dona Escolástica Rosa - Sao Paolo	Public State Vocational School - Dona Escolástica Rosa - Sao Paolo

As it can be seen in the table above, these Afro-Brazilian students seek better qualification in order to attend labor market needs and, as result, to obtain a job and all of them come from public schools. These two characteristics are in line with hypothesis H7 and H8. Hypothesis number three can be partially observed for some of these students live near their vocational school as well. The reasons mentioned by the students that led them to choose this particular institution were reputation and proximity (H3). The reputation aspect comes from the quality offered by most public vocational schools in the country, as already previously described. However, it would be interesting to know how these students perceive this quality and what characteristics make them assume this vocational school has a positive reputation. Héran (1996, p.23, cited in Nogueira, 1998, p48) reminds lower-class individuals could have a family influence on educational path decision which is based on information which comes from “what they have heard” (“bouche à-oreille). In other words, this reputation associated by them to such institutions might not be based on solid, factual data, but on observation. Possibly, they observe and somehow conclude that students undergoing VET at such institutions have better chances to obtain a job after undergoing a vocational course.

Interestingly, most of the students are older than 18 years old. The research does not explicitly indicate the category under each single student was undergoing VET at secondary level, making it hard to comprehend the above average age of the interviewees. However, they were seeking for better qualification in order to “have a better future” as described by some of the students. The word “better” relates to an implicit comparison in their minds. Perhaps they are comparing their future with their parents’ current socioeconomic situation. It becomes then a preventive strategy to avoid the repetition of their parents’ socioeconomic situation. Yet, it could be more of a choice of fear, rather than a choice which could lead to social distinction.

5. Culhari (2010) carried out a research aimed at studying and analyzing the paths of six former students of a vocational course in electronics at the State Vocational School Paulino Botelho in Sao Paolo; one of the most important public VET school in the state of Sao Paolo. One of the main goals was to reveal the socioeconomic profile of the students as well as their current educational level.

Table 25 – Socioeconomic profile of 6 former students of the State Vocational School Paulino Botelho in Sao Paolo
Source: from the author (2012); Based on Culhari (2010)

	Student 1	Student 2	Student 3	Student 4	Student 5	Student 6
Parents belong to	Working class	Working class	Working class	Working class	Working class	Working class
Family members	4	11	4	5	7	5
Type of home	Rented house	Own house	Own house	Own house	Own house	Own house
Father’s education	VET – secondary level	illiterate	Incomplete elementary school	Incomplete elementary school	Elementary school	High school
Mother’s education	Bachelor’s degree	illiterate	Incomplete elementary school	Incomplete elementary school	Elementary school	Elementary school
Elementary school	Mostly in a public school	Entirely in a public school	Entirely in a public school	Entirely in a public school	Entirely in a public school	Entirely in a public school

	Student 1	Student 2	Student 3	Student 4	Student 5	Student 6
High school And VET at secondary level	Public State Vocational School - ETE Paulino Botelho	Public State Vocational School - ETE Paulino Botelho	Public State Vocational School - ETE Paulino Botelho	Public State Vocational School - ETE Paulino Botelho	Public State Vocational School - ETE Paulino Botelho	Public State Vocational School - ETE Paulino Botelho
Help with homework	Most of the time no one	no one	no one	Mother and, sometimes, older sister	no one	Both parents
Current educational level	Engineer (studied at a private university)	Master's degree in IT in a public university)	Engineer (studied at a public university)	Bachelor's Degree in Pedagogy (studied at a public university)	Bachelor's Degree in Philosophy and a second one in Theology (both at private universities)	Bachelor's Degree in Publicity (at a private university)

Once more one can notice that a pattern can be observed. Students' parents have a low level of education and low paid jobs (H2). Only one of the parents has a bachelor's degree, whereas some are even illiterate. Even though the research does not mention it, their parents might have had a certain influence on these students' educational path choice. Ball (1995, cited in Nogueira, 1998, p.46) would have classified these parents as disconnected or semi-skilled choosers for they belong to working class and, according to their level of education, might influence their children based on a logical practical choice. In other words, their children need to be qualified in order to find a job and be able to provide for themselves. What calls one attention is the number of persons in the family which is rather high (H6). Families in Brazil have an average of 3.1 members living in one single home (IBGE, 2010). The number of children is definitely a family social indicator (Alves, 2008, p.14). What's more, the students claimed they had nearly no help with homework at home. These parents most likely have a very low or nearly no impact on their children's cognitive abilities, learning motivation and consequently achievement. All of the students in this research come from public elementary

schools (H7). Yet, it is perceivable that all of them have a bachelor’s degree nowadays and one even has a master’s degree.

6. Freitas (2004) has addressed the socioeconomic profile as well as the reasons that have attracted VET students to public vocational schools in Rio de Janeiro. A total of 255 questionnaires were applied in 8 state vocational schools that belong to FAETEC RJ (*Fundação de Apoio à Escola Técnica*).

Table 26: Socioeconomic profile of the students of 8 FAETEC RJ vocational schools
Source: from the author (2012); Based on Freitas (2004)

Age	16 – 17 years old = 81% of all students
Gender	63% are male students 36% are female students
Civil states	95% are single
Reason to undergo VET at secondary level at this school	43% identify themselves with the VET program 42% started the program due to family influence
Accommodation	92% of the students live with their parents
Family income	An average of 3 minimum wages
Current student’s occupation	89% do not work
Future working plans after VET program	88% intend to work in their field of VET 70% believe they will find employment in their VET field

Students’ families have an average of three minimum wages and, therefore, belong to lower classes in Brazil, as a matter of fact class C (H1). Most of them are single, live with their parents and do not work. This may be justified due to their VET modality. Unfortunately, it is not clearly mentioned in the research the VET modality in which one these students were enrolled. One can, however, deduct they attended the concomitant modality (it is not possible to infer whether it was internal or external, though). Students enrolled in such a VET modality are not able to work full time for they must attend high school and their VET in two different shifts, most likely morning and afternoon. Noteworthy information provided in this research is that nearly half of the students mention that they started VET at secondary level in one of

the state vocational schools in Rio de Janeiro due to family influence. Parents influence on their children's post-primary educational pathway is heavily influenced by their own educational biographies and social positions; see Blossfeld (1993, cited in Schneider, 2006, p2). In this research case, low-income families have influenced their children to undergo secondary VET in a concomitant modality. Moreover, only 12% of the analyzed students expressed they intend to access higher education after their secondary level VET. It becomes clear they are undergoing VET in order to enter the labor market as soon as possible (H5). This assumption can also be inferred because 88% of these students clearly state they intend to work in their VET field.

7. Handfas (2008) conducted a research that identified the socioeconomic profile of the students of the State Vocational School República, located in Quintino, Sao Paulo. This schools was not chosen at random by the author, but due to the fact that it is the oldest vocational school which is part of FAETEC and one of the biggest in terms of number of enrollments in Sao Paulo. Out of nearly four thousand students, approximately 358 questionnaires were answered and later examined by the author.

Table 27: Socioeconomic profile of the students of the State Vocational School República – Quintino, Sao Paulo.
Source: from the author (2012); Based on Handfas (2008)

Male	86 students
Female	270 students
Age	79% 15 – 17 years old 12% - 18 – 20 years old
Parents belong to	Working class (nearly all of them)
Number of family members	Not provided
Family income	22% - until 2 minimum wages 2.5% live on up to 1 minimum wage 48% live on up to 3 minimum wages 17% live on 3 - 4minimum wages 20% live on 4 - 5 minimum wages
Dependency on family income	Not provided
Location of residence	Not provided

Father's educational level	(In) and completed high school (46%) // (In) Complete university degree (22%)
Mother's educational level	(In) and completed high school (46%) // (In) Complete university degree (25%)
Elementary school in a private or public school	Not provided

Once again the students come from families with lower income (H1). They are mostly aged 15-17 years old (H4) and their parents have generally low paid jobs as well as a lower level of education (H2). Nearly half of the fathers did not even finish high school education. A key aspect could once more be family influence. Even though it is not approached in this research, it is plausible that these students still live with their parents. Thus, it is vital to consider, once again, that working class students normally opt for the vocational path alternative. It would be relevant to identify the reasons which led students whose family income is above 5 minimum wages to this educational path. The research data does not reveal any information regarding this matter. This is perhaps the most intriguing aspect regarding some secondary level VET students in Brazil. What are the reasons that lead students with a higher income to opt for a vocational education track in other VET modalities than the integrated one? In the integrated modality parents and students are generally interested in a high-quality high school education and VET plays a minor role. However, in the external concomitant and subsequent modality it is plausible to affirm that general high school education is no longer the unique objective or concern. This question constitutes a gap in VET research so far carried out in Brazil.

8. Krüger (2007) also sought to identify the socioeconomic profile of the students of a federal vocational school in Brazil, respectively, CEFET-RS (Federal Center for Technological Education from Rio Grande do Sul). The author examined the students who were enrolled in this federal institution between 2000 and 2006; after the 1996 reform. Krüger (2007) states the school had two different types of students: a secondary level VET student and a high school student. The first one coming from lower income families, seeking for access to the labor market and coming from public schools. The second originates from higher income families, seeks for a good preparation for the university entrance examination and comes from private schools.

Table 28: Students enrolled in high school and in VET at secondary level at CEFET RS (Federal Center for Technological Education from Rio Grande do Sul)

Source: from the author (2012); Based on Krüger (2007)

High school	Vocational Training at secondary level
Younger (91%) 14 until 16 years old in the first year. From these 91%, 75% are 14 years old.	Older (61%) more than 18 years old in the first year. From these 61%, 34% are 19 until 25 years old.
Higher family income – 51% have and income of 3 until 5 minimum wages	Lower family income (57%) - until 3 minimum wages
Dependent on parents	Normally provides for him or herself
Seeks for quality in order to access HE	wants enter the labor market
Sees in the federal school a good preparation for the HE entrance examination (61%)	Sees in the federal school a good qualification to enter the labor market (54%) and 7.7% because it is free of cost
31% come from private elementary schools (entire or partial)	11% come from private elementary schools (entire or partial)
71% of all high school students attend a preparatory course for the entrance examination	27% attend a preparatory course for the entrance examination
Only 13% do the entrance examination twice after failing the first time	NP

It is very clear that both students have different profiles as stated by the author. Students enrolled in secondary level VET come from lower income families (H1) and are indeed seeking for an opportunity to enter the labor market (H8). Another aspect is the age of the students which is above 15-18 years old. This points out that the modular system and, most importantly, the subsequent modality started attracting older students who are interested in a vocational qualification for they need to enter the labor market. It once more confirms that the subsequent modality in secondary level VET could be classified as a choice of necessity. The vast majority of the secondary level VET students come from public schools (H7). A relevant fact is that most of these students did not take part in a preparation course for the entrance exami-

nation they had to go through to access this federal vocational school. How could they pass the exam then if the competition is so fierce, especially the competition against students coming from private elementary schools? The reason is fairly simple, most of the students who attend private elementary schools are not interested in secondary level VET training, except for VET programs offered in an integrated modality at public schools.

The profile of the high school students who are not pursuing a VET program concomitantly is, however, exceedingly different. They are younger, their parents have a higher income and they seek the institution due to its quality, believing it could lead to a better approval success in the higher education entrance examination. This could be associated to the fact that, in order to avoid decline in status, the children of both middle and upper-class origin tend to decide in favor of higher education, in contrast to working-class children; see Van den Werfhorst and Andersen (2005, cited in Becker and Hecken, 2009, p.28).

9. Maciel (2005) attempted to identify the socioeconomic profile of the candidates who tried to access and, consequently, undergo secondary level VET at CEFET RJ (Federal Center for Technological Education from Rio de Janeiro). The author claims that this school is mostly composed by young middle classes students due to its rigorous selective process which excludes candidates coming from public elementary schools and admits those who come from private ones. The author also points out that after the 1996 reform, CEFET RJ has been offering VET at secondary level in an internal concomitant modality and most of its secondary level students attend one of its VET courses in this modality. CEFET RJ offers high school education in some of its units and also secondary level VET in an internal or external concomitant modality. These are the main findings made by the author regarding CEFET RJ candidates who did the entrance examination in 2002/2003.

Table 29: Socioeconomic profile of candidates to CEFET/RJ – Rio de Janeiro.
Source: from the author (2012); Based on Maciel (2005)

Number of candidates	15.527 candidates
Number of vacancies	Approximately 660
Age of the candidates	Approximately 86% are under 15 years old

Number of family members	Not provided
Family income	80% of the students belong to middle class
Dependency on family income	96% depend on their parents 4% work
Location of residence	86% live in the same city where the school is located
Father's educational level	Not provided
Mother's educational level	Not provided
Elementary school in a private or public school	47% entirely in a private school 29% entirely in a public school 12% most of it in a private school 12% most of it in a public school

First fact that can be observed is the fierce competition once the number of vacancies definitely does not attend all the demand the school has. Secondly, the age of the students is also in line with hypothesis 4 (H4). They are basically all 15 years old or younger. It shows that they finished elementary school at the age of fourteen which is considered ideal by the Brazilian ministry of education. The aspect which calls one attention is that most of the candidates come from middle class families with a higher income. Hence, the author believes this institution is aimed at the privileged for they had the opportunity to attend elementary school at a private institution, being, therefore, better prepared for their vocational school entrance examination. Considering the number of students who claimed to have attended a private elementary school to its full extend and the ones who attended most of elementary education at a private school, the numbers show these students represent practically 60% of all candidates. These candidates will basically attend regular high school and secondary level VET in different shifts at CEFET Rio de Janeiro, for instance, high school in the morning and secondary level VET in the afternoon. It can be argued that these students are not seeking for a better qualification in order to enter the labor market. They actually intend to attend this school due its high-quality high school education. It could better prepare them for their higher education entrance examination. In other words, their VET training is practically a bonus in addition to the high quality high school education they will receive. The immense majority of the candidates clearly declared they are interested in a public school which offers high-quality high

school education and, in addition, a vocational training which can be useful in the future and, most importantly, it is all free of charge.

Another important aspect which needs to be taken into consideration is that some schools allow these students to drop out their vocational training and go on attending only regular secondary level education. This would also help justifying the number of middle class family students interested in entering a vocational school in an internal concomitant modality at this school in Rio de Janeiro. Once again, as it was already observed in Campos (2007) above, the internal concomitant secondary level VET modality has the tendency to present the highest dropout rates among the existent VET modalities. It is particularly a very negative effect on secondary level VET as a whole. Middle class families or socioeconomically privileged individuals use public institutions which are maintained by tax payers to enroll their children who dropout VET and end up only attending regular high school at the institution. Not only it decreases the number of qualified workforce which can be provided by this school, but also impedes individuals who are in fact interested in undergoing secondary vocational training in such public schools. Another fact that proves these students are not going to work as technicians, once they finish their secondary level VET, is that only 1% of the candidates said they are not going to access higher education. This cannot be considered negative, for Brazil also needs more individuals graduating from higher education institutions. However, it poses a problem on the education system as a whole because the socioeconomically underprivileged individuals have their options even more restricted and public education starts hindering these individuals by offering a poor-quality elementary education and by establishing a secondary level VET selection process that benefits the socioeconomically privileged. Of course the government has already realized this issue is very problematic and has, therefore, implemented a quota system for federal public vocational schools in August 2008, as already previously mentioned in this paper. At least 50% of all vacancies must be available for students who have fully completed elementary education at a public school. Nevertheless only federal vocational schools are obliged to offer a 50% quota. State and municipal schools run on their own legislation. What is more, this quota system benefits an extremely low number of students. Considering the total number of enrollments in secondary level VET (approximately 1.140.000 students), the quotas benefit only 7% of all students. In addition, there is a general-

ized lack of information and many individuals, and also their families, are not aware they are entitled to such quota vacancies.

10. Nascimento (2009) carried out a study which focused on investigating the process of implementation of an information technology vocational course in an integrated modality in two (A and B) different public schools located in Curitiba, Parana. The data refer to the period corresponding from 2004 to 2008. The author sought to verify the profile of the teachers as well as the students' socioeconomic profile attending or working at these vocational schools, particularly the ones involved in the new IT vocational course.

State vocational schools A and B from Curitiba, Parana

Source: from the author (2012)

	School A	School B
Number of students in 2005	35 students enrolled	131 students enrolled (morning course) 32 students enrolled (evening course)
Dropout rate (observed in 2008)	65% did not finish the VET program	73% did not finish the VET program (morning course) 21% did not finish the VET program (evening course)

First conclusion which can be drawn is that students attending evening courses have a substantially lower dropout rate when compared to the ones attending school in the morning. It is likely that the students attending schools in the evening need to work daytime and are seeking for qualification which could lead to a better job, a promotion at work, a new profession, among other reasons. Even though these reasons are not mentioned in this research, it is observable these students are more determined to go through with their VET, conceivably, due to a necessity.

Table 30: Socioeconomic profile of schools A and B in Curitiba, Parana

Source: from the author (2012); Based on Nascimento (2009)

Male	56% of the students
Female	44% of the students
Occupation of parents	Vast majority belong to working class and most parents have jobs that have high school as a pre-requisite.
Age	65% 17 - 18 years old 23% - 19 – 20 years old
How did you hear about this VET program at this school	58% through friends and/or relatives 27% school advertisement 7% through newspapers
Current student's occupation	Approximately 60% work (being an internship, permanent or temporary position or self-employed). However, only 62% work in a field which is not related to their VET program.
Future professional plans	62% are not going to work in the field of their VET program 33% are going to work in the field of their VET program
Family income	Not provided
Dependency on family income	Not provided
Has a computer	89% of the students
Has Internet access	81% of the students
Parents' educational level	Not provided
Parents' occupation	Not provided
Elementary school in a private or public school	Not provided

These research data demonstrated some of the hypotheses established at the beginning of this chapter are indeed accurate. For instance, the vast majority of the students are aged 15-18 years old (H4). The author also revealed some of the reasons these students gave when asked why they were undergoing secondary level VET. Some students expressed it presented itself as an opportunity to adjust to the labor market and a chance to obtain a future job, whereas others mentioned their vocational course was more of a consequence than a real intention.

They basically had chosen the integrated modality for they would have the chance to attend high school in a good quality institution. This can be justified in the fact that 62% expressed they are not going to work as technicians. Even though the author did not separate and classify these different reasons according to the school shift the students attended, one can deduct the students undergoing secondary level VET in the evening shift are most likely the ones who are seeking for VET in order to obtain a better qualification to re-enter the labor market or even change their occupation, once 62% declared they have a job which is unrelated to their VET field.

The students enrolled in the morning shift, however, are enrolled in an integrated modality for a different reason, most likely the high-quality high school education provided by the institution at no cost whatsoever. These students even mentioned that the VET part of their integrated modality was more of a consequence than a real intention. Unfortunately, the author did not include family income as part of the data to be collected in this research, only parents' occupation. The author stated, though, that these students' parents have low paid jobs that generally have only high school as a pre-requisite (H2). However, there seems to be some contradiction in this research data. Nearly 89% of the students declared they have computers and 81% have internet access. This is the opposite trend of an average residence in Brazil, where only 31% have the homes have internet access and no more than 39% have a computer (IBGE, 2010). Therefore, one could argue these students do not come from very low-income families. This could help justifying the motives that led some of the students to opt for an integrated modality. In addition, the research does not inform the number of students who wish to access higher education after finishing their secondary level VET. Yet, one can deduce the students who claimed VET was more of a consequence than an intention, are the ones who will probably enter universities after finishing their high school education. They could be part of the 62% who stated they will not work as technicians after they have finished their integrated modality secondary level VET. Thus, one should bear in mind barrier to further education is high for children from lower social classes, not the opposite; see Mare (1993, cited in Schneider, 2006, p.6).

This research once more demonstrates an awful trend still observable at public vocational schools. Many students constitute a high cost for the state and do not intend to work as techni-

cians. It ends up impeding other candidates who didn't get admitted in the entrance examination and would like to work in their VET field after finishing their vocational course. Furthermore, in Brazil it is possible to enroll for any tertiary level study program at any given university, regardless of one's secondary level VET training field. As a result, some students might even access higher education and enroll in a study program absolutely unrelated to their secondary level VET.

11. Pires (2008) carried out a research that investigated the opinions given by former VET students about their vocational courses, which they attended after the reforms which issued decrees numbers 2208/97 and 5154/04. The author's objective was to contribute to an analysis of the limits and possibilities of the EC (external concomitant) modality. The author tried to identify the socioeconomic profile to the students of IFET (Federal Institute of Technological Education) between 1999 and 2005. The author does not reveal the name of the institution. However it is necessary to mention that there are 38 IFETs in Brazil. In this research, semi structured interviews were carried out with nine (9) former students from the external concomitant modality of the industrial mechanics vocational course. Four students studied daytime, two studied daytime and evening and three only in the evening. These are all students who were attending high school at one school and secondary level VET at IFET (Federal Institute of Technological Education); EC – external concomitant modality.

Table 31: Socioeconomic profile of former external concomitant vocational training modality students of IFET from 1999 - 2005
Source: from the author (2012); Based on Pires (2008)

Age	15-18 years old = 46% 19- 23 years old = 36% 24 years old or more = 18%
Civil states	98% are single
Reason to undergo VET at secondary level at this school	Vast majority expressed it is an opportunity to enter the labor market Second reason was the desire to have a profession Third reason was the lack of financial means to pay for a private school
Family income	Lower in this VET modality (concomitant)
Current student's occupation	6 former students work in their VET field 3 former students do not work in their VET field

Fathers' educational level	No one had completed high school Only 2 enrolled in a high school, but did not finish it
mothers' educational level	No one had completed high school 6 did not complete elementary school
Father's occupation	Belong to working class and have jobs that do not have high school as a pre-requisite such as truck drivers, brick-layer and so on.
Mother's occupation	2 housewives 6 have jobs that do not have high school as a pre-requisite
High school in a private or public school	Only one didn't attend a public high school

The results are once more in line with several hypotheses. These students come from lower income families (H1) and their parents have a very low level of education. None of the parents completed high school. Moreover, their parents also have low paid jobs such as truck drivers, bricklayers among other occupations which do not have high school as a pre-requisite in Brazil (H2). These findings can justify these students' educational pathway choice, because working class students normally opt for the vocational alternative; see Breen and Goldthorpe (1997, cited in Schindler and Reimer, p.4). Hypothesis number 7 (H7) can also be observed, once nearly all of the students were attending high school at a public school; as it was already observed, the external concomitant VET modality does not tend to attract socioeconomically privileged individuals coming from private elementary schools. A greater part of the students expressed their VET was an opportunity to enter the labor market (H8). It is also a characteristic which can be easily identified in this VET modality. Its students are normally seeking for a vocational course which could present itself as a real opportunity to enter the labor market. It is in line with their economic background as well due to the fact that lower-income families tend to influence their children to seek shorter educational tracks that lead to a faster labor market access. A remarkable aspect of this research was that it was aimed at former students. Therefore, the author could find out whether or not they were working in their VET field after a number of years. The findings show that six students were in fact working in their VET field. These students have achieved their goal of entering the labor market quickly by undergoing VET at secondary level. These findings are also in line with Campos (2005) and can already show a pattern for EC (external concomitant modality) students.

12. Ramos (2008) examined the socioeconomic profile of the students admitted in the entrance examination of the Federal Vocational School of Paulo Souza Center in 2005. This center administrates 138 vocational schools and has admitted nearly forty-nine thousand students in 2005.

Table 32: Socioeconomic profile of the students admitted to the Federal Vocational Schools of the Centro Paulo Souza – Sao Paulo in 2005.

Source: from the author (2012); Based on Ramos (2008)

Admitted candidates	48.596 candidates admitted (in 138 vocational schools)
Age of the admitted candidates	15 – 17 years old – 49% 18 – 27 years old – 36% 27 years old or older – 15%
Family income of the admitted candidates	1 - 5 minimum wages = 68% 6 – 10 minimum wages = 26% 11 or more minimum wages = 6%
Number of admitted candidates that work	48% of all admitted candidates have a job (80% work in a field which is not related to their vocational training)
Dependency on family income	Not provided
Father’s educational level	Not provided
Mother’s educational level	Not provided
Elementary school in a private or public school	82% of the approved candidates come from a public elementary school

As previously observed in Maciel (2005), this research also identifies the fierce competition the candidates face when attempting to access a public vocational school. However Ramos’ findings are not totally in line with Maciel’s, for most of the students belong to lower income families (H1). Another aspect which isn’t in line with Maciel’s findings is that the vast majority of the students come from public schools (H7). The reason for these differences might be in the fact that these students were probably not admitted, in their majority, to an integrated VET modality, but to the concomitant and to the subsequent one. The research does not explicitly mention the VET modalities these students were undergoing. Yet, one can basically infer that a great number of them were enrolled in a subsequent modality. Considering 48% of them had a job, it is unlikely they were attending an integrated or concomitant modality for they would not have enough available time to work and undergo secondary level VET. An-

other aspect that backs up this assumption is that 82% of the students came from public elementary schools. It was already observed that the integrated modality is the one which tends to attract the more socioeconomically privileged individuals coming from private elementary schools. In addition, 51% of the students are older than 18 years old and, most likely, have already finished high school. These observations help elaborating the profile of students attending the subsequent modality. They are generally older, come from lower-income families, attended elementary schools at a public institution, they generally have a job and seek secondary level VET in order to re-enter the labor market, change their occupation or to obtain better job opportunities.

13. Tavares (2005) conducted a research which investigated the impacts of the Decree nº 2.208/97 on vocational training at secondary level in the agricultural field. The empirical data were collected from four federal agricultural vocational schools in the southern region of Brazil. The author used interviews and questionnaires for data collection. The socioeconomic profile of the students was addressed as well as their future professional plans and the reasons that motivated them to undergo VET at secondary level in a federal vocational agricultural school.

Table 33: Socioeconomic profile of the students of four federal agricultural schools of the Southern Region of Brazil
Source: from the author (2012); Based on Tavares (2005)

Place of residence	65% live in the countryside
Gender of students	87% were male students 13% were female students
Occupation of parents	Vast majority belong to working class and most parents have jobs that have high school as a pre-requisite.
Age	33% - under 18 years old 55% 18 - 21 years old
Civil states	98% are single
Reason to undergo this VET at secondary level	27% expressed better chances to enter labor market 25% expressed their vocation for agriculture 14% mentioned the quality of education provided by the schools
Family income	more than 1 – 3 – 37% more than 3 until 5 minimum wages – 15%

more than 5 until 7 – 8%

Current student's occupation	Approximately 95% do not work (even though the vast majority help their parents at home in their rural properties)
Future professional plans	64% intend to work in the field of their VET program (even though the majority also showed desire to access tertiary education, but later on) 30% intend to study at tertiary education after passing the entrance examination at a university
Dependency on family income	97% depend on parents and 87% still live with their parents
Parents' education	Not provided
Father's occupation	47% are agriculturalists 15% work at factories (production or services)
Mother's occupation	21% are agriculturalists 43% are housewives
Elementary school in a private or public school	Not provided

The data provided by the research are mostly in line with a series of hypothesis here proposed. Firstly, one can notice they are students come from lower income families (H1). Secondly, their parents have low-paid jobs (H2) and the majority lives in the countryside close to their schools (H3). As a reason to undergo VET at a federal school, the quality is once more acknowledged, being the third most important motive, though. The most significant reason given by the students was the acquisition of better qualification which could mean better chances to enter labor market (H8). Another key aspect identified by the author is that 30% intend to access tertiary education after passing their higher education entrance examination.

However, the students declared that they would need to work in their VET field in order to be able to afford paying university. They would probably have to go to a private university for a series of reasons which are not explored in this research, such as: they have to help their parents during daytime and can only study in the evening at a private university, for public universities have a limited evening offer, or they don't feel prepared for the entrance examination at a public university, they have to contribute financially at home and therefore must work, or

parents' influence due to the fact that 87% still live with their parents, distance to a public university, among several other motives. What can be deduced from the students' statement, saying they would like to access higher education, is that they believe public tertiary education institutions are somehow far from their expectations. Bourdieu (1998, cited in Silva and Stefanini, 2005, p.7) explains that for certain individuals (lower-class origin) effective aspirations distance themselves from dreamt aspirations. Therefore, an educational path choice has always a causality of the probable.

In conclusion, it is already possible to establish some common features regarding secondary level VET students in Brazil based on the further analysis of the 13 above mentioned and examined publications. The socioeconomic profile of secondary level VET students in Brazil depends considerably on the VET modality in which the students are enrolled. The integrated modality (19% of all enrollments in Brazil) in which VET and high school education take place under one single curriculum normally attracts younger students from higher income families and these students are normally seeking for a high-quality education and preparation for the access to higher education. In contrast, students attending the subsequent modality (62% of enrollments in Brazil) are older; normally come from low or very low-income families and either pay him or herself for their own VET or have their employers finance it. Yet, students coming from more low-income families with a higher number of family members, whose parents have a low level of education, tend to opt more for the concomitant modality (19% of all enrollments in Brazil), especially the external one. They are interested in obtaining better qualification which could lead to employment after finishing their VET program. These are the students who tend to work in their VET field after undergoing vocational training.

Moreover, the external concomitant modality has the lowest dropout rate and the students normally come from a lower-income family when compared to the enrolled in the internal concomitant modality. The last ones have the highest dropout rate and their families normally have a higher income. Independently from VET modality, a great part of all VET students still live with their parents and, therefore, parental influence could definitely play a role in their educational pathway and, consequently, their choice on their VET modality. Finally, nearly all students undergoing secondary level VET come from public schools where they had their

elementary education for 9 years. However, many students attending the integrated modality in federal institutions come from middle-class families as it can be seen in Maciel (2005), and these are the ones who attended their elementary education at private schools. The list below is a suggestion based on this literature review. Supplementary empirical studies (especially extra ones regarding private VET schools which do not belong to the S System) could certainly bring an enhanced accuracy in these profile descriptions.

Table 34: Socioeconomic profile of secondary level VET students in Brazil according to VET modality

Source: from the author (2012)

	Integrated Modality	External concomitant modality	Internal Concomitant Modality	Subsequent modality
Family income	Highest of all 4	Low	Low	Low
Age	Normally 15 – 17 years old	Younger than 18	Younger than 18	Normally older than 18
Lives with	Parents	Parents	Parents	Parents, alone or has own family already
Parents' level of education	Normally higher of all 3 modalities	Low	Low	low
Parents' occupation	better paid jobs	Working class	Working class	Working class
Elementary school education	Many come from private schools	Public schools	Public schools	Public schools
Reason to undergo VET	High-quality high school education and preparation for higher education entrance examination	Seeking for better qualification in order to enter the labor market	Seeking for better qualification in order to enter the labor market	Seeking for better qualification in order to enter the labor market
Dropout rate	Most likely the lowest of all 4	Low	Highest of all 4	NA
Intends to access higher education	Normally right after finishing their secondary level VET	Later on depending on work and financial conditions	Later on depending on work and financial conditions	Unlikely or later on depending on work and financial conditions

4. IFPA School Sao Paolo

IFPA (Instituto de Formação Profissional Administrativa) is a private vocational school that was founded in 1982 in Brazil. Its secondary level VET courses only began being acknowledged by the Brazilian government in 1996, though, when the last VET reform occurred. Since then, IFPA has been offering the German dual VET system apprenticeship in Brazil in cooperation with the Chamber of Commerce and Industry Brazil-Germany (AHK) and other several companies, such as Allianz Seguros SA, BASF, Mercedes-Benz do Brazil, DHL, Bayer, Lufthansa Cargo, Siemens, ThyssenKrupp Metal and Volkswagen do Brazil.

IFPA's main goal is to offer vocational training through the German dual system, which has been used in Germany for more than one hundred years. IFPA states that its main objective is to offer a program in which apprentices could acquire sound practical training during the period of learning in partner companies, encouraging the development of characteristics such as sense of responsibility and commitment, pro-activity with a range of performance, flexibility and a comprehensive view of all processes of the company. These are exactly the advantages that the dual system already offers in Germany. IFPA offers bilingual and trilingual education which facilitates and expands the possibilities for international work opportunities. About 80% of the classes are in German and the others are aimed at teaching Business English, Spanish and Portuguese.

4.1 Structure and organization

In terms of structure, IFPA offers two types of courses based on the dual system, the traditional and the cluster dual system. In the traditional dual system the trainee acquires theoretical knowledge at the IFPA two days a week and practical knowledge in the company three days a week. In the dual cluster system, trainees who do not live in the Sao Paulo area, attend theoretical classes for a month at IFPA vocational school, and have another two months of apprenticeship in the company. Currently the vocational school offers VET courses in the following apprenticeship areas: industrial clerk, office clerk, insurance clerk, logistics, and IT. The IT and the insurance clerk course are not acknowledged by the German government, whereas the industrial clerk, office clerk, insurance clerk and logistics are acknowledged by the Brazilian and the German governments.

There are some requirements to be fulfilled in case an individual decides to go through IFPA's vocational training. Firstly the trainee needs full-time availability. Furthermore, the trainee needs a certificate of completion of high school, good knowledge of Portuguese, German and English, and pass an admission test that includes German, Portuguese and English language tests and approval for internship in a company. Finally the trainee needs to be able to pay the registration fee as well. Moreover, IFPA gives preference to applicants who have the best scores in the National Examination of Secondary Education (ENEM), promoted by the Ministry of Education (MEC).

IFPA stakeholders state that the dual system offered by them in Brazil has several advantages for and students. It is rationalized that companies can have competent technicians in only two years. Additionally, the companies will have bilingual, multi-purpose technicians, with a comprehensive view of the business processes. As for the advantages for the students, IFPA says that students gain a solid practical and theoretical training, through a course based on the German dual system. The school affirms that it guarantees a bright future and a good perspective for an excellent job. Moreover, the diploma given by the school at the end of the training program is recognized in Brazil and in EU countries. Furthermore, IFPA works in cooperation with the Chamber of Commerce and Industry Brazil-Germany (AHK). The chambers of Sao Paulo, Porto Alegre, Curitiba and Asuncion in Paraguay annually organize the oral examinations that are conducted by examining boards composed of entrepreneurs. It is also responsible for certification of intermediate and final tests and diplomas of courses abroad. The Chamber of Commerce and Industry Brazil-Germany (AHK) also acts along with the IFPA in obtaining new partnerships with companies and oversee the training of students in these partner companies.

4.2 Training costs and the role of the company

IFPA works with companies in a close cooperation. The school demands periodical assess on the performance of its trainees from the companies. Stakeholders argue that it is very important that the company carries out regular assessments of the trainees in order to solve problems or doubt and to discuss and advise on the most appropriate solution. Since it is a joint training between the company and school, youth participation in the courses of IFPA is considered an investment by participating companies. The ultimate goal is to train a skilled work-

er for the company. So the partner company assumes the financial commitments during the two years of professional training of the apprentice. Companies participating in the dual system offered at IFPA should pay for school term fees and for the apprentice's salary. Finally, the relationship between company-student-school is governed by an internship contract, an agreement to be signed between the company and the school.

4.3 The dual system at IFPA: Further main aspects

IFPA offers a private apprenticeship and, therefore, it is not financially supported by the Brazilian government; it only acknowledges its diplomas of secondary level VET which are valid nationwide. It is known that the German VET system is strongly regulated, and therefore highly transparent, and that, even though German firms are free to decide whether to take on trainees, the process of training itself is governed by certain rules followed by those who intend to participate in vocational education and training.

The dual system offered by IFPA is essentially not regulated by the government. Legally, the curriculum of professional education in Brazil is addressed in Decree 2.208/97. This Decree regulates and defines vocational education as a point of articulation between school and work. This type of education has the function of qualifying and retraining workers in general and also to enable them to exercise their professions. According to the CNE / CEB No. 16/99, two directions of the Ministry of Education are considered basic to vocational education: curriculum development from general professional skills for the technical area, and each institution should be able to consider the peculiarities of technological development with flexibility and meet the demands of citizens, labor market and society. (Ministry of Education, 2001). It makes the Brazilian VET system very flexible. It is divided into modules, allowing diverse routes, access and intermediate outputs and constant updating. As a matter of fact, this determined freedom has seemed to enable IFPA School to emphasize German companies and the German market very intensively.

Nowadays, the school appears to be having difficulties to bring Brazilian companies to the system due to the little knowledge Brazilian companies have about the German dual system as well as a curriculum rather aimed at the German market. Training costs are also a barrier to higher participation. IFPA has difficulties recruiting new companies to join the dual system

offered in Sao Paulo, mainly due to the fact that companies in Brazil must already contribute with a 2% taxation over they income to SENAI, SENAC and SENAR, which is mandatory - Decree 6.246/44 and 9.403/46. Many companies do not see the need to invest even more in vocational training once they already pay for it.

IFPA's dual system apprenticeship, which is mainly aimed at individuals who attended private elementary and high schools in Sao Paolo and also at individuals coming from German colonies in the south of Brazil, entails a clear practical orientation. It is nearly an opposite trend in Brazil, given that most technical schools in the country offer only 10% of practical training time and it leads to a vocational training which is not always connected to the companies needs. Hamze (2007) states that there is a lack of touch with reality and poor quality of training regarding secondary level technicians, fact which can also be associated to a lack of responsibility taken by the industry and partners⁵.

It is also necessary to mention that IFPA was not the pioneer in this type of program in Brazil and, therefore, could take advantage of problems already showed by another attempt to borrow the German dual system. The dual system was firstly implemented in Brazil in 1979. Brazil signed a Technical Cooperation Agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany with the aim of training professionals to serve as supervisors in various sectors of industry and commerce. This agreement was done with the SENAI system. SENAI started then offering vocational training. The course was also based on the German Dual System of Education, where: 2 days per week is learning in school and 3 days per week to practice in the company. After completion of the course, students were entitled to the diploma of Technician in Industrial and Commercial Administration, signed by SENAI / RJ, Brazil-Germany and DIHK - Berlin (Germany). SENAI's attempt to borrow the German dual system showed some difficulties faced in implementing in a Brazilian context, such as lack of tradition and culture in training in the company and lack of availability of time in businesses; see Stulzer and vilde (2003).

⁵ Bunning and Schnarr (2009, p.15) state that full-time vocational schools became an option when industry and social partners would not take responsibility for vocational education, and that a consequence of the integration of vocational education into the general education system is the hierarchisation of general and vocational education, the latter having a lower reputation. Even though the authors are referring to France, this conceptualization could perfectly fit the Brazilian context, despite the fact that the VET system is differently structured.

Moreover, it is possible to ascertain that in Germany VET is highly standardized and young people and companies have every right to expect that their education efforts are embedded in a system which ensures access, quality, mobility and innovative ability. Additionally, the regulation of vocational training is the basis for nationally standardized high-quality continuing training. Standardized requirements and examination standards ensure the high qualification of employees and thus the business success of companies. In Germany, a baker needs to undergo vocational training in order to be officially and legally authorized to do his or her job. In Brazil, there is no such requirement. There are only a few regulated jobs. A higher regulation would be a big step for a significant increase in participation in vocational education in Brazil. Even though the catalog of technical courses offers 221 technical courses (officially listed on the site of the MEC). There are only 62 regulated professions. Examples of occupations that require qualification: accountant, lawyer, doctor and engineer. The courses offered by IFPA do not necessarily need an official VET qualification to be practiced. In other words, there is no official law or regulation demanding a qualification for individuals who intend to work in the areas IFPA School offer its VET courses.

5. Methods and Methodology

This method chapter is used to rigorously introduce the methodological steps taken within the research project. It is focused on explicating the methodology and the research methods deployed in this study. This dissertation was undertaken with the assistance of autobiographical narrative interviews, a data collection method developed by Fritz Schütze. The method of interpretation adopted, was the narrative analysis also developed by the same author; see Schütze (1977; 1983; 2001; 2008) - there is also a modest literature available in Portuguese regarding the matter. In Brazil, Weller (2007); Bueno et al (2006); Germano and Serpa (2008) have published materials regarding, for instance, the modus operandi and structure of narrative interviews in a Brazilian context. This dissertation also uses the assistance of the Grounded Theory inductive methodology. Nonetheless, this chapter is not focused on its extensive explanation; see Glaser and Strauss (1967), or of the method developed by Fritz Schütze. This chapter is rather aimed at presenting and explicating how the autobiographical narrative interviews were employed for the subsequent development of a theoretical framework, on the basis of Grounded Theory. Evidently, each individual step taken within the research project will be explicated in details and will also be illustrated on the basis of textual sections from interviews for a transparent provision of the sequence of procedures adopted within this dissertation.

5.1 Establishing a research question and defining the problem

In a research project, it is primordial to clarify, make the links among the research problem, the method, and the results very comprehensible. For this reason, the main purpose of this section is to provide clarification of the research strategy and how data was essentially generated. Once again, this section is not devoted to taking a huge amount of space in order to provide an unnecessary, long-winded explanation of how methods and methodology function in qualitative research. It is a focused chapter, tailored to the specific needs of this dissertation with the objective of providing an informative instrument for the comprehension and replication of this research project.

Detka (2011) argues that at the beginning of the research project, the researcher should carefully consider which aspect of the social reality will be taken into account. Thus, it is firstly

necessary to establish that this dissertation is a qualitative research focused on VET (vocational education and training) in a Brazilian context. The main target under research is the German dual system apprenticeship in Brazil and its former apprentices. The goal is to gain understanding of the school track choice that led these individuals to opt for this educational modality within the Brazilian educational system, how they experienced it and the impingements it had on their post-VET biographical development. This dissertation is not focused on testing determined hypothesis or pre-established theoretical work; it is not aimed at scrutinizing existing theories. On the contrary, this research project is focused on data collection and analysis with the intention of generating a theoretical model that is directly concerned with social reality. However, even though it is not focused on testing pre-established or determined theories, it was evidently necessary to gain a certain amount of understanding coming from other studies conducted in the field, which could be of crucial importance for the comprehension of phenomena that have already been analyzed in our social reality; generally, the researcher does not begin a research process naively, without any general knowledge concerning the research field. The term qualitative used in this brief description is based on the assumption that the research is aimed at producing findings not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification; see Strauss and Corbin (1998). This dissertation was defined as a qualitative study due to the nature of the research problem, and also through the need of the principle of openness; see Hoffmann Riem (1980).

Moreover, this dissertation project utilizes the Grounded theory methodology; see Glaser (1998) - for the generation of a theoretical model. It means that theory that was derived from data that were systematically gathered and analyzed through the research process. In this method, data collection, analysis, and eventual theory, stand in close relationship to one another. On a brief motivational statement, this dissertation was conducted on the basis of a two-fold purpose. Firstly, on the basis of the distinct socioeconomic profile of former apprentices who underwent IFPA School's dual system secondary level vocational training in Sao Paulo, Brazil. Given the general profile of secondary level VET participants in Brazil, especially within the subsequent modality, the lower reputation and historical issues associated to this educational modality alongside with the structural duality within the educational system in Brazil, it draws one attention that this specific vocational school attracts more socioeconomically privileged individuals to undergo its secondary level apprenticeship programs. These individuals' school track decision seems to be the opposite of what can be observed in the

literature published on the matter, especially in a Brazilian context. Secondly, research in the vocational education and training field concerning the German dual system in Brazil is nearly nonexistent and, therefore, demands further attention and investigation, which ought to be aimed at fully comprehending the development of the process that lead individuals to seek this educational modality within a Brazilian context. Such research could assist comprehending the impact of this VET modality in Brazil and could possibly point out its clients' perception and elucidate one's decision making process. Hence, this dissertation gained the aim of investigating the conditions, processes and mechanisms that lead these individuals to look for this educational modality, one's perception of this VET program, as well as comprehending the impingements it had on one's post-dual system apprenticeship biographical development. Gaining understanding in this field is primordial, not only for the sake of comprehension of the phenomena, but also with the purpose of explicating how these individuals biographical development culminated with their participation in secondary level VET in Brazil at a certain phase, specifically at this school.

In this research project data collection and analysis occurred in alternating sequences. Strauss and Corbin (1998) explicate that, in such a case, analysis begins with the first interview and observation, which leads to the next interview or observation, followed by more analysis, more interviews or fieldwork, and so on. Therefore, a first batch of five interviews was conducted; see portrait chapter for B1 – B5 cases. Then, the first single case was exhaustively analyzed (Lisa Steinway – B1) and, as a result, two other single cases could be identified within the first five interviews, namely, Virginia Müller (B2) and Eva Schmidt (B3). Only after the analysis of these five interviews which entailed three single cases, further interviews were conducted as an attempt to further gather necessary data which could help expanding, adjusting and enhancing the analysis leading to a solid theoretical model; it was, evidently, necessary to further narrow and set specific criteria within a sampling variation that could lead to more accurate results.

A research question in the context of this dissertation needed to be rather flexible so that all possible conditions, mechanisms and processes could be mentioned by the informant in his or her rendering. Hence the initial questions designed for the purpose of this dissertation were rather broad and open-ended. The core initial questions entailed by this dissertation were:

- What conditions and mechanisms can be identified in the process that led former VET students to undergo the German dual system offered at IFPA in Sao Paolo?
- What was and is their discernment of this German VET dual training system?
- What was the experience made by these individuals during their VET training?
- What biographical impingements did this educational modality have on their lives?

These questions were elaborated in the anticipation of possible data that could assist explicating how these individuals wound up undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship modality in Sao Paolo, which essentially constitutes a school track choice issue. The above-mentioned questions are the basis for a more in-depth analysis of processes, conditions and mechanisms involved in the decision process that led these individuals to undergo secondary level VET at this specific educational institution, as well as understanding how they perceived this specific event within a flux in their biography and the impingements it had on one's future development.

5.2 Important considerations regarding the theoretical sampling

Given that grounded theory is a systematic, inductive, and comparative approach for conducting inquiry for the purpose of constructing theory; see Glaser and Strauss (1967), in this dissertation, likewise, theory evolved as the data were collected and explored. Thus, it wasn't feasible to establish an accurate sample size beforehand. The process of data collection and conceptualization continued until 'saturated' - until no new relevant data was discovered regarding a category and until the categories were well developed and validated, which is basically a central feature of this analytic approach, also referred by Glaser (1967) as the constant comparative method.

It was also a lot more prudent to establish a purposive sampling. Given that this dissertation entails retrospective research questions, it was necessary to select informants who were meaningful for the process that was about to be investigated, in this case the so-called biography bearers; see Schütze (1983). Therefore, the most logical action was to contact IFPA School in Sao Paolo to request for further permission as well as assistance regarding this purposive sampling. The school (IFPA) has therefore, played a key role in finding potential candidates for the narrative interviews. An official research proposal was sent to the school explaining the aims of the research as well as the methods and methodology which would be used within

this research project. After examining it, the school issued a formal authorization as well as a document confirming it would collaborate in the process of contacting and finding possible informants for data collection through narrative interviews. In the following, IFPA stakeholders firstly formally contacted a few former students via email and/or phone calls. The criteria set by the researcher for the selection of these first informants by IFPA School were aimed at reaching a possibly diversified sampling. They would have to come from different VET courses offered by the trade school, would be of different age, origin and socioeconomic background. Two further criteria were also indispensable:

- ☑ To be a former apprentice who had successfully undergone the German dual system offered at IFPA in Sao Paulo;
- ☑ To have Brazilian nationality and reside in Brazil or abroad;

Hence, referral of participants came directly from IFPA School. The school agreed on a research that could possibly find out mechanisms and conditions that led apprentices to enroll for its VET courses. Five (5) students kindly replied the emails sent by the school and agreed to participate in the interviews by providing verbal consent. The interviews were then scheduled directly by me, the author of this research, and the informants. Two (2) interviews were conducted face-to-face and three (3) were conducted via VoIP landline calls (plus video, through the assistance of Skype®). The recording set-up for the call was the software Audio Editor 5.3.1 and an external microphone model DX-USBMIC13, which is capable of capturing both the interviewer's and interviewee's voice. Even though Skype was used to assist the VoIP calls, video footage wasn't recorded. Skype was used, though, to read and observe the interviewee's gestures and body language, which were included in the interview transcriptions accordingly. The first five interviews were conducted with:

- B1 = Lisa Steinway (VoIP through the assistance of Skype® - 01.2012)
- B2 = Virginia Müller (VoIP through the assistance of Skype® - 02.2012)
- B3 = Eva Schmidt (face-to-face in Hamburg, Germany – 02.2012)
- B4 = Alice Bauer (VoIP through the assistance of Skype® - 02.2012)
- B5 = Mary Weiss (face-to-face in Sao Paolo - 03.2012)

The first interview conducted with Lisa Steinway served as the first guidance for the construction of the first single case, whereas Virginia Muller's interview was the second interview serving as a single case, even constituting a maximal contrasting to the first one. The interview with Eva Schmidt completed the establishment of three single cases. These three interviews were extensively analyzed for the future development of a theoretical framework. The other interviews were, of course, used for the theoretical variation, adjusting, and expansion of categories and core categories developed on the basis of the first interviews (these specific aspects will be dealt with in a subsequent section of this chapter). The first five interviewees became crucial in the process of finding new possible candidates for the narrative interviews, as they could use their social network to indicate further potential informants. Therefore, a purposive chain referral sampling was adopted for the purpose of further data collection. Bailey (1994, cited in Penrod et al., 2003, pp. 101-102) states it is a non probabilistic form of sampling in which persons initially chosen for the sample are used as informants to locate other persons having necessary characteristics making them eligible for the sample. However, as the study proceeded, the chief criterion for sampling moved toward theoretical relevance, until the sampling was saturated. Thus, the contact to the school remained opened and the educational institution also assisted providing the contacts of further potential candidates at a later stage of this research, especially due to the fact that the last interviews were conducted with informants that possessed very specific criteria within the theoretical sampling; in this case a non probabilistic data collection would not suffice to reach such interviewees.

5.3 The selection of the data collection procedure

The appropriate data collection procedure depends on the research question established by the researcher within the research project. In the case of this dissertation, the method of autobiographical narrative interview was used, technique which was introduced by Fritz Schütze in 1976. The method is based on the above-mentioned assumption that experience is naturally organized in stories. The basic feature of this method lays on the fact that the researcher should stimulate the research participants to freely tell their entire life history in order to obtain one's experience in its natural form. This type of narration schema proposed by autobiographical narrative interviews is opposed to the question-answer schema. The narrative interview is classified as a qualitative research method; see Riesman (1993); Flick (1998) and Lamnek (1989). It is considered a form of unstructured, in-depth interview with specific fea-

tures. Jovchelovitch and Bauer (2000) remind us that there is no human experience that cannot be expressed in the form of a narrative, and that the strength of Schütze's suggestion is a systematic proposal for eliciting narratives for the purposes of social research. All in all, several authors have published studies that could be named and referred to in the field of biographical research, such as the ones conducted by Fritz Schütze, Gisela Jakob, Herry Hermans, Gehard Riemann, Gabriele Rosental, Peter Alheit, Lene Larsen and Carsten Detka, but it is not the focus of this research to extensively describe these, but to explain how it was employed in this research project. In Brazil this method has also began to gain space, and some studies can also be mentioned, such as the ones of Bueno et al (2006) who have used the method in Brazil to investigate teacher education and becoming a teacher in the Brazilian context, also the ones of Germano and Serpa (2008) concerning the autobiographical narratives of young men in conflict with the law, or the ones of Weller (2007) concerning the method itself in the hermeneutics. However, to the knowledge of the author of this dissertation, there is no research in the field of VET in Brazil that has adopted this data collection method to investigate the life history of former apprentices that underwent the German dual system within a Brazilian context.

Autobiographical narrative interviews appeared to be adequate for the purpose of this dissertation due to the fact that narratives attempt to *explain* or *normalize* what has occurred; they lay out why things are the way they are or have become the way they are; see Bamberg (2010). Jovchelovitch and Bauer (2000) also point out that narratives produced by individuals are also constitutive of specific socio-historical phenomena in which biographies are grounded. Furthermore, autobiographical narrative interviews are able to provide answers regarding conditions, mechanism and processes as well as provide an explanation to the manner how the flux of events occurred in one's biographical development. Firstly, such conditions and mechanisms which can be used for the comprehension of a process development cannot easily be inquired within a question-answer schema. Secondly, autobiographical narrative interviews, in combination with the narrative analysis, possess crucial characteristics of adequateness for the objective of this research through determined tools, given that they allow the identification of biographical processes, super-imposed and self-imposed impediments as well as the influence of significant others along the pathway leading to one's decision to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship. These are aspects that are rather difficult to be asked in direct questions concerning the matter, and can more easily be responded within one's life history through one's ren-

dering of his or her own experience in its natural form. Autobiographical narrative interviews can enable the researcher to obtain data that is capable of determining the biographical development of the incumbent and its flux of events, which enable the researcher to comprehend how biographical process and its outcomes, self theoretical assumption, borrowed self-theoretical commentaries, self-erected and super-imposed impediments by others and by structural conditions, the influence of event carriers, significant others impinged one's decision regarding the next concrete steps within their biographical development. In addition, biographical analysis is crucial for the objective of this research, given that it is a case reconstructive procedure which makes it possible to analyze the interconnections between individual and institutional aspects of social reality in the context of biography and action; see Wohlrab-Sahr (2000, cited in Apitzsch et al, 2007). Hence, autobiographical narrative interview, in combination with the narrative analysis suggested by Schütze (1977; 1983) have appeared to be to most adequate in the case of this dissertation. Another fundamental benefit of the combination of the above-mentioned data collection method is that it can expose the biographical development of the incumbent before, during and after they have undergone IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. It is necessary to bear in mind that only the entire biography could be able to ascertain processes, conditions and mechanisms that have led individuals to seek this educational modality, as well as how they experienced it and its post-VET outcomes and impingements.

It is necessary, however, to point out that there is also criticism regarding this data collection method, despite the above-mentioned adequateness of its application for the purpose of this dissertation. Notwithstanding, all methods have its disadvantages and it is nearly impossible to utilize one that will not be a target for criticism regarding determined tools or characteristics. Hence, it is necessary to opt for the most suitable method regarding the research question of the dissertation. One of the most important aspects regarding the data collection method used in this dissertation that demands attention is the fact that not all memories are sufficiently clear and at time the individual may not be willing to recall his or her experiences. Hence, it is necessary to be attentive to attempts of fading out of awareness in the main story line. The interviewer needs to keep track of these points in order to ask narrative questions regarding the textual points of vagueness or discrepancies during the questioning phase, as it can then lead to a coherent overall gestalt of one's biographical rendering. However, Schütze (2008, p.10) correctly reminds us that it would be unethical if the interviewer would attempt

to crack a personal defense system of the informant regarding determined personal points of vagueness and of discrepancies, since she or he is not a psychotherapist who offers treatment sessions to the informant as a client or patient regarding those personal problems.

Jovchelovitch and Bauer (2000) also point out two problematic issues regarding the method, namely, the uncontrollable expectations of the informants and the often unrealistic role and rule requirements of its procedures. Firstly, the authors remind us that the interviewer poses the role of someone who knows nothing or very little about the story being told. Thus, the interviewee has the tendency to formulate his rendering on the basis of what he or she assumes the interviewer would like to hear. In addition, there is the risk that the interviewee assumes they do not need to tell everything, once they take for granted the interviewer does know certain things which do not need to be expanded upon or explained. Therefore, it is very important to make the modus operandi very clear to each of the interviewees, elucidating that each and everyone has a unique life history and that only a complete rendering indicating a full gestalt of the flux of events can lead to a solid interpretation. In the case of this dissertation, it was also crucial to convey the purpose of the research was to comprehend the life history of individuals that have undergone IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. It demands a clear stimulus question and also a balance between the explanations of the purpose of the research without giving specific details that could influence the course of one's narrative. As for the second issue pointed out by the authors, they claim that the rules of the narrative interviews are formulated to guide the interviewer. Yet, the way the interviewer initiates the interview co-determines the quality of the narration. The initiation phase is difficult to standardize, and relies totally on the social skills of the interviewer; see Jovchelovitch and Bauer (2000). Schütze (2008) also mentions two misconceptions regarding the data collection method: (a) the assumption of unproblematic "mirror" depiction of reality through autobiographical narrative renderings. The author states that it is not an unproblematic mirror-like one-to-one depiction of biographical process structures and of the overall development of a person's life history. Hence, the researcher must be concerned with the five types of embedding contexts to obtain more accurate results, namely, social frames, conditions, situations, expectations and the permanently changing overall biographical structuring. (b) The assumption of the freewheeling and suitable making up of autobiographical stories according to functional requirements of social situations. Indeed, the informant could attempt to fade out or use strategies of faking, lying or intended misrepresentation. Yet, as the author also points out, such rendering is not

common occurrence and normally deviates from a normal autobiographical rendering. The interviewer needs to be attentive to the communicative scheme of extempore narration of personal experiences in order to identify such endeavor.

As already mentioned, this research data collection and analysis occurred in alternating sequences. It means that data were collected at different stages of the research. Initially, as pointed out before, a total of five (5) interviews were conducted, and Lisa Steinway's case was the first one to be exhaustively analyzed. Later two other cases were identified and also exhaustively analyzed and appropriately added to the portrait chapter of this dissertation. Further five (5) interviews were only conducted after the structural description, reconstructed "gestalt" of the overall biographical structuring and a grid structure of categories and core categories had been developed, aiming at the development of a theoretical model. In other words, not all interviews were conducted during the same period, stage of the research project. As categories and core categories were being developed, more data continued being collected in order to expand, adjust, validate and alter the possible theoretical assumptions made on the basis of the single cases that were exhaustively analyzed. To be more specific, it was extremely crucial to permanently revise the theoretical model as more data become available for this procedure could then add credibility to the study. After the first five interviews had been appropriately analyzed, it was also necessary to evaluate and analyze deviant cases, given that they can considerably assist the researcher to continue to build and test the completeness of a theoretical model so far developed. Hence, as mentioned above, further potential informants for the continuation of data collection were obtained through snowball sampling – a purposive sampling and/or with the further assistance of IFPA School in Sao Paulo. This dissertation used this principle to find further interviewees that could potentially contribute to the expansion of the so far developed theoretical framework. As expected, informants usually suggested former classmates for the autobiographical narrative interviews. Firstly, the informant contacted one of his or her former classmates at IFPA, and only after a first approval, the researcher received the email contact or phone number of the further potential candidate. Then, negotiation phase initiated in an equal manner, as it was conducted during the first five interviews (the next section will deal more especially with the negotiation phase of the interviews). IFPA School needed to be contacted for very specific cases, such as the one of Lauren Klein, an individual that decided to undergo secondary level VET in the subsequent modality at IFPA, after she had already graduated from university. Such a profile could only be located

with the direct help of the school (the theoretical sampling variation will be addressed in another section of this chapter).

5.3.1 Contact and negotiation phase

The contact and negotiation phase is very important in the process of conducting narrative interviews. Two important steps need to be accomplished at this stage: (a) explaining the purpose of the research to the potential informant in broad terms, without scientific terminology and theoretical hypotheses. Detka (2011) reminds us that a very detailed presentation of research interest can also lead to uncertainty regarding the informant's assessment of his or her individual suitability for the interview, which could be rather counterproductive. Yet, it is crucial to convey that his or her contribution is of vital importance for the research process. It is rather important to make each one perceive that their life story is unique in order to motivate them to provide a story containing a narrative rich in details and relevant aspects regarding the objectives of the research. Schütze (2008) says that the researcher is interested exactly in the *unique* life history of the informant with all its specific personal features and their combination. In the case of this dissertation the informants were told the researcher was aiming at becoming acquainted with the biography, the entire life story, of former IFPA School apprentices in order to learn the conditions that led them to enroll in this school's educational modality, and the outcomes of this educational attainment in their lives after graduating. In other words, the vocational school had a central role, but during the negotiation phase every participant was made aware that their entire life story was of extreme importance and that a detailed rendering would provide more comprehensive understanding. (b) The researcher also needs to clarify how the interview will be conducted. The interviewee should have a basic understanding of the *modus operandi* of an autobiographical narrative interview.

The negotiation phase in this research was essentially divided into three parts: a first communicative contact by email, followed by a brief phone call as well as a last, brief negotiation phase at the very beginning of the interview session itself. The emails served as a first contact. The content of the email was a personal request for each one to participate in the data collection of this project, explicating in very broad terms the objective of this research. The emails also highlighted the importance of their participation and an explanation of how the researcher found their contact. Essentially the first contacts were provided by IFPA School and the later

ones obtained from the school and also purposive snow ball sampling. The emails also requested for a first brief phone call, in case they were willing to contribute to the research⁶. Later, they were again contact via telephone for a first conversation. Its purpose was to establish a better rapport between the researcher and the potential informant with the purpose of constructing a positive trust between parties. During these phone calls that generally lasted around 15min – 30min, a lot of small talk was made and it was also an opportunity for the researcher to explain once more, this time more detailed, the modus operandi of the interview. It was also during this phone call that the appointments for the interviews were made with the interviewees.

Essentially, a sequence of steps was taken. Firstly, each potential interviewee was assured that their anonymity and privacy would be respected. It is crucial to conceal the identities of the interviewees in all transcription and other documents of the research. Equally important is the confidentiality aspect. Hence, identities, any information from which identities could be inferred, and research records were kept confidential regardless of any explicit pledge given by the informant. Schütze (2008) argues that the researcher should mask everything in the narrative rendering that could possibly lead to individually identifying the prospective informant. Then, a first idea of the task of autobiographical story telling was provided, and later the steps of the autobiographical interview were clearly explained to each informant. Initially, the researcher pointed out that this first part would rather be a monologue. The participant was told he or she would tell his or her life story without any interruption of the interviewer who would simply actively and attentively listen and concomitantly jot down notes on the rendering provided by him or her. Afterwards, it was explicated that they would be asked to tell their life history from the beginning up to the present, and that the beginning of her or his life history remained for them to decide⁷. However, they should be aware that they are about to tell a story, which should have a beginning, a middle and an end. In the next, it was clarified that after the main narration there would be a questioning phase about their narrative provided in the

⁶ It is important to state that, in all cases of interview negotiation in this research project the prospective informants agreed to tell their life stories and make a productive contribution. Yet, others never replied the emails sent or returned the phone calls made. It also shows a weakness of this method, namely, the fact that some people aren't willing to expose their life story to others, even though complete anonymity is assured. It is, of course, a legitimate argument, and that is the reason why the researcher needs to strive for the establishment of trust relationship in the interview situation.

⁷ Generally, they were merely advised to begin with their grandparents, their own birth, or their parents' birth or a first personal remembrance. Normally, they opted for starting with their grandparents.

first phase. In addition, they were advised that this first main narration in form of a monologue, in addition to the questioning phase, would generally last between one and half hour up to three hours. Therefore, they should choose a more suitable day for the interview, whenever they had more time and disposition to tell their life history without any distractions or time restriction. Lastly, they were told and asked for permission to record the interviews and allow the researcher to keep these recordings after the interview for further analysis. None of the informants objected to any request made by the researcher.

The third negotiation phase took place at the beginning of the interview session itself, when informants were once again briefly told about the *modus operandi* and asked for permission to record the entire interview, before they initiated the main narration phase.

5.3.2 The setting of the autobiographical interviews

Schütze (2008) explicates that an autobiographical narrative interview should be done at the home place or in the protected inner office of the informant or the interviewer [...] and the informant should have the feeling that it is *just her or his* time of minimally one and a half hours up to three or even more hours. Nevertheless, the participants selected for the autobiographical interviews in this research were former IFPA apprentices from different states in Brazil. They also live in different regions and even different countries. Therefore, even though recommended, it would be geographically and financially impossible to interview all of them in person in the privacy of their home. Another aspect is that the author of this research was residing in Germany during the research process, which made face-to-face interviews even more unfeasible. Yet, the researcher visited Sao Paolo twice during the research project, which made possible to conduct a few interviews face-to-face and also visit IFPA School in Sao Paolo.

Two single case interviews, more specifically, Virginia Müller and Lisa Steinway were conducted via VoIP landline calls in addition to the assistance of Skype®, whereas Eva Schmidt's was conducted face-to-face. The calls seemed to align better with the video provided by Skype, therefore enabling the generation of audio and video simultaneously, without any possible audio interference via Skype due to connection quality. Bertrand and Bourdeau (2010) remind us that the way of connecting people has changed with virtual networking and

the use of this VoIP method can give the opportunity to considerably reduce the cost of research interviews and allow a greater number of researchers to collect their own data easily, faster and at a lower cost. This protocol has even an advantage compared to a face-to-face research interview, given that it enables the researcher to record video as well as voice calls. In addition, Skype offers a real free space to the interviewed that has the power to "quit" the network session whenever he or she wants. So Skype is a medium for virtual communications and virtual "face-to-face" interrelations; see Bertrand and Bourdeau (2010). It must be stated though, that at times, due to connection quality, the video streaming had to be quickly refreshed to improve video quality, but it didn't happen very often. As for the quality of the VoIP calls, it can be assured that the streaming quality was very satisfactory, which can also be verified through the quality of audio with the recordings. At times, though, there was a slight variation in the volume and minimal noise in the line, but not enough to affect the quality of the call or/and the audio recording.

Schütze (2008) also recommends that in case of insufficient available time, one could split the interview into two halves and could go on with the interview's second part a few days later. This approach was used in this research for interviews, too. The main motive was that it appeared to have more productive interviews, with informants more motivated to provide narration in the case of two different appointments. Therefore, the phase of the main story and the questioning phase were conducted in two separate appointments, the later a few days after the first one, but not more than a couple of days, so the informant wouldn't forget all the details he or she had already provided within the main narration phase. It also proved to be effective because the interviewees appeared to be very attentive and committed to their replies, due to the fact that long two or three hour interviews were divided into two sessions.

5.3.3 Formulation of the stimulus question

One of the most important steps prior to the beginning of the main narration phase per se is to encourage the informant and clearly demonstrates that his or her life history can play a contributive role to the research project. Afterward, the researcher should tell the informant the objective of the research in simple words. In the dissertation informants were told that this research project aimed at comprehending the life history of IFPA former apprentices with the purpose of understanding and identifying individuals that participate in the VET dual system

in Brazil. Only a brief explanation was provided in order to avoid any confusion or perhaps uncertainty, which could be rather counterproductive. Obviously, each participant was dully informant about the anonymity of their interviews, providing them with the assurance the interviews wouldn't refer to any names or specificities that could endanger their anonymity.

In order to formulate an appropriate stimulus questions, it is fundamental to comprehend that the communicative scheme of extempore narration is essential for the presentation and comprehension of the flow of events in one's biographical development. There are two other elementary communicative schemes of representing life and world: those of description, of argumentation and the scheme of narration; see Kallmeyer and Schütze (1977); Schütze (1987, 1988).

- (a) **Communicative schemes of description:** concerns social frames that served as the setting for the for the flux of events;
- (b) **Communicative schemes of argumentation:** concerns explanations, rationalizations regarding decisions made, or that will be made, within the biographical development as well as explicating rather uncertain flux of events.
- (c) **Communicative schemes of narration:** it is the dominant scheme and is aimed at expressing and to depicting basic features of personal experiences of social reality; see Schütze (2008).

In addition, Schütze (2001, 2008) states that the researcher should not break the rules regarding the three constraints of extempore narration. In other words, it is fundamental to let the informant tell, describe, argue without interference. These are the three main constraints pointed out by Schütze: (1) the constraint to condense, (2) the constraint to go into details, (3) and the constraint to close the textual forms. The researcher should bear in mind that there should be a link in the chain of experienced events. In other words, the flux of events should be linked to one another and, in case of laconic rendering, leading to questionable concatenations between those, the researcher should look carefully into the matter with the purpose of obtaining further narrative that would enable to generate complete "gestalts", in which events a properly explicably concatenated. By following the three constraints of extempore narration,

the researcher has the possibility to obtain precious data that can enlighten the research question posed in the research project. However, an appropriate data analysis method is necessary to obtain solid answers.

Detka (2011) explicates that the initial question has to trigger the goal of obtaining a detailed life history from the informants. The focus and object of analysis that can be obtained from such a narrative is concentrated on encountering answers that could identify how the flux of events occurred. In this dissertation, informants were asked to tell their entire life story, as opposed to a fraction or specific part of their biography. The purpose of this approach is to determine how IFPA School former apprentices eventually began undergoing its dual system apprenticeship and how this specific event impinged the further development of their biography. Therefore, each participant was asked to tell her or his life history from the beginning up to the present. However, due to questioning coming from potential informant, the researcher observed the need for possible examples of points of reference for the beginning of their extempore story telling. Thus, each participant was advised during negotiation phase that they should decide the event that would mark the beginning of their main narration, but that they could begin with their birth date, their parents, grandparents, or another first personal remembrance.

Prior to the beginning of the main narration phase, each informant was again informed about the modus operandi and had any of his or her doubts solved. Each one was repeatedly advised to tell their entire life history and provide as many details as possible, given that solid results depended on this specific condition. In addition, each participant was told that they wouldn't be interrupted and that their story was unique and entailed aspects that potentially could contribute to the results of this research project. This is an illustrative example of an stimulus question, posed by the researcher prior to the beginning of the main narration phase:

Example taken from Virginia Muller's interview:

I: So, my name is Marcelo Kauer (-) and I am a grad student at OVGU University (') and what I am looking for from this research is to understand (-) the life history of students who formerly studied at IFPA School in São Paulo (,) (-) What I want to know from you (-) is the story of your life (,) But not only the time you attended IFPA (,) I would like to know everything that happened before and after IFPA too (,) It

would be good if you began (‘) with (-) for instance (‘) your grandparents (,) (-) And then tell me about events that happened to you (-) one after another (-) up to the present day (,) (2) I will not interrupt you (-) and I’m not going to ask questions during your story (,) During your story (‘) I will be listening and making notes (-) after you finish (-) perhaps based on something you said (-) or because something may not be clear (-) I may ask you some questions (,)

As the stimulus questions aren’t read aloud to the informant – it is simply said by the researcher in an informal, casual language spontaneously – the word choice in the questions may slightly vary from interview to interview. Moreover, one can clearly observe that the informants were asked to tell their entire life history, and emphasis was put on the fact that they shouldn’t concentrate their rendering on the time they attended IFPA School, but should provide a narrative equally focused on the flux of events prior, during and post their apprenticeship at this educational institution.

5.3.4 The main narration and the questioning phases

Schütze (2008) clearly states that the interviewer needs to play the role of a good listener who understands the sequential logic of the evolving events and social processes, and taking short notes on the ongoing of the presentation. These notes are essential for the questioning phase later and should be used by the interviewer to jot down notes about points that demand further clarification. The narration starts the main narration phase, the informant must not be interrupted until there is a clear coda, meaning that the interviewee pauses and signals the end of the story. During the narration, the interviewer’s role is essentially to actively listen and encourage the informant to carry on with his narration. Ideally, only non-verbal or paralinguistic support should be used to avoid interrupting the flow of the life story being told by the informant. The main narrative of the interview will be finished through a specific formulaic expression such as the following one’s taking from three different interviews:

- Example taken from single case 1: (B1) *That’s it (-) I don’t know if it helped you more or not (‘) but I talked a little more (,) (((laughs))) (from the second part of the slip coda)*

- Example taken from single case 2: (B2) *So, I think that's it (.) (3) that's my life so far (((laughs)))*
- Example taken from single case 3: (B3) *So (-) I think that's it (.) (-) I don't think I forgot anything (.) (pause)*

It is also necessary to mention that the researcher, whenever the interview demanded, stated a very open question, without any specific focus on a certain argumentative and/or narrative detailing, after the coda in order to explore a total exhaustion of any additional narrative potential. These questions normally generated a brief, and at times necessary, further narrative, which created interviews with split coda. To illustrate, these are two examples of how the interviewer prompted the informant to provide further narrative after the coda:

- Example 1 (taken from single case 1): *I: Great (.) Is there anything you may have :forgotten: or anything else you'd like to tell me, Virginia (?)*
- Example 2 (taken from single case 2): *I: uh huh (-) is there anything that you may have forgotten that you'd like to add (?)*

Upon the narrative coda, or as the narration comes to a 'natural' end, the interviewer appropriately thanked the informant for his or her story and can open the questioning phase. Then, based on the notes that were jotted down during the main narrative phase about interesting points of the informant's presentation process, further enquiry initiated based on passages that remained somewhat unclear and demand further narrative to become more comprehensible in the whole gestalt of the life story. However, Schütze (2008) also reminds us that one should focus only on the status quo ante of the vague or discrepant text passage in the main story line, thereby avoiding any unethical questions that would attempt to crack such a personal defense system of the informant. Below, one can see an example of two illustrative questions regarding the main narration that demanded questioning upon the end of the first part of the autobiographical narrative:

- Question 1 (taken from single case 2): *I: uh huh (-) and, you said you lived there until you were sixteen or seventeen years old (-) and if I understood it well (-) this was the time you started attending IFPA, right (?)*

- Question 2 (taken from single case 1): *I: So if I understood it right, it was normal to speak German with your grandparents, sisters, mother and father (‘) at home (?)*

5.3.5 The narrative questioning part of the interview

After the conclusion of the narrative questioning part of the interview, a descriptive immanent and non-immanent questioning part follows that deals with the explication of all types of social frames, event carriers, their mutual social relationships and their routine activities, which are relevant for the unfolding life history of the informant as revealed in the various narrative parts of the interview, especially in the main story part; see Schütze (2008). This questioning phase should be dully divided into two main parts, namely, the descriptive and the argumentative questioning part. The first part should address determined events, routines, or even agents of biographical influence that demand further descriptive narrative detailing. Below, one can see an example of two illustrative descriptive questions asked in two different interviews:

- (a) Taken from single case 1 (Lisa Steinway) – a questions regarding the description of a routine: *I: uh huh (-) and can you tell me a little more Lisa, about the daily routine there at IFPA (?)*
- (b) Taken from single case 2 (Virginia Müller) – a question concerning an event carrier: *I: Uh huh, so then you said about the director of KS SP (‘) “I decided I wanted to be a director”(,) can you tell me more details about it (,) (-)*

At the end of the interview, the argumentative questioning phase may initiate. At this point, non-immanent questions can be asked and a set of additional narrative questions that were pre-formulated in a flexible question battery can be posed; see Schütze (2008). This set of pre-formulated external question was of great assistance for the realization of the interviews. They serve as a guideline for further questioning regarding IFPA, the former apprentices experience and their perception of the vocational apprenticeship they underwent. Of course, other questions were posed according to the necessity emerged from the rendering provided by the informants. Below, one can see an example of two illustrative non-immanent questions asked in two different interviews:

- Taken from single case 1 – Lisa Steinway:

I: uh huh (-) and you (-) as a former IFPA (-) student (‘) do you believe the school has a (-) how do you see the school’s reputation (?)

B1: /ehm/ it is very good (‘) especially after they left the Lago Treze district (-) where they used to be located (,) There (‘) it was a small school (,) But they moved to Interlagos, to a much bigger school (-)

- Taken from single case 2 – Virginia Müller

I: Uh huh (,) what is your perception of IFPA nowadays (,) Tell me in your point of view (?)

B2: For me (-) I think (‘) IFPA was bad (,) In my opinion IFPA was bad (‘) because the image I had (-) when I left Southern Brazil (‘) was that I’d graduate from IFPA and I’d be the best (-) that I’d know :everything: about my trade and all (,)

5.3.6 Finding the theoretical variation: deviant cases

The process of identifying possible deviant cases that could serve as a solid basis for a theoretical variation depend on the findings observed in the first data collection conducted. In the case of this dissertation, as previously stated, a total of five interviews were firstly conducted, and one initial case was exhaustively analyzed (Lisa Steinway – B1). This very first case provided a number of process alternatives, conditions and mechanisms that led this individual to seek out IFPA School apprenticeship modality within the Brazilian educational system. This first analysis enabled the researcher to make systematic considerations of potential alternatives that could represent a theoretical variance for a more in-depth depiction of social reality. Lisa Steinway’s case demonstrated, for instance, that the informant possessed a clearer sense of her vocational identity, which had been closely related to the influence of her parents as significant others. Yet, the concatenation of the outcomes of an interlink of biographical importance and superimposed structural impediments have led the incumbent to a total loss of occupational orientation and have also extremely restricted her educational pathway margin within the Brazilian educational system. These were fundamental conditions leading the informant to look for IFPA School apprenticeship as a second order choice, which finally culminated in a self-alienating course choice absolutely unrelated to personal cultivation and self-realization, which was followed by a cognitive dissonance process regarding this educa-

tional choice. Based on these preliminary findings, it was possible to determine potential cases that could portray theoretical variations. For instance, were there alternative cases indicating a first order choice, unrelated to super- or self-imposed impediments? Were there alternative cases that on the basis of mechanisms that didn't lead to a potential cognitive dissonance? Were there cases of a presence of vocational identity that was interrelated to one's pathway leading to IFPA School? Which conditions, mechanisms and processes could be identified in such cases? These were questions that enabled the researcher to continue data collection with the purpose of establishing a more reliable theoretical model, based on potential variations of a number of cases. As already explicated, the data collection process ends with the theoretical saturation. Thus, after the initial batch of five interviews with Lisa Steinway (B1), Virginia Müller (B2), Eva Schmidt (B3), Alice Bauer (B4) and Mary Weiss (B5), further interviews continued to be conducted. Jessica Mai (B6), John Taylor (B7) and Nicole Bush (B8) were indicated by two different interviewees within a snowball sampling. After the analysis of these two additional cases, the author of this dissertation realized that further three specific participants would be needed within the data collection process, and the school as well as the other interviewees could assist finding individuals within the criteria established by the author in a theoretical variation attempt. Firstly, Christopher Hoffmann (B9) was contacted and become an informant for the research project. He was chosen due to the fact that he was the only individual from all interviewees that had attended his entire basic schooling at public elementary and high schools prior to his access to IFPA School in Sao Paulo. His biographical rendering has indeed contributed to the theoretical model developed within this dissertation. Later, Lauren Klein (B10) was contacted due to the fact that she underwent IFPA's dual system apprenticeship after having graduated from university. She already had a profession and a higher education degree when she decided to undergo secondary level VET in the subsequent modality. The additional five interviews (which were conducted after the first batch of five) were all conducted via VoIP landline calls (plus video, through the assistance of Skype®). The recording set-up for the call was the software Audio Editor 5.3.1 and an external microphone model DX-USBMIC13, which is capable of capturing both the interviewer's and interviewee's voice. It is also important to mention that they were made one at a time, and analyzed one at a time, and as more data was needed, further interviews were conducted accordingly. The interviews were conducted within the respective schedule (all together these ten interviews account to more than 20 hours of audio recording):

- B1 = Lisa Steinway (VoIP through the assistance of Skype® - 01.2012)
- B2 = Virginia Müller (VoIP through the assistance of Skype® - 02.2012)
- B3 = Eva Schmidt (face-to-face in Hamburg, Germany – 02.2012)
- B4 = Alice Bauer (VoIP through the assistance of Skype® - 02.2012)
- B5 = Mary Weiss (face-to-face in Sao Paolo - 03.2012)
- B6 = Jessica Mai (VoIP through the assistance of Skype® - 10.2012)
- B7 = John Taylor (VoIP through the assistance of Skype® - 12.2012)
- B8 = Nicole Bush (VoIP through the assistance of Skype® - 02.2013)
- B9 = Christopher Hoffmann (VoIP through the assistance of Skype® - 04.2013)
- B10 = Lauren Klein (VoIP through the assistance of Skype® - 07.2013)

The time corresponding between the end of February, 2012 and mid October 2012 was used for the analysis of the first five interviews and the identification and intensive analysis of the first three single cases. Only after the last interview, the final version of the theoretical model began to be fully written; even though it had already gained shape during the entire analytical process through bullet points. It is fundamental to comprehend that the identification of a theoretical variation is necessary to address the research questions proposed in the research project with the purpose of obtaining knowledge that could assist explicating our social reality. However, the researcher also needs to identify the suitability of further cases for the potential analysis of process alternatives that could assist explicating social reality. Detka (2011) states that even short interviews with strong laconic textual sections could also be of crucial importance, given that they can also show interesting aspects and phenomena of the social reality. Such case could also be encountered in this dissertation. The autobiographical narrative interviews of Christopher Hoffmann and Eva Schmidt are rather laconic and the main narration part is rather short and the informant indicated a series of attempts of fading out certain experiences of in his narrative. A diverse set of questions had to be posed in the questioning phase of the interview to obtain the necessary narrative that could help identifying links the flux of event undergone by the incumbent in his biographical development. Nevertheless, his case was also fundamental for the expansion of the theoretical framework developed in this research project, given that his case was also used for contrastive comparison purposes.

5.4 The exhaustive data analysis part of the research

Essentially, this dissertation was divided into two main sections of analysis, namely, the exhaustive and the non-exhaustive data analysis. Autobiographical narrative interviews and the subsequent narrative analysis suggested by Fritz Schütze (1977; 1983; 2001; 2008) are extremely laborious and demand a great amount of time for the analysis of single cases. Hence, this research project used an exhaustive data analysis in a logical, sequential manner. In other words, the first single case (Lisa Steinway) was exhaustively analyzed following all individual steps proper to autobiographical narrative interviews and the narrative analysis: contacting the potential informant, negotiation phase, the conduction of the autobiographical narrative, then the text sort differentiation, full transcription which also counted with a translation step necessary in this cross-language research, the development of a full-sentence structural description with an in-depth analysis of the contextual level of single narrative units, putting together partial structural descriptions, the analytical abstraction of the single case, the outlining the overall biographical structuring and the later development of a generalized grid structure of analytical categories on the basis of potential identifiable phenomena observed within the case. This entire exhaustive analysis of the first case has led to the identification of a possible theoretical variation seeking alternative process. In this step of the research project, two other distinct single cases were exhaustively analyzed, which then provided the necessary framework for the development of a more in-depth theoretical model. These three single cases can be found in the portrait chapter of this dissertation and they assist illustrating the entire structuring of the theoretical model. Further five interviews were conducted later, and were analyzed in an non-exhaustive manner, with the purpose of expanding, adjusting, altering and also validating categories and core categories developed on the basis of these three single cases, and as potential data began considerably decreasing, eliminating the possibility of a further establishment of core categories, the data collection process ceased and the final theoretical model was concluded for the final written report.

The first single cases systematically selected for an exhaustive analysis, as aforementioned, was the case of Lisa Steinway. Among the first five interviews conducted by the researcher, and on the assessment of a possible theoretical variance and a rough estimate of the data available through these first autobiographical interviews, Lisa's case was selected given that her case could represent a potential representation of a basic process variation for individuals

who underwent IFPA's dual system apprenticeship within secondary level vocational education and training. The density of the data and the level of details also played an imperative role in the selection of her interview for an exhaustive analysis. Lisa's main narration demonstrated very relevant aspects and impediments that could possibly determined conditions, mechanisms and process that led her to undergo this VET program and the post impingements it generated on her biographical development. After that two other single cases could be identified on the basis of Lisa Steinway's case, namely, the ones of Virginia Müller (B2) which ended up constituting a maximal contrasting case and the case of Eva Schmidt which also helped comprehending and establishing an alternative process development.

In the following sections of this chapter the individual steps taken within the exhaustive analysis of the three single cases available on the portrait chapter of this dissertation are plainly explained. Examples based on selected textual section are also available for an analytical transparency, which is aimed a clearer comprehension of the analysis.

5.4.1 Text sort differentiation

Text sort differentiation is a primordial step within textual investigation. Firstly, this analytical step aims at identifying the manner in which data has been produced. In the case of this dissertation the material was produced in a scientific interview conversation. Secondly, Schütze (2008) argues that in the autobiographical interviews, the verbal representations and interpretations of the interaction partners and biography incumbents seriously, it shouldn't take them at face value. Hence some mini-steps should be taken into account in text sort differentiation, before proceeding with further analytical steps within the research project:

- (a) How the autobiographical text material has been produced and in what social activity it has been embedded.

It is necessary to state that informants who participated in the data collection process through the autobiographical narrative interviews in this dissertation did it exclusively with the intention of helping in the development of a scientific research aimed at better comprehending the biography of individuals that undergo IFPA's dual system apprenticeship in Sao Paulo. None of the informants received any sort of advantage or financial compensation for their participa-

tion. Each one was dully encouraged to tell his or her life history on the basis that it could generate crucial theories concerning IFPA School and its VET program in Brazil and that it heavily depended on their individual contribution. Hence, informants freely contributed to the data collection of this dissertation. In other words, there was no clear evidence of motives that could lead them to provide a distorted narrative with the purpose of gaining any kind of compensation or advantage. In addition, during negotiation phase, it was repeatedly stated that their anonymity would be preserved so that they could feel comfortable to provide a very in-depth narrative without worrying over their identity.

(b) How the interviewer and informant understood the special interview arrangement of producing the *life historical* account in their interaction.

During negotiation phase, via email, later a first phone call and also on the day of the interview before the beginning of the main narration, informants were dully advised of the meaning the production of an autobiographical narrative constitutes. It is, however, important to state that, at times, the researcher was confronted with a laconic type of rendering by the informant, but it didn't seem to be a general trend, given that informants also clearly used features of extempore autobiographical narration that could be used during analysis and further categorization. Moreover, in order to avoid the undesired outcome in which the informant mistakenly provide a narrative based on what he or she considers is relevant for the researcher, which can abstain one from reporting highly personal experiences, during negotiation phase, potential participants that later became informants were repeatedly advised that all the quality of their life history rendering depended heavily on the provision of as many details as possible and that he or she should address all aspects of their biography they considered to be relevant, and not only those regarding IFPA School and this specific process within their biographical development. The stimulus question posed by the researcher also entailed the aforementioned encouragement. These are two textual sections from passages of the stimulus questions posed by the researcher before the beginning of the main narration phase:

Textual section 1:

You do not need to rush, and the more details you provide, the better it is (‘) and everything that is important to you is important to me (.)

Textual section 2:

What I want to know from you (-) is the story of your life (,) but not only the time you attended IFPA (,) I would like to know everything that happened before and after IFPA too (,)

(c) Thirdly, it has to be delineated within the autobiographical text material where and how other communicative schemes than narration occur and what their representational and communicative function would be (Schütze 1987).

A clear example would be the use of self-theoretical commentaries or even borrowed self-theoretical approaches from others that are used during a rationalization indicating motives that led one to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship. Virginia Muller's case is an adequate illustrative case for such a case, as it can illustratively be observed in her rendering in:

B2: my mother had always told us that knowledge was the only thing that nobody could take from us (,) As for material things: (‘) someone can simply do something (-) like make you sign a piece of paper and take everything you have away (,) (-) But they can't do that with your knowledge (,)

I: *uh huh*

B2: She said that with knowledge we could always survive (,) (2) And I agree with her (,) (-)

(d) Fourthly especially in cases where the autobiographical text material was not elicited and/or put on paper by the researcher her or himself:

This wasn't the case in this research project. The author of this dissertation was able to conduct, transcribe, and translate all interviews without further assistance. It showed to be rather relevant in the process of getting acquainted with the material and obtaining maximal analytical outcome due to a constant exposure to the data collected in the autobiographical narrative interviews.

5.4.2 Transcribing the autobiographical narrative interviews

The transcription can be a very useful step within the analytical phase of the research for it can provide the researcher with very crucial insights regarding the empirically data. It is a

detailed and high-quality written account of the verbal material. Detka (2011) reminds us that generally in autobiographical narrative interviews the researcher should transcribe the complete narration phase as well as the relevant parts of the questioning phase. Obviously, during the research process the researcher may always transcribe further necessary textual sections of the interviews for the purpose of altering, changing and adding essential further data to the research. In this dissertation, the three single cases which are fully exposed in the portrait chapter (Lisa Steinway - B1, Virginia Müller - B2 and Eva Schmidt – B3) were fully transcribed, regardless of the importance of all textual sections in the questioning part. Further interviews, were transcribed according to the matter of importance and relevance for the further development of the theoretical framework of the research.

Hence, only the structural description and the reconstructed “gestalt” of the overall biographical structuring can be fully read in the portrait chapter; even though determined textual passages were fully transcribed and translated with the intention of being used in the theoretical model with the purpose of providing further clarification and exemplification of this research step. It is important to bear in mind that the transcription of an autobiographical narrative interview is extremely laborious, especially in the case of this dissertation due to the fact that each interview had to be translated from Portuguese into English. The transcription of the three single cases alone accounted to more than 150 pages, which had to be appropriately transcribed, be filled out with all necessary symbols and later translated into English.

Jovchelovitch and Bauer (2000) argue that the level of detail of the transcriptions depends on the aims of the study. In this dissertation, the researcher took into consideration paralinguistic features, pauses, type intonation, stressed words and syllables, as well as tone of voice whenever the informant attempted to provide his or her rendering with a distinctive tone, such as sarcasm. These were the symbols used for the transcription of the interviews in this dissertation:

Symbol	Description
I	Interviewer
B (1,2,3,4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10)	Informant (numbers concern the identification of the interviewee)
(,)	Falling intonation
(‘)	Rising intonation
(?)	Questioning intonation
(-)	Short pause (one second pause)
(2)	Two-second pause
(3)	Three-second pause
(pause)	Longer pause
<u>Decision</u>	Stressed word in a sentence
=	Repetition of the same previous uttered word
/ehm/	Short pause used to gain time and think of a further formulation
/mhm/	Short pause used to gain time and think of a further formulation
Uh huh	Interjections for expression of agreement and signal of attentive listening
(((laughing)))	Non verbal utterances
:school:	Stressed word in a sentence with a stretched pronunciation
/	Disfluent speech - interruption of narrative construction
[]	Overlap
()	Incomprehensible
“You are very important for...”	Direct speech in the narrative

5.4.3 The contextual level of single narrative units

The identification of textual segments concerning the contextual level of single narrative units is a vital analytical step preceding the structural description of a determined case. The researcher must pay close attention to a variety of structural presentation activities in order to precisely determine the preamble and the coda of a full-size narrative unit. Detka (2005) explains that the objective of identifying and structuring full size narrative units is to establish a sequential order used on the reconstruction of the entire biographical development of the incumbent. Schütze (2008) affirms that this specific step provides the sequential contexts for the constitution and functioning of meso and macro structural textual phenomena and the social and biographical processes they express. A full-sized narrative unit entails the following structural presentation activities, of course, not all units will demonstrate all ten concomitantly:

Table 35: Structural presentation activities of a full-sized narrative unit
Source: Summary from material available on Schütze (2008)

Frame switching elements	An element that is expressing the change or the passing over between narrative units following each other;
Introductions to narrative units	Pre-announces the overall quality of the content of the narrative unit to be depicted;
Kernel sentence(s)	Depicts a social or biographical process that passes over a time threshold of a before and a later on;
Textual sections of descriptive or argumentative detailing	Specifically attached to narrative kernel sentences. Used for the concretization of vague higher predicates of kernel sentences, explicate an unfamiliar concept or conception needs interpretation or description, explanation of an enigmatic or at least partially unknown phenomenon;

The researcher should also look at the single narrative units in the narrative text and attempt to observe other additional communication activities: situational detailing, depiction of social frames, argumentative evaluations, critiques, self-theoretical commentaries, attempts of fading out difficult experiences and also textual sections aimed at repairing of these chaotic presentation activities by background constructions. The examples below are taken from Lisa

Steinway's narrative and serve to illustrative examples regarding the aforementioned communication activities.

- **Argumentative evaluations:** In the following passage, Lisa tries to rationalize the reason why she believes IFPA is aimed at socioeconomically privileged individuals, who are described by her as *the elite*.

B1: /ehm/ it was a group of people who had a lot of money (,)

I: *uh huh*

B1: I don't know (-) it was kind of (-) many of my classmates' parents had imported cars (-) you know (?) (-) /ehm/ they were always wearing designer brands (') and the vast majority of students at Porto Seguro were like that (-) I believe it's still like that nowadays, also (') because the school tuition is very expensive (-) and I think it's an elite school (,) (-)

- **Critiques:** Lisa criticizes her mother's occupation, claiming it is perceived as an unfit according to today's societal expectations. Lisa makes reference to her mother and she seems to disapprove her course of live, becoming a housewife after the children were born, as it can be observed below:

We'll have to be away from home very often (-) the time when a mother could be a full-time mother is simply over (-) the way my mother was (,) Today (-) is not an option (-)

- **Self-theoretical commentaries:** In the textual section below, Lisa once again uses an important commentary in her narrative. She associates the fact of not being hired after the end of her apprenticeship with one of her self-theoretical commentaries.

then (2) /ehm/ my apprenticeship ended at KLS (-) and they didn't have a position to offer me right when I finished the apprenticeship (') I understood (,) it didn't depend only on the apprentice (') but also depended on being in the right place at the right time (,) (-)

- **Attempts of fading out difficult experiences:** It is remarkable in the next passage how the informant attempts to fade out her memories regarding the entrance examinations at two pub-

lic universities. In the main narration (see passage 1 below), the informant simply skips this process and leaves a gap in her rendering. It was a difficult experience not to overcome this super-imposed impediment that ended up having a huge influence on the pathway leading her to IFPA School.

Passage 1: after I finished high school (-) I started attending IFPA (-)

After noticing this difficult experience, the interviewer once again asks about this period of time in the questioning phase of the interview and, once again, Lisa interrupts abruptly the flow of her narration and does not provide any additional details. She immediately refocuses the attention on a positive aspect, namely, being hired by AHK to represent Brazil in Germany, as it can be observed in the passage below:

B1: I tried to get into USP and UNICAMP (‘) (-) these are /ehm/ federal universities

I: uh huh (-) right (-)

B1: they actually belong to the state of São Paulo (,) (-) USP is the University of Sao Paulo and UNICAMP is the University of Campinas (-) /ehm/ but (-) since I didn’t pass the entrance examinations (‘) I gave up studying veterinary medicine (,)

I: uh, right (,)

B1: so I /ehm/ (3) What else (?) (-) /ehm/ I was selected by AHK to go to Germany

- Textual sections aimed at repairing chaotic presentation activities by background constructions: This passage of Lisa Steinway’s interviews reveals a background construction regarding her experience during the initial weeks of her apprenticeship at IFPA School. It is possible to observe how she constructs this narrative and concomitantly performs important biographical work dealing with the fact and problems of her dramatic identity change.

B1: I had never taken a bus in São Paulo before (,) /mhm/ (-) the two years I went to IFPA were kind of complicated (‘) because it was all very new to me (,) I had to wake up at 5:00 in the morning /ehm/ to catch a bus at Largo do Treze (‘) I don’t know if you know this place here in São Paulo (?) but it’s not a very nice place (,)

I: uh huh

B1: I had to go to Largo Treze de Maio, where IFPA was located (,) so I had to go from one side of town to the other (‘) it took me about an hour to get there by bus (‘) (-) in short, it wasn’t something that a girl who went to Porto Seguro was used to (,) I wasn’t used to it (,) do you understand (?) (2)

I:

uh huh

B1: :but: /ehm/ that's fine (') because it was logical (-) my father didn't give me a car (((laughs))) (-) but it was very good (,) (2) It was the first point (,) :That: I had to wake up very early (-) I was alone /ehm/ :and: no longer had my mother to wake me up (,) So (') I became an adult during the time I went to IFPA (,)

There are five other cognitive figures of autobiographical story telling that are equally important, and should be identified and analyzed as well; see Schütze (1983). This a list of them followed by exemplars also extracted from Lisa Steinway's interview. They serve as illustration for a better comprehension of the identification of such figures within the textual passages.

- The abstract, evaluative, emotional and stylistic global shape of the narration, which can be especially studied in the preamble, the coda and the pre-coda segment of the narration.

This is a textual section from the coda of Lisa's interview. The evaluative narration is very evident and the informant attempts to assess the entire development of her biography. As a matter of fact, she continues with her rendering after an explicit conclusion of her coda and a three-second pause. She begins a rationalization explicating and assessing events and its concatenation in her biography. This is typical of pre-coda segments and also preambles.

B1: Sometimes people say "I don't like what I do" (-) and so on (-) but I think I'm in the right place (,) /ehm/ I still have a lot to learn /ehm/ (-) we're always learning a lot of things (,) But I believe I'm on the right path (-) to grow even more in my profession (,) (-)

I: *uh huh*

B1: So (') that was it (,) (3) As a matter of fact (') it all started with IFPA (-) because if it wasn't for IFPA (') I wouldn't be at KLS today (-) I wouldn't be in such a position (,) I still think I am a young person (-) I'm only 33 years old (-) and everything went very well (-) very fine for me (,) I was of course very fortunate (-) to be in the right place at the right time (') to be /ehm/ prepared (-) well (') at least someone believed I was prepared at the time (,) (-)

- The concatenation of narrative segments.

In this textual section from the coda of Lisa's interview, it is possible to observe the presentation of the sequence of the events the narrator was involved in and the related experiences including inner changes of the narrator as the person having been involved in the events. She begins explicating the outcomes of her father's unemployment, their subsequent relocation to Silver Bay and the impingements it began exerting in her biographical development. She disapproved the situation and was undergoing a trajectory for she had to abruptly terminate a relationship to a significant other. Moreover, she is linking her decision to attend IFPA in Sao Paolo with her strong desire to return to Sao Paolo.

B1: after that (-) when we moved to Silver Bay (‘) my mother didn't work with my father either (,) She stayed at home (,) (-) The one who started working with my father was my brother (-) at the computer school (2) /ehm/ They opened other schools in other cities too (‘) and now there's one in Bayfield and one in Ashland (,) they take care of both schools (,)

I: *uh huh*

B1: after I finished high school (‘) I started attending IFPA (-) at the time (-) I kind of threw a tantrum (‘) because I was dating a boy from São Paolo (-) and didn't like the idea of moving to Silver Bay very much (,)

- Situations or scenes of biographical importance, in which there is a peak in the concatenation of events as well as in which the identity change of the narrator as former dramatis persona is experienced by her or himself and can be observed by others;

In this textual section from the coda of Lisa's interview, one can identify the rendering of direct speech, as well as including the different perspectives of the inner speech of the narrator as former actor and as present autobiographical story teller. She begins with a higher predicate and then continues explicating the source of her predicaments when she began undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship.

B1: the first year was catastrophic (((laughs))) (-) several times I had to think (-) "my God what am I doing here at this school full of Germans (‘) I have to cross the entire city on a bus with a lot of (-) /ehm/ well /ehm/ I'll say it (-) people from the northeast region" you know (?) (-) that kind of thing (,) It didn't seem to be a place I

should be (.) Anyway (‘) this was very good after all /ehm/ because then I started to create and shape my personality (-) in order to create a basis for a professional life (-) do you understand (?) I had to grow up (-) because that was the time I started to realize that life /ehm/ is hard for everyone (-) do you understand (?) (-) sooner or later we always do (.) (-)

- The story carrier, who is at the same time the narrator and the biography incumbent.

In this textual section from the coda of Lisa’s interview, one can perceive that there is a difference between the former experiential perspectives in the life history (passage 1 below) and the present one of autobiographical narration (passage 2 below). It can be easily identified in the reflective narrative passage provided by the informant in the second passage and the contrast to the second passage in which she discloses evaluative passages concerning her dual system apprenticeship at IFPA.

Passage 1: the first year was catastrophic (((laughs))) (-) several times I had to think (-) “my God what am I doing here at this school full of Germans (‘) [...]the two years I went to IFPA were kind of complicated (‘) because it was all very new to me (.) I had to wake up at 5:00 in the morning /ehm/ to catch a bus at Largo do Treze (‘) I don’t know if you know this place here in São Paulo (?) but it’s not a very nice: place (.)

Passage 2: As a matter of fact (‘) it all started with IFPA (-) because if it wasn’t for IFPA (‘) I wouldn’t be at KLS today (-) I wouldn’t be in such a position [...] So KLS gave me many opportunities (.) And I’m extremely grateful to this company (.) (2) It all originated at IFPA (-) so it was very good (.) (2)

- Event carriers: other dramatis personae beyond the story carrier; as any type of social units they can even belong to the non-human world.

In this textual section from the coda of Lisa’s interview, one can observe an event carrier that belongs to the non-human world – event carriers can also be identified in the role played by significant other in the biographical development of the incumbent, though The informant repeatedly refers to the public buses in her narrative. It represented a determined social degradation, and also an exposure to a new social frame, to which she wasn’t accustomed. This event carrier helped shaping her experience of the biographical process she was undergoing at the time. Through this event carrier she obtained the confirmation of an undesired turn of

events in her biography. She wasn't acting upon one of her self-theoretical commentaries that it is fundamental "to be in the right place at the right time".

B1: having to take the bus to school wasn't really a hardship either (') but /ehm/ in São Paulo (-) at five in the morning (-) who gets on the bus at this time (?) only unskilled bricklayers (,) it's something different (,) (-) I had to take buses to work with all the housekeepers and manual laborers (') people from a lower social status (,) It was a shock in the beginning (-)

- Social frames for the flux of events and social processes as well as for the flux of the inner time of the story carrier.

In this textual section from the coda of Lisa's interview, one can observe the informant's narrative regarding IFPA as an important social arena in her biography. The school is, at the beginning, a new world for Lisa and it has been an important trigger in changes of identity of the story carrier.

B1: but it was very good (,) (2) It was the first point (,) That I had to wake up very early :and: I was alone /ehm/ and no longer had my mother to wake me up (,) So I became an adult during the time I went to IFPA (,) (-) At IFPA (-) /ehm/ the teachers spoke only German (-) everything was in German (') and it was hard (-) especially for me (-) because at Porto Seguro I had one German lesson among all other subjects that/which were taught in Portuguese (,) (-) at IFPA it was a little different /ehm/ (-) actually /ehm/ it was totally different (-) in the office clerk course I chose (') most subjects were taught by the same teacher (-)

The following excerpt from an autobiographical narrative interview is intended to serve as an illustration of identification of a textual segment (from single case 2 – Virginia Müller):

B2: After (-) I passed the admission test (-) I went to Sao Paulo (,) I needed to do interviews to get into the IFPA school (,) They sent me an email saying I needed to be there the next day at 11:00 AM (,) So (') my mother bought a plane ticket using a friend's credit card and I boarded a flight in Porto Alegre, went to Sao Paulo (,) and I did the interview (2) This interview was at a company called BLC, which makes the coating for seats (,) I finished in second place and thought "Oh: my God" (') There was a (pause) well (') Jack was the name of the boy (-) who was in first place

(,) We had to participate in a group dynamic (,) that lasted two days and I finished in second place (-) and they hired that boy (,)

I: *uh huh*

B2: But (‘) I remember they asked us if we were a brand (-) which brand would we rather be, and he said TIM (-) I remember he said TIM (,) They asked why and he answered “So I could live without borders” and I thought ‘fucking shit (,) This kid will win’ (,) And he got the job because his answer was really good (-) ok (-) so I didn’t pass and had to go back to Rio Grande do Sul (,) (-) I was so discouraged that it didn’t work out the first time (-) I always put myself under pressure for things to work out the first time I try them (‘)

I: *uh huh*

B2: I think of life (-) as if I were a doctor operating on a person’s eye (,) I wouldn’t have a second chance (-) to fix a person’s sight (-) I’ll either screw it up the first time (-) or I’ll do everything 100% right the first time (-) I don’t have a second chance to fix it (-)

I: *uh huh*

B2: and I’ve always thought like that (,) So then (-) I decided I’d start working in Greenville

This full narrative unit begins with a frame switching element, which is here characterized by the temporal adverb *after*. It deals with the informant’s trip to Sao Paulo to interview for an apprenticeship position at a company in this city. This narrative unit initiates with the kernel sentence “I passed the admission test (-) I went to São Paulo”. The last sentence of this section, and also the coda indicating the end of this first full narrative unit, can be observed in the informant’s closing phrase about her self-theoretical commentary “and I’ve always thought like that”. The beginning of the next full narrative unit can be observed in the next frame switching element, in this case the adverb *so* immediately followed by the adverb *then*.

5.4.4 Translation and language barriers

Language is a powerful object of analysis concerning autobiographical interviews. Hence, any translation of the collect data must be accurately and cautiously conducted. Tarozzi (2013) precisely reminds us that the semantic power of a translation that ignores cultural settings is impoverished and it loses dramatically its semantic power. Hence, in this research project, interviews were conducted in Portuguese, given that its apprentices are Brazilians and the school is also located in Sao Paulo, Brazil, and that the researcher is also a native speaker of the tar-

get language. It is more appropriate for researchers to use the language of the informant to obtain an understanding of their life history, given that using a foreign language could be an impediment for one's to provide a fluent narrative or even an understandable one. Larson (1998) reminds us that the term 'cross-language research' describes studies in which a language barrier is present between qualitative researchers and their participants. This research project, however, does not have this problem once the researcher speaks the language of the informants and can also use the original language for analytical purposes. However, for scientific as well as orientation purposes, and also aiming at the publication of this dissertation, the interviews had to be translated from Portuguese into the English language.

Temple and Young (2004) claim that the situation where the researcher is fluent in the language of communities she is working with is rare. It offers opportunities in terms of research methods that are not open to other researchers in cross language research. The interviews conducted in this dissertation were translated by the author of this research, though, who is also dully qualified in both languages, Portuguese and English, therefore, being able to carry out the translations in this cross language research project. However, it must not be forgotten that translating interviews from one language to another isn't merely an easy process of replacing words of one idiom with those of the other. House (2006) states that it is necessary to bear in mind that that translation equivalence is extremely complex, as it is socially and historically determined, and affected by the constraints of specific languages, linguistic and social conventions, as well as the translator's comprehension, creativity, and implicit theories. Perhaps one of the biggest concerns regarding translation of data used in grounded theories studies is the type and precision of it. Hence, the translations done in this research project were particularly preoccupied with a *verbum pro verbo* translation. However, this direct translation can also impede a full comprehension of the sense behind the message being conveyed by the informant. Therefore, adjustments had to be made in order to make the textual sections comprehensible. In this dissertation, as the researcher possess the necessary qualification to work with both languages involved in this cross-language research, only the three autobiographical interviews included in the portrait chapter were fully translated. Further interviews which were non-exhaustively analyzed only had relevant textual sections translated for future usage and illustration with the theoretical model of this research project. In addition, of course, these sections were properly transcribed and translated with the aim of providing an enhanced transparency of the development of core and sub-categories within the framework

established on the basis of the data collected. These are a few examples of a literal translation and of the translation done in this research project, which was concerned with both issues regarding equivalence or comparability of meaning, for the reader to have a general idea of the modifications needed to be done in the textual sections.

Example taken from Lisa Steinway's interview:

This is the textual section in the original language – Portuguese:

Primeiro trabalhou na Phillips (-) depois trabalhou numa empresa de computadores xxx (,) :e: depois na=na crise do Collor lá que foi noventa (-) oitenta e alguma coisa (‘) daí que ele ficou desempregado (‘) e aí ele resolveu ir pra Silver Bay (-) onde o custo de vida era mais baixo do que em São Paulo (,) (2)

This is the literal translation word by word:

First worked at Phillips (-) then worked at another business of computer xxx (,) :And: after in=in crisis of Collor there that was ninety (-) eighty or something (‘) then that he became unemployed (‘) and then he decided to go to Silver Bay (-) where the cost of living was more low than in São Paolo (,) (2)

This is the adjusted, final translation used in the interview:

First he worked at Phillips (-) then at a another computer business xxx (,) :And: after the=the Collor's crisis there that happened back in the ninety's (-) eighty something (,) Then he became unemployed (‘) and then he decided to move to Silver Bay (-) where the cost of living was lower than in São Paolo (,) (2)

5.4.5 Sequential structural description

Schütze (2008) states that the structural description has to be conducted mainly in orientation to the formal features, especially the presentation and demonstration markers of the main narrative and the narrative units of the first questioning part. In addition, the structural description has to be concerned with the biographical and social contents transpired by the narrative. The sequential structural description is the subsequent step within the interpretative analysis.

The researcher should then focus essentially on: (a) the analysis of the single narrative units; and (b) the sequential concatenation within supra-segmental process units.

The following excerpt from an autobiographical narrative interview is intended to serve as an illustration (from single case 1 – Lisa Steinway):

B1: (.) (2) So (-) my parents met and got married (-) /mhm/ we always lived in São Paulo until=until I was about 16 or 17 years old (,) (3) My father is an economist (-) he went to PUC University in São Paulo and majored in economics (,) He's always worked for companies (-) first he worked at Phelps (-) then at a another computer business (,) And (-) the=the crisis during Collor's presidency happened back (-) in 1990 :or: 1980 or something (,) So he became unemployed (') and decided to move to Silver Bay (-) where the cost of living were lower than in=in São Paulo (,) (2) There /ehm/ he started his own business (-) a computer school here in Silver Bay (-) a franchise named Super Computers (,)

After a previous closing sentence in the coda of the last narrative unit with a falling intonation and a two second pause, a new full narrative unit begins with a clear frame switching element, which is characterized by the temporal adverb *then*. This narrative unit begins with the kernel sentence “then my parents met (-) got married”. The next passage is a purely a textual sections of descriptive detailing made by the incumbent with purpose of revealing further information about her family milieu which also vital for the comprehension of the flux of events. The next kernel sentence in this full size narrative unit is “and the crisis during Collor's presidency came back in 1990 or eighty something”. The following is a conjunction *so* indicating the results this process generated. The informant focuses on the narrative detailing of this interlink of biographical importance and its outcomes, and ends it with a falling intonation, which is immediately followed by a two-second pause. Lisa continues here explanation with a spatial orientation; indicated by the adverb *there* with the purpose of focusing on the subsequent events in a new residential location. This narrative detailing is used for the construction of a textual section that may rationalize and secure the explanation of further outcomes in her biography regarding this interlink.

Another key aspect that should be addressed in the structural description is the presentation markers of fours distinctive biographical processes. Schütze (1981, 2008) also states that life

history is a narrative “gestalt” that must be envisioned as an ordered sequence of personal experiences, and that orderliness implies the inner identity development of the biography incumbent. Moreover, these tend to normally follow each other in their biographical dominance. The most important ordering principles of life history are biographical process structures. The examples below serve to illustrate how these biographical processes appeared in the biographical development of Lisa Steinway, which can also be observed in typical formulaic verbal expressions through clear presentation markers concerning each one of the main processes.

(a) Biographical action schemes: one attempts to actively steer the course of his or her life. These are seen as intentional activities in a life course. Therefore they have an intentional orientation structure;

B1: So I found a way /ehm/ to be accepted by the whole family to go back to São Paulo (,) It wasn't because I loved the office clerk course or because I loved IFPA (-) nor was it because it was all I wanted to do in life (,) It was more because I wanted to go back to São Paulo (,)

A typical formulaic verbal expressions indicating a biographical action scheme is noticeably discernible in the first kernel sentence of this narrative unit “I found a way accepted by the whole family to go back to Sao Paolo”. The informant actively shaped the course of her life by finding a possible manner to return to Sao Paolo.

(b) Trajectories of suffering: one undergoes a process that does not enable one to actively steer the course of his or her life anymore. One is deprived of the opportunity to act intentionally. Therefore, trajectories have a conditional orientation structure;

B1: Collor's plan came along (‘) **then things start getting a little harder** (,) My father had three children going to Porto Seguro, which is an expensive school (,) /ehm/ just my father worked at the time (-) and my mother didn't (,) He had to manage everything on just his salary

The next kernel sentence is “Collor’s plan⁸ came along”, which is immediately followed by a typical formulaic verbal expression indicating a trajectory “then things started getting a little harder”. This last sentence is a very lucid supra-segmental marker of the beginning of a biographical process, namely, a trajectory of suffering. However, this process has its genesis in an interlink of biographical importance, here characterized by a collective trajectory.

(c) Institutional expectation patterns: one is following up institutionally shaped and normatively defined courses of life. One is motivated by institutional and societal norms.

B1: Then (‘) after I finished high school (‘) I went to IFPA (-) and then to college to study international trade (-) here in Campinas (,) (-)

It is a clear presentation marker of a biographical process the informant went through. One can observe a typical formulaic verbal expression that describes an institutional expectation pattern in the biography of the incumbent.

(d) Creative metamorphoses of biographical identity: they usually have a considerable impact on one’s self-perception. It is mainly characterized by a new important inner development commences in one’s own biography.

B1: Anyway (‘) this was very good after all /ehm/ because then I started to create and shape my personality (-) in order to create a basis for a professional life (-) do you understand (?) I had to grow up (-) because that was the time I started to realize that life /ehm/ is hard for everyone (-) do you understand (?) (-) sooner or later we always do (,) (-)

Lisa began understanding the outcomes of an, at the beginning, irritating situation in her biography. She couldn’t fully undergo all the endurance she had to go through during IFPA’s ap-

⁸ The Collor Plan is the name given to a collection of economic reforms and inflation-stabilization plans carried out during the presidency of Fernando Collor de Mello of Brazil, between 1990 and 1992. The Collor plan combined fiscal and trade liberalization with radical inflation stabilization measures. The plan was announced on March 16, 1990, one day after Collor's inauguration. Its intended policies included replacing the existing currency, to freezing 80% of private assets for 18 months (receiving the prevailing rate of inflation plus 6% in interest while frozen), implement an extremely high tax on all financial transactions, eliminating of most fiscal incentives and a temporary freeze on wages and prices, among other measures; see JusBrasil (2010).

prenticeship. Yet, this confusion and the several difficult conditions appeared to have culminated in a creative metamorphosis of biographical identity, as it can be observed above.

It is fundamental to bear in mind that one's rendering shouldn't necessarily be taken at face value. Hence, the structural description should also be concerned with another epistemic task, namely, pragmatic refraction. Schütze (2008) says that pragmatic refraction doesn't take the textual formulations at face value. It searches for the social and biographical processes that are consciously and non-consciously expressed by the textual rendering.

5.4.6 Putting together partial structural descriptions of presentation

This is essentially the last important sub-step of the structural description. The main task of the researcher is to put together the informational chunks extracted from the analysis of strings of presentation in the three parts of the autobiographical narrative interview dealing with the same event constellation and the same process of biographical identity change; see Schütze (2008). The researcher should focus on putting together chunks of presentational information that assists the fully comprehension of laconic rendering provided in the main narration.

In the case of the interviews conducted during this research project, it is visible that the main narration is generally smaller than the other subsequent phases of the interview, which is considered to be a normal outcome. Thus, the questioning part is crucial to extract and obtain further necessary information that assist enlightening textual sections entailing more clarification. Schütze (2008) makes clear that this sub-step is aimed at (a) explicating the laconic narrative kernel sentences of the main story line, and (b) Filling in the "gaps" of difficult life-historical experiences initially faded out of awareness in the main story line. The examples bellow serve to illustrate the importance of putting together partial structural descriptions of presentation of the three parts of the autobiographical narrative. These are two textual sections from two different interviews, where it is possible to see two laconic sections of rendering.

Example 1 (taken from Lisa Steinway's interview):

B1: "So I went by bus to IFPA (-) I started to take busses in São Paolo (-) because until then (-) I had a good life (') my mom drove us to school and picked us up (-) I

had never taken a bus in São Paolo before (,) /mhm/ (-) the two years I went to IFPA were kind of **complicated**”

In this first example, it is possible to observe two important higher predicates in Lisa’s narrative. They seem to indicate a crucial change in the development of her biography, which can be verified in her word choice that indicates a clear contrast. The informant uses two adjectives as a presentation for a polarization dividing the course of her biography into *good* and *complicated*. Yet, she does not fully explicate the motives that led to this change and additional information is clearly needed to better comprehend this laconic rendering.

Example 2 (taken from Virginia Muller’s interview):

B2: He spent three or four days awake (-) without sleeping (,) He only thought things over (,) (-)

I: *uh huh*

B2: For me (-) that :marked: **the time** when hell started (,) (2) Because he only went to the :meetings: and didn’t :sleep: (-) he smoked all day (‘) I would wake up at midnight and he just wouldn’t be asleep (‘)

In this second example, it is possible to observe a marker in form of a higher predicate in Virginia’s narrative. That is a clear indication of a trajectory undergone by the informant. Such an important biographical process needs to be fully understood in the biographical analysis of the informant. Thus this textual section demands further questioning with the purpose of comprehending the conditions that led to this trajectory.

5.4.7 Analytical abstraction of the single case

Detka (2011) clarifies that the aim of the research is to generate theoretical statements that apply to a variety of cases in the social reality, and not merely to a single case. Hence, the analytical abstraction of a single case is fundamental to lay the foundation for the further data that will be incorporated into the research project. The first case represents the basis that will be used for contrasting against other cases. Schütze (2008) explains that it can be imagined that certain features of the case could also be found within other cases, some would help to theoretically differentiate between various types of cases, and still others would demonstrate the case as essentially unique. During this analytical step, the researcher needs to focus on the

connection, interrelation, competition among other aspects of the various structural processes of biography. In addition, it is also concerned with the analytical abstraction addresses the interlink of biographical processes.

5.4.8 Outlining the overall biographical structuring

Schütze explicates that the overall biographical structuring (Schütze 1983, 1984, 2007) deals with three main procedures, as detailed in the table below. With an illustrative purpose, the procedures are dully exemplified by textual sections extracted from different interviews used in the portrait chapter of this dissertation. The *ipsis litteris* description of the procedures is all from Schütze (2008) and further examples can also be directly seen in the same publication.

Procedure 1: Looking at the sequential order and the supra-segmental markers of the narrative units of the main story line and delineating the start, the evolvment and the ending of biographical process structures, their sequential combination and their competition and/or mutual support during the same biographical period;

Example from Lisa Steinway's overall biographical structuring (it is only a partial sequence of biographical process. For a full structuring, please refer to portrait chapter):

- During her high school education, a significant **interlink of biographical importance** began impinging Lisa's biographical development. The financial and political crisis of that period in Brazil was the trigger for her father's dismissal that eventually led the family to a cul-de-sac financial condition. The family is compelled to move to a smaller town and abandon Sao Paulo. Lisa's educational pathway margin – post secondary education – became very restricted, and she was abruptly forced to end contact with significant others;
- The incumbent's engage in her first **biographical action scheme** and her attempt to return to Sao Paulo. The incumbent took two university entrance examinations, at two different universities in Sao Paulo, with the goal of beginning to major in veterinary medicine;

- After having failed both examinations, Lisa's **biographical plan became endangered** and it posed serious obstacles on her general further biographical as well as identity development;
- IFPA's apprenticeship as a **biographical trajectory exit pathway**. After having failed two entrance examinations and realized her possible educational pathways became restricted, Lisa was undergoing a total loss of occupational orientation and she still found herself experiencing a biographical trajectory. She needed to find a possibility to adjust institutional conditions to her own current biographical circumstances.
- Hence, she decided to embark on a **second biographical action scheme** in order to actively shape the course of her life. After a short period of time, Lisa recollected she had already had access to information about a secondary level vocational school in Sao Paolo, while she was still attending high school at Porto Seguro. It seems the incumbent had eventually encountered a possibility to return to Sao Paolo. After obtaining her parents' approval, she decided to undergo IFPA⁹'s dual system apprenticeship, in Sao Paolo.

Procedure 2: looking at the more detailed renderings of the personally painful and shameful experiential contexts as well as the subliminal creative experiences, as dealt with in the questioning parts of the interview;

Example from Lisa Steinway's overall biographical structuring (it is only a selective textual passage. For a full structuring, please refer to portrait chapter):

In the main narrative part of the autobiographical interview, Lisa provides the following rendering:

The two years I went to IFPA were kind of complicated (')(because it was all very new to me (,) I had to wake up at 5:00 in the morning /ehm/ to catch a bus at Largo

⁹ IFPA (Instituto de Formação Profissional Administrativa) is a private vocational school which provides vocational training, in a subsequent modality, based on the German dual system in Sao Paolo. It offers two types of courses based on the dual system: the traditional and the cluster dual system. In the traditional dual system, students acquire theoretical knowledge at the IFPA two days a week and practical knowledge in the company three days a week. In the dual cluster system, students, who do not live in the Sao Paolo area, attend theoretical classes for a month at the IFPA vocational school and have another two months of apprenticeship in the company; see IFPA (2011).

do Treze [...] it wasn't something that a girl who went to Porto Seguro was used to
(.) I wasn't used to it (,) do you understand (?) (2)

The interviewer perceives that this crucial textual passage demands further clarification, given that it entails traces of an experience of social degradation that seemed to have generated an inner irritation in the biographical development of the incumbent. Hence, the following question is posed in the questioning phase of the interview with the intention of obtaining a more detailed rendering:

I: [...] you mentioned that taking the bus to school was something /ehm/ (-) I'll reformulate it (-) you actually said "I began to take buses, because until then I had a good life" (,) and then you said a girl who studied at Porto Seguro wasn't used to something like that and that these two years of apprenticeship at IFPA were a little complicated (,) Could you explain this part a little more (?) What do you really mean by that (?)

Procedure 3: Looking at the argumentative commentary activities of the main story line as they are interpretatively assessing, explaining, legitimating and/or evaluating the experiences of biographical process structures, their sequential combination and their actual mutual impact (competition, support, substitution, etc.).

Example from Lisa Steinway's overall biographical structuring (it is only a selective textual passage. For a full structuring, please refer to portrait chapter):

In the following passage, one can perceive in the informant's argumentative narrative detailing the attempt of the biography incumbent to rationalize the motives that led her to opt for IFPA's apprenticeship in Sao Paolo as a desirable educational pathway. She justifies the biographical processes she embarked on the basis of the outcomes generated by an interlink of biographical process that interrupted important relationship to significant others as well as her disapproval of the family moving to the countryside, as it can be observed below:

B1: after I finished high school :I:=I started attending IFPA (-) at the time I kind of threw a tantrum (') because I was dating a boy from São Paolo (-) and didn't like the idea of moving to Silver Bay very much (,)

I: uh huh

B1: so (-) I wanted to find something to do there in São Paolo (,)

Another crucial aspect to be considered within the development of the overall biographical structuring is the analysis of the self-theoretical insights and rationalizations of the informant. Two important features should be taken into account, namely:

- (a) Systematic textual positions for **self-theoretical activities** (Schütze 1987) in the auto-biographical narrative interview;

Example from Lisa Steinway's overall biographical structuring:

It is a textual section extracted from the pre-coda of Lisa's interview. As a matter of fact it is the second part of a split coda generated in her rendering. The informant clearly makes overall commentaries regarding her entire biography. She makes an assessment of the development of her biography in relation to IFPA School and its contribution to the current state of affairs.

B1: So (‘) that was it (,) (3) As a matter of fact (‘) it all started with IFPA (-) because if it wasn't for IFPA (‘) I wouldn't be at KLS today (-) I wouldn't be in such a position (,) I still think I am a young person (-) I'm only 33 years old (-) and everything went very well (-) very fine for me (,) I was of course very fortunate (-) to be in the right place at the right time (‘) to be /ehm/ prepared (-) well (‘) at least someone believed I was prepared at the time (,) (-)

I: *uh huh*

B1: :But: it=it also /ehm/ depended very much on my own effort (-) everything that happened up to today (‘) because sometimes /ehm/ if you are tested and /mhm/ don't do well (‘) you end up having to leave (,)

- (b) Self-theoretical insights and shortcomings of the informant as biography incumbent;

Example from Lisa Steinway's overall biographical structuring:

One important point of analysis regarding Lisa's interview is her self-theoretical commentary, which is rather recurrent in her autobiographical interview, that *one needs to be in the right place at the right time*, and the incongruent situation she found herself in, given that she was engaged in an educational modality she didn't primarily intended to, in a VET course she didn't identify herself with, as it can be observed in her rendering below:

Everybody was going to college (-) everyone does it right after high school (,) (-) I am actually the exception (,) I didn't take the typical path Brazilian students usually take (') going to college right after finishing high school (,) (-) [...] I didn't see this course as /ehm/ (2) I didn't do it because it was an office clerk course (,) I always had in my mind that I didn't want to be a secretary (')

Another central issue regarding self-theories that should be looked into are the self-produced (“authentic”) theories and the borrowed theoretical explanations and orientations, especially considering that the borrowed theories could cause a theoretical loss of authenticity, if they would not fit the biographical experiences of the informant; see Schütze (2008). Please, refer to the overall biographical structuring of Virginia Muller for examples of this condition. Her biographical development is heavily influenced by self-theories borrowed from her mother. A short illustrative textual passage is the following:

B2: So (') (-) we always studied a lot (,) We had to struggle (-) because my mother had always told us that knowledge was the only thing that nobody could take from us (,) As for material things: (') someone can simply do something (-) like make you sign a piece of paper and take everything you have away (,) (-) But they can't do that with your knowledge (,)

I: *uh huh*

B2: She said that with knowledge we could always survive (,) (2) And I agree with her (,) (-) If she hadn't put it that way, I don't know if I'd be where I am today (,)

5.5 Developing a generalized grid structure of analytical categories

Detka (2011) states that categories as theoretical statements may have different "range", based on different levels of abstraction. The most relevant aspect that the researcher needs to bear in mind is that categories should be developed on the basis of statements regarding aspects of the social world that demonstrate a potential for future generalization. In other words, the analysis of single cases serves as a basis to determine generalized statements about the social reality. The individual importance of a single case becomes relevant by assisting determining conditions, mechanisms and processes that enable the identification of how the social world functions.

In the case of the present dissertation the development of a generalized grid structure of analytical categories should carefully take into account the development of categories based on the following aspects: (a) The kind and combinations of biographical processes which influenced one's decision to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship; (b) the kind of biographical preconditions for being hindered to learn to do biographical work – super-imposed structural and self-imposed impediments, lack of significant others and biographical care takers for supporting the young person to choose a biographically appropriate vocation, the absence of occupational orientation, lack of understanding of the biographical sense of vocational training and doing one's occupational work as means for self-realization. (c) Conditions influencing one's experience within IFPA's dual system apprenticeship and its interrelation with (a) and (b). (d) The impingements of IFPA's apprenticeship on the further biographical development of the incumbent concerning occupational orientation and one's current dominant biographical process.

Based on the themes and possible categories emerged from three single cases and its respective reconstructed “gestalt” of the overall biographical structuring, it was possible to elaborate a grid of core categories and its subcategories, as illustrated below. It was possible to ascertain and also easier to visualize the core categories by splitting them into three biographical phases of the informants, namely, prior- during and post-IFPA apprenticeship. With the purpose of providing more significant illustrative exemplifications of category development within this research project, these are a few, unordered examples of the category development on the basis of interviews with Lisa Steinway (first single case exhaustively analyzed). Upon development of the categories based on the exhaustive analysis of the systematically selected single case, the analysis is then completed. It is then time to refocus on the overall structure of the research and conduct further analysis for a constant comparison that will later lead to the development of a theoretical model.

Illustrative potential categories based on Lisa Steinway's single case exhaustive analysis

- The accumulation of a loss of vocational orientation, concatenation of superimposed impediments, outcomes of biographical processes and the role of parents as significant others as human event carriers leading to IFPA School;

- The incumbent's perception of a structural duality within the educational system as a determinant for own discernment and also impediment for the perception of IFPA as a self-fulfilling educational choice;
- The incumbent's critiques and self-theoretical commentaries as a basis for incongruent educational perception-behavior pathway, and a precondition for post hoc rationalization;
- The confrontation of the incumbent with his or her social world concerning IFPA's apprenticeship and its interrelation with one's socioeconomic background and self-theoretical reflections;
- IFPA's educational modality and its relation with one's vocational identity development and occupational orientation;
- IFPA's apprenticeship modality as a genesis for a metamorphosis of biographical identified through a discrepancy between story carrier in the strict sense and narrator;

5.6 The selection of additional single cases

After the full analysis of a first single case, in this dissertation the case of Lisa Steinway, it is necessary to select further interviews for the continuation of a theoretical sampling. It was essential, at this stage in the research project, to establish possible fundamental process variations of the first single case for a later generalization that could elucidate the research question regarding the perspective of the social reality. As it can be observe above in a few categories developed on the basis of Lisa's cases, it represents on alternative process, in which IFPA's dual system vocational training constitutes an alternative, second order choice pathway to an intermingled condition of super-imposed impediments, the outcomes of an interlink of biographical importance and a subsequent loss of occupational orientation. Therefore, two further alternatives were considered, namely, finding cases in which the incumbent (a) accessed IFPA within a first order choice aimed at gaining work and occupational orientation clarity, unrelated to super-imposed impediments and/or outcomes of an interlink of biographical importance (b) accessed IFPA within a essentially first order choice as part of an intentional pathway leading to upward mobility and positive distinctiveness based. These two cases could be identified in the autobiographical interviews of Eva Schmidt and Virginia Muller respectively. These two additional single cases were equally exhaustively analyzed like the first one, and strictly follow the same analytical steps until the generation of a grid structure of potential

categories, which were then systematically compared with those of Lisa Steinway's interview. The following are examples of potential categories developed on the basis of a contrastive case comparison between Lisa Steinway and Virginia Muller.

Illustrative potential categories based on the contrastive case comparison of Lisa Steinway's and Virginia Muller's cases

- The accumulation of a lack or loss of vocational orientation, the outcomes of biographical processes and the role of parents as significant others as conditions leading to IFPA School;
- The interrelation between one's awareness or absence of vocational identity development and the pathway leading to IFPA School;
- The interrelation between primary educational intentions and superimposed impediments: IFPA as a first or second order choice;
- The incumbent's perception or obliviousness to a duality within the educational system as a determinant for own discernment and also its interrelation with a self-alienating or self-fulfilling choice;
- The confrontation of the incumbent with his or her social world concerning IFPA's apprenticeship and its interrelation with one's socioeconomic background and self-theoretical reflections: a precondition for post hoc rationalization within a cognitive dissonance processes or a pathway leading to positive distinctiveness?
- IFPA's apprenticeship modality as a genesis for a metamorphosis of biographical identified through a discrepancy between story carrier in the strict sense and narrator;

5.7 Contrastive comparison as the basis for the development of a theoretical model

After the analytical abstraction for at least two cases, the researcher has to empirically check the overall theoretical variation on the basis of a contrastive comparison. Schütze (2008) claims that the researcher needs to imagine possible variations of case developments in terms of biographical and/or social processes and search for them in the empirical field under study. Then, the researcher needs to search for further new informants in order to proceed with data collection, which should end up with the complete theoretical saturation of the selection process regarding new cases to be collected and studied. Schütze (2008) mentions that it is a fun-

damental step for the comparison of the fundamentally general, the differentiating typological and the remarkably distinctive features of the first case.

In this research Lisa Steinway's and Virginia Muller's interviews constitute the first strategy of maximal contrasting, and they were used to generate insights into as many new and different category dimensions as possible. Based on these two single cases for further orientation, it became necessary to use the strategy contrasting under the following consideration: There must be a comparison of Lisa's and Virginia's interview with other former IFPA apprentices' interviews in which IFPA School was part of an educational decision constituting a school track choice, regardless of outcomes of a trajectory or an interlink of biographical importance and its interrelation with super-imposed structural impediments. In order to make it more visible for the reader, Lisa Steinway opted to undergo IFPA's dual system vocational training as an alternative pathway to an intermingled institutional barrier and the outcomes of a collective trajectory, whereas Virginia Müller chose it as an intentional pathway leading to upward mobility and positive distinctiveness. A further possible variation regarding IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship could be observed in the case of Eva Schmidt, please refer to portrait chapter. She characterized the case of someone accessing the school as a way to gain occupational orientation clarity, unrelated to trajectories, interlink of biographical importance or super-imposed structural impediments.

These last few examples are potential core categories developed on the basis of all three single cases, including Eva Schmidt's case, which was also exhaustively analyzed and is also available on the portrait chapter of this dissertation.

Illustrative potential categories emerged from all three exhaustively analyzed single cases

- The accumulation of a lack or loss of occupational orientation, dominant biographical process during decision making phase, and the role of parents as significant others as well as other event carriers as conditions leading to IFPA School;
- The interrelation between one's awareness or absence of vocational identity development and the pathway leading to IFPA School;

- The interrelation between primary educational intentions and superimposed impediments: IFPA as a first or second order choice;
- The incumbent's perception or obliviousness to a duality within the educational system as a determinant for own discernment and also its interrelation with a self-alienating or self-fulfilling choice;
- The impingement of previous superimposed structural impediments on the VET course choice of the biography incumbent;
- The confrontation of the incumbent with his or her social world concerning IFPA's apprenticeship and its interrelation with one's socioeconomic background and self-theoretical reflections: a precondition for post hoc rationalization within a cognitive dissonance processes or a pathway leading to positive distinctiveness?
- Ethnic origin and/or cultural identification and its influence on hybridity and social segregation within secondary level VET;
- IFPA School as an instrument for work orientation and clarifying one's occupational orientation;
- Secondary level VET as a manner of bridging permeability within the educational system with the purpose of revisiting primary educational intentions;
- IFPA's apprenticeship modality as a genesis for a metamorphosis of biographical identified through a discrepancy between story carrier in the strict sense and narrator, regardless of being a first or second order choice;

Schütze (2008) defines a theoretical model as pathways for linking the general, alternative and distinctive features of types of socio-biographical processes, and that in research projects on biographical phenomena the relationship between biographical and (other) social processes is always essential. This research project has a strong tendency towards the development of a theoretical model based on the research strategy of guided by the natural history of a social process, a term from the Chicago School. In other words it tends to be focused on societal, organizational and institutional processes as well. Essentially social and social-structural conditions may considerably hinder the learning of biographical work during the process of socialization which can also determine one's biographical development and his or her educational choices.

Developing a theoretical model begins with the development of categories based on the contrastive comparison of exhaustively-analytically worked single cases with the aim of identifying social phenomena that can reveal potential theorization for a generalization of one's biographical development within society. Detka (2011) reminds us that there are two main steps on the basis of contrastive comparisons are carried out: (a) the development of a systematic and integrated framework of categories and core categories and (b) the systematic comparison of categories and core categories with the assistance of non-exhaustively analyzed material for the purpose of differentiation, modification or correction.

(a) The development of a systematic and integrated framework of categories and core categories:

Detka (2011) affirms that the exhaustively-analytically worked single cases will be systematically compared with each other, using the strategy of maximum contrastive comparison (Schütze 1983). This comparison will lead to the elaboration of a diverse number of provisional categories at first. Firstly categories will be developed on the basis of the two first exhaustively-analytically worked single cases, and they will later be validated as a category and assigned to core categories as the systematic contrastive comparison of categories is further developed with the assistance of non-exhaustively analyzed material. Essentially categories will be developed based on its characteristics and properties, and will be assigned to different core categories, which entail a determined thematic cluster. The core categories and its categories should provide the transparency necessary for the comprehension of the development of the theoretical model.

(b) The importance of the non-exhaustively analyzed material for the purpose of differentiation, modification or correction of categories and core categories:

Schütze (2008) suggests that having reached the stage of analytical abstraction for at least two cases, the researcher has to empirically check the overall theoretical variation of the biographical and/or social phenomena under study and to analytically check their contrastive features. Then, further interviews must be conducted, analyzed and integrated into the research analysis. Detka (2011) even the non-exhaustively evaluated interviews are of indispensable importance for the genesis of the theoretical models. The non-exhaustively analyzed material is

crucial for the purpose of differentiation, modification or correction of categories and core categories within the minimal contrastive comparison to identify various similarities within the cases in order to expand the theoretical model, which aims at the meticulous analysis of the workings of a biographical process structure or of the function of a social frame already identified and selected for a closer theoretical study; see Schütze (2008). Conceivably, core categories could be altered, enhance or expanded depending on the data available collected and analyzed from the further interviews. The data needs to be systematically compared with the core and subcategories already developed on the basis of the other single cases. The data was, evidently, obtained through the other additional seven interviews that were conducted in addition to the three that ended up composing the three main single cases in the portrait chapter.

It is necessary to mention that the theoretical model, in the case of this dissertation, is aimed at explicating a process analysis. The chapter containing the full description and explication of the theoretical model shall not entail a vast number of references to textual passages cited by interviewees in their autobiographical narrative interviews. However, a few necessary examples might be used to illustrate determined aspects more appropriately.

6. Portrait Chapter

This portrait chapter entails the reconstructed “gestalt” of the overall biographical structuring of the three single cases, as well as of the other seven informants that participated in this research project, illustrating the development of the process that led individuals to seek out the German dual system apprenticeship offered by the IFPA School in Sao Paolo, Brazil. These portrait cases serve to illustrate the development of the process that culminated in one’s decision to access and undergo the dual system apprenticeship offered by IFPA, the experienced made by the biography incumbent therein, and the impingements it had on one’s post-VET biographical developments. These portrait cases can clearly illustrate the final results that are dully structured and explained in the theoretical model chapter of this dissertation.

6.1 The reconstructed “gestalt” of the overall biographical structuring of Lisa Steinway

IFPA’s dual system vocational training as second order school track choice as a permeability bridging mechanism enabling the accomplishment of a primary post-high school educational aspiration - a prompt vertical advancement

1. Preliminary aspects regarding the biography incumbent

Lisa was born in 1978, in Sao Paolo, and was 33 years old at the time of the interview. She lived in Sao Paolo¹⁰ with her parents from 1978 until 1994, when the entire family moved to the countryside. Given that the informant’s parents got divorced in 2000, she currently lives with her mother and her younger sister¹¹. While residing in the city of Sao Paolo, the incumbent lived with her parents in the Morumbi District¹², which is appropriately perceived by the informant as a luxurious and sophisticated neighborhood of the capital, Sao Paolo. During her childhood in Morumbi, Lisa’s parents were in charge of her spatial mobility within the urban

¹⁰ Sao Paolo is the largest city in Brazil and the capital of the state of Sao Paolo, which is the most populous Brazilian state, and exerts strong regional influence in commerce and finance. The city has the largest economy, by GDP, among Latin American and Brazilian cities. Its GDP per capita is the second highest among the larger Latin American cities as well as in Brazil, behind only Brasília; see IBGE (2012).

¹¹ Not an atypical situation in Brazil, where 25% of all young adults aged between 25 and 34 years old still live with their parents; see PNAD (2011).

¹² According to it is considered to be very sophisticated and also one of the wealthiest neighborhoods of the city; Folha de Sao Paolo (2010).

area. Since the informant lived at an upscale condominium, which was relatively remote from school and other destinations, the incumbent considerably depended on her parents' assistance to reach any destination. The interviewee's restricted mobility in the urban area was an important condition for sub-developed spatial mobility independence, and it also assists in validating one of the informant's constant grievances in her biography, respectively, an apparent social loneliness.

The informant has an older brother who was born in 1977, and majored in business administration at PUC University¹³ in Sao Paolo, and a younger sister, who was born in 1981, and majored in tourism at the same tertiary education institution. Lisa also has a stepbrother, fruit of her father's second relationship, after her parents' divorce in the year 2000. As for the informant's parents, her father holds a degree from PUC University in economy and has worked for different large-size companies in Brazil. One can affirm he is part of a selective exception in Brazil, since until the year 2000 only 4.4% of the population held a university degree, see IBGE (2001). Lisa's mother, on the other hand, underwent a secondary level vocational training apprenticeship in architectural drawing and worked for a short period of time in the area. After the informant's brother was born, she became a full-time housewife. Lisa's tends to perceive her father as a helpful vocational-biographical identity model, due to the fact that he holds a tertiary education degree and has worked for a number of multinationals in Brazil. He appears to be able to support her by providing advice based on his own experience. The incumbent's mother, on the other hand, possesses professional-development characteristics that are constantly criticized and also avoided by the informant from occurring in her own biographical development, namely, being professionally inactive and, consequently, assuming the role of a full-time housewife, which is considered by the informant as an obsolete and inadequate female behavior in today's modern society. Moreover, the informant perceives her mother's educational modality rather negatively, as an inferior educational pathway. It discloses an unconsciously self-theoretical postulation of the informant, which can also be observed in the incumbent's biographical plans regarding her own educational pathway. Lisa has always had a clear biographical basic-orientation: making a prompt post-high school vertical educational advancement, more specifically, accessing a high quality public tertiary edu-

¹³ PUC is a private university and was considered, in 2011, as one of the top ten private universities in Brazil; see Censo da Educação Superior (2011). In addition, the average monthly tuition fee for the business administration course is 2.000 reais (nearly €750.00); see PUC (2013).

cation¹⁴ in Brazil upon high school graduation, with the purpose of obtaining a university degree and later enter the labor market in order to achieve a professional career, which would lay the foundations for a self-responsible existence and a normal life-cycle institutional expectation pattern. The informant's biographical plan somehow mirrored her father's and her brother's, for the one had already accomplished it and the second was on the verge of doing so.

In terms of social environment and ethnic origin, Lisa's maternal grandparents are descendants of Italians, whereas her paternal grandparents are descendants of Portuguese. The informant, therefore, does not have any German ancestors. Lisa's paternal great-grandparents owned their own pharmacy, and her maternal grandfather has always had his own business as well, to be exact, an accountancy office. The informant's grandparents have always lived in a city close to the capital Sao Paulo, in its markedly wealthiest district, inhabited by the Brazilian elite; see *Estadao* (2010). As for the rest of the incumbent's relatives, they seem to be united, and Lisa appears to have a close family bond to everyone. Moreover, the informant comes from a socioeconomically privileged family, in a Brazilian context. Even though Lisa portrays it as a middle class family¹⁵, the biography incumbent does not assume it is considerably wealthy, even though the family lived in the Morumbi District in Sao Paulo in the 80's. In this decade inflation was unbelievably high in the country and reached up to 4.853% between 1989 and 1990; see IBGE (2012). It was a complicated financial period for the majority of the working class in Brazil and the average monthly income couldn't cover all the absurdly high prices caused by the hyperinflation. Given the seriousness of this tough financial scenario, one can assume Lisa's family indeed had a very favorable financial situation. The informant's family was not affected by the political and economic situation before 1990, when the new president, Fernando Collor, became the first directly elected president by the people after the end of the Brazilian military government; see *Folha* (2011).

In terms of basic education, which comprises elementary and high school in Brazil, the informant attended her entire elementary and the first two years of high school at Porto Seguro

¹⁴ Public universities in Brazil have a good reputation, quality and are free of charge. However, the offer is extremely low, accounting for only 10.6% of all vacancies available, which makes competition to access one of these institutions extremely fierce.

¹⁵ Definition of middle class in Brazil: Family's monthly income between U\$500 and U\$2.000; see IBGE (2012).

School¹⁶, in Sao Paolo. It is necessary to mention that the quality of basic schooling in Brazil is still rather heterogenic in its essence, for it is closely related to one's financial capability, which basically impedes a clear meritocratic system. Lisa's educational institution choice also assists in determining that the informant belongs to a very selective parcel of the South American population. In Brazil, only 37% of the Brazilian population aged 18 years old has a high school diploma and, most importantly, private high schools accounted for only 10% of all enrollments in Brazil, see Brazil (2010d). Nevertheless, the informant and her siblings attended Porto Seguro School due to its proximity to their residence in Sao Paolo, which could have been characterized as a purchase opportunity; see Brennan & Marriott (1996). It must be taken into consideration, however, that Porto Seguro is an elite school, and it would be merely simplistic stating this was only a matter of purchase opportunity. According to MEC (2010) only 14.7% of all Brazilian students are enrolled at private elementary schools in the country. As for high schools, the number is even more prominent, given that only 11.8% of all Brazilian students belong to families that can afford private high schools. In addition, Porto Seguro elementary school tuition costs on average R\$ 1.884,00 a month (approximately €715), whereas high school tuition can reach up to R\$ 2.000,00 a month (approximately €750); see *Jornal Estadão* (2012). This amount represents nearly 3 minimum wages in Brazil and, interestingly, only 6% of all Brazilian families earned more than that in 2009; see Census (IBGE, 2010). Thus, attending this specific school seems to be a socioeconomic predisposition condition, too.

All in all, the informant has always had in mind a clear institutional expectation pattern she would like to follow, within a normal life-cycle biographical plan. Lisa's primary post-high school aspiration was to make a vertical educational advancement. This biographical intention had remained in the life of the incumbent until a significant interlink of biographical importance occurred in 1994, when a financial crisis in Brazil triggered the first collective trajectory of biographical importance for the informant; see Schütze (1989, 1995). Lisa's entire

¹⁶ Porto Seguro School, founded in 1878 by German immigrants and previously known as "Deutsche Schule" (German School), is a private bilingual school located in the city of Sao Paolo, Brazil; and it also has several other units in the state of Sao Paolo. It is considered one of the best schools of Sao Paolo, and its monthly fee can cost up to nearly eight hundred Euros, see Porto Seguro (2012).

family was affected by this trajectory, being forced to move to Silver Bay¹⁷, a much smaller countryside town in the state of Sao Paolo, Brazil.

1. Collor's financial plan as a significant interlink of biographical importance

In 1989, Fernando Collor de Melo became the new president in Brazil, and hyperinflation became a serious, problematic issue. This period was marked by higher unemployment, very low annual GDP growth rate and increasing inflation rate in Brazil, which peaked at 764%; see JusBrasil (2010). The Collor plan¹⁸ combined fiscal and trade liberalization with radical inflation stabilization measures. During this turbulent crisis in Brazil, Lisa's father became unexpectedly unemployed. The informant's father even obtained employment in another company for a short period of time, but it also closed down, due to the difficulties the Brazilian economy was enduring at the time. Even though Lisa's father made an effort to keep the family in Sao Paolo, his next dismissal led the family to a cul-de-sac financial condition. The family was heavily affected by a macro-economic condition, which had biographical development impingements for the biography incumbent. Abruptly, the family did not further have financial conditions to continue living in Sao Paolo, especially in the Morumbi District. It led the family to the decision to move to the countryside, where the cost of living was substantially lower. Their property in Sao Paolo was sold and the money was used to purchase another residence in Silver Bay as well as a computer school, which apparently became the family's main financial income in that period. This experience was marked as a time of great distress for all family members, and everyone was particularly affected by these sudden changes. At this time, Lisa and her sister were still attending high school at Porto Seguro and her brother had just graduated from high school and started studying business administration at PUC University in Sao Paolo, also a private institution. As the family was in serious financial difficulties, they were compelled to ask Lisa's grandparents to assist them by paying the children's school tuition fee in Silver Bay. It was a clear attempt to maintain the children's attendance at the same school with the purpose of providing an equal quality of education and, conceivably,

¹⁷ Valinhos is a city and municipality in the state of São Paolo, Brazil. It is geographically close to Campinas. According to the last census, the city has approximately 107.000 inhabitants.

¹⁸ The plan was announced on March 16, 1990, one day after Collor's inauguration. Its intended policies included to replace the existing currency, to freezing 80% of private assets for 18 months (receiving the prevailing rate of inflation plus 6% in interest while frozen), implement an extremely high tax on all financial transactions, to elimination of most fiscal incentives, temporary freeze on wages and prices, among other measures; see JusBrasil (2010).

a way to diminish all side effects caused by this significant change. In addition, it represented a way to continue the parents' educational action scheme for the incumbent, clearly aimed at a more propaedeutic educational pathway leading to a post-high school vertical educational advancement. Despite the financial constraint, the family did not think about abandoning its action scheme by sending Lisa to a public school. It was, even if unconsciously, a demonstration for the biography incumbent that her parents possessed a determined expectation regarding her school track choice and were willing to take all possible measures to accomplish this goal. It was certainly a considerable influence exerted by the parents, and Lisa never even considered going to a public school, or even making a post-high school horizontal educational advancement by accessing secondary level VET in the subsequent modality.

This was in fact the first interlink of biographical importance (Schütze, 2008) in the life of the incumbent, which triggered an undesired turn of events in her biography. Lisa absolutely disapproved the idea of moving to Silver Bay, and constantly reinforced the impact of this interlink on biographical intentions at the time. It posed a delicate predicament in her biographical development, since she was abruptly confronted with a situation that no longer allowed her to steer the course of her own biography. She became deprived of choice and was not asked for her personal opinion about the matter, prior to her parents' actions. She simply had to comply and move with her family to Silver Bay, leaving behind her school, friends and peers. The biography incumbent was forced to start living in a much smaller town, where she would basically have to reconstruct her social frame and undergo a process of adaptation. Most importantly, Lisa used to have a boyfriend in Sao Paulo and was experiencing an affective relationship at that time, which was also hastily interrupted. Considering adolescents have a typical group-oriented personality, which is a common characteristic in this period of human development, this was clearly a pivotal interlink of biographical importance in Lisa's biography, and was certainly a condition that had an impact her future biographical process.

The outcomes of this first interlink of biographical importance had a series of implications in the biography of the incumbent: (1) the family action scheme regarding the children's education quality, as well as pathway, became endangered. It suddenly became unviable for Lisa's father to provide private basic education for all three children. Given that Lisa's sister was still attending high school at Porto Seguro in Silver Bay and her brother had just enrolled at PUC University, where he began majoring in business administration, Lisa could no longer

count on her father's financial support to access a private university. Therefore, a public university seemed to have become her only apparent choice, a fact which considerably restricted the incumbent's educational pathway margin and, as a result, restricted her margin regarding her desired prompt post-high school vertical educational advancement. (2) The family was compelled to relocate in order to diminish expenses. It prompted an experience of financial degradation, which was also very significant for the incumbent regarding her future biographical processes. Lisa suddenly had to deal with the impact of this economic deprivation in the development of her own social identity, for her sense of belonging to an already established socioeconomic frame became endangered. (3) Once the entire family was obliged to relocate, the incumbent was, against her own will, forced to interrupt social relationships to peers, classmates and, most importantly, a young male with whom she was romantically involved. (4) The incumbent had to change her educational establishment during teenage years. Leaving behind a social frame she had already established has only fostered Lisa's feeling of social loneliness.

The above-mentioned state of affairs forced the incumbent to establish new short-term biographical plans that could fulfill her desire to return to Sao Paulo as soon as possible in order to, especially, resume the relationship with her boyfriend. For that reason, Lisa had to embark on a prompt biographical action scheme with the purpose of establishing a possibility to end her biographical trajectory in Silver Bay and take back control of her own biography.

3. Lisa's first biographical action scheme and her attempt to return to Sao Paulo

After experiencing the immediate impacts of a first interlink of biographical importance, the incumbent realized she would have to proactively act in order to be able to steer the course of her biography once again. As Lisa was strong-minded about returning to Sao Paulo in order to resume her relationship, she embarked on a biographical action scheme, which was in some measure eclipsed with an institutional expectation pattern. The biography incumbent took two university entrance examinations, at two different universities in Sao Paulo, where she would like to begin majoring in veterinary medicine. Lisa appeared to have kept her main biographical plan on track: (1) she would interrupt a biographical trajectory and would be able to return to Sao Paulo to resume her relationship. (2) She would carry on with her primary post-high school educational intention of accessing a public tertiary education institution with the

purpose of following an institutional expectation pattern. (3) She would be complying with her parents' educational action scheme, which she was aware of and knew it was aimed at a more propaedeutic educational pathway and not at a VET school track leading to manual work.

The incumbent was aware her parents couldn't assist her financially, but she was equally aware that she wished to make a vertical educational advancement. Hence, she attempted to pass two entrance examinations at two different public universities, firstly at USP¹⁹ and then at UNICAMP²⁰. Given the fierce competition, Lisa didn't pass the entrance examinations²¹ and suddenly noticed her immediate, as well as long term post-high school educational aspirations become seriously restricted. Apparently, even though the biography incumbent didn't demonstrate any traits of self-chosen or erected impediments, she didn't count on the fact she would have to overcome an important institutional impediment first. Interestingly, this issue wasn't even mentioned by the informant in her main narrative. It is remarkable how the informant attempts to fade out her memories regarding the entrance examinations at these two public universities. This constituted a rendering "gap" left in her main narration, which was only superficially, and most likely with difficulty, mentioned in the questioning phase of the interview. The informant seems to be ashamed of the situation and immediately started narrating about different, unrelated matters. Schütze (2008) explains these precarious experiences are still left on the dominant story line as traces in the form of vague, indirect or symptomatic markers.

¹⁹ It is a public university in the Brazilian state of São Paulo. It is the largest Brazilian university and the country's most prestigious educational institution. According to reports by the Ministry of Science and Technology, more than 25% of the articles published by Brazilian researchers in high quality conferences and journals are produced at the University of São Paulo, see ANPEI (2008).

²⁰ It is a public university in the Brazilian state of São Paulo. It is the largest Brazilian university and the country's most prestigious educational institution. UNICAMP is responsible for around 15% of all Brazilian research and has 53.6% of its students at the graduate level, see UNICAMP (2011).

²¹ They are very competitive examinations and the primary and widespread entrance system used by Brazilian public as well as private universities to select their students. The exams often span several days, usually two, with different disciplines being tested each day. It was implanted primarily as a way to prevent nepotism or some other form of unfair or beneficial selection of candidates. Higher education entrance examinations are still predominantly used, even though ENEM (High School National Exam) is slowly becoming the main selection exam which substitutes the classic entrance examinations. In 2010, more than 50 public institutions of higher education started using students' ENEM results as an admission selection exam and adhered to SISU (National Unified Admissions System); see Brazil (2010c).

After having failed both examinations, Lisa's primary post-high school educational aspiration became endangered and it posed serious obstacles on her general further biographical as well as identity development: (1) she couldn't extinguish the biographical trajectory in which she found herself, since she wasn't able to resume her relationship in Sao Paolo. At the time, this relationship might have been a refuge in the informant's turbulent biographical process. Moreover, she would have to continue residing with her parents in the countryside, which was basically the source for a process of forced acceptance and adaptation. Not overcoming the aforementioned institutional barrier also began having a negative impact on her identity development because she wouldn't be following the educational path she considered to be appropriate, given her family's socioeconomic milieu and her parents' educational action scheme of sending her to costly private schools in Sao Paolo. (2) As the family was not in a financial situation allowing them to assist the informant, entering a private university, where entrance exams are rather easier to be passed because the offer is generally higher than the number of candidates, became an obsolete educational pathway. This lack of financial means restricted the incumbent's range of possible pathways within a post-high school track choice. At this point, in fact, there was no "choice" anymore, for there was a clear need to suppress and postpone her primary post-high school educational aspiration of making a prompt vertical advancement. (3) The negative experience made through the not overcome superimposed institutional impediment led the incumbent to abandon her primary occupational orientation, having the perception that she could no longer identify herself with veterinary medicine. In fact, it was also a vital determiner for her entire loss of vocational orientation. In addition, she had to begin a process of accepting the state of affairs and dealing with the outcome that she would need to postpone her educational aspirations regarding higher education access. Concomitantly, she had to begin dealing with explanations she had to provide significant others regarding her failure to pass the university entrance examinations. In other words, the biography incumbent had to begin dealing with outer and inner events in her biographical development at the time.

4. IFPA's apprenticeship as a biographical trajectory exit pathway

After having failed the two entrance examinations and realizing her primary post-high school educational intention had become restricted, Lisa experienced a total loss of occupational orientation, and she was still experiencing a biographical trajectory. She needed to find a possi-

bility to adjust institutional conditions to her own current biographical circumstances. As the superimposed institutional impediment set by an entrance examination hindered the biography incumbent from developing an immediate biographical action scheme aimed at accessing tertiary education, Lisa was forced to postpone, in her individualization process, the objective of holding a tertiary education degree; to which she associated the biographical and professional development of her father, a helpful vocational-biographical identity model, who equally had a higher educational degree.

Hence, Lisa was essentially compelled to initiate a second order post-high school educational pathway decision making process. She needed to encounter an alternative educational advancement, given that a vertical one was, at least temporarily, unfeasible. Thus, she decided to embark on a second biographical action scheme in order to actively shape the course of her life. After a short period of time, Lisa recollected that she had already had access to information about a secondary level vocational school in Sao Paolo, while she was still attending high school at Porto Seguro. It seems the incumbent had finally encountered a possibility to return to Sao Paolo. After obtaining her parents' approval, she decided to undergo IFPA²²'s dual system apprenticeship, in Sao Paolo. This was a crucial period of biographical importance due to the fact that Lisa abandoned her primary educational intention of accessing a university, and made the decision to follow an educational pathway that she harshly and openly criticizes, namely, making a post-high school horizontal educational advancement by undergoing secondary level VET in the subsequent modality, an educational pathway she associates with her mother's development, who also attended a vocational school. In her extempore storytelling, the incumbent associates tertiary education with a higher likelihood of obtaining employment opportunities in the labor market, with higher remuneration and responsibilities. It would, therefore, provide her with the necessary conditions to follow a natural life-cycle in an institutional expectation pattern. She presumes it is virtually not viable to professionally grow in Brazil without a tertiary education degree. On the other hand, the informant

²² IFPA (Instituto de Formação Profissional Administrativa) is a private vocational school which provides vocational training, in a subsequent modality, based on the German dual system in Sao Paolo. It offers two types of courses based on the dual system: the traditional and the cluster dual system. In the traditional dual system, students acquire theoretical knowledge at the IFPA two days a week and practical knowledge in the company three days a week. In the dual cluster system, students, who do not live in the Sao Paolo area, attend theoretical classes for a month at the IFPA vocational school and have another two months of apprenticeship in the company; see IFPA (2011).

links secondary level VET, such as the courses offered by SESI and SENAI²³, to an educational modality aimed at socioeconomically underprivileged individuals, essentially young lower class persons who didn't have access to a high quality private elementary and high school education. The informant self-theorizes that such VET courses only provide merely basic knowledge, demand a lower intellectual level, and are targeted at lower class individuals who would like to become manual workers. She argues they will very likely not access higher education and only want to specialize in a profession with the purpose of entering the labor market as soon as possible. In addition, Lisa justifies that socioeconomically privileged individuals like her do not normally attend regular secondary level VET schools in Brazil.

Nonetheless, it appears that the state of affairs at the time led the incumbent to opt for this educational modality, for it had apparently become her only biographical trajectory exit pathway. As it can be clearly observed, making a post-high school horizontal educational advancement was part of a second order school track choice, which emerged from a concatenation of the outcomes of interlinks of biographical importance, a biographical trajectory during a decision making process, and a superimposed structural impediment. Nevertheless, Lisa validates her motives to undergo IFPA's dual system apprenticeship based on a number of different aspects: (1) the absence of school tuition, the possibility to earn an apprentice's salary, and a residential relocation to Sao Paulo, where she would live with her grandmother, since the school was located more than 120km away from Silver Bay. This last condition would have a double effect: it'd enable her to resume the already mentioned affective relationship, and would also eliminate any extra residential expenses. One can notice the informant's motives are fundamentally a way of contributing to her family's financial restructuring, given that they are essentially linked to budgetary motives. (2) The incumbent claimed to be relatively acquainted with the school and its vocational training modality. As the informant attended a German school, Porto Seguro School, she also had the opportunity to attend an on-site introductory presentation delivered by IFPA about its apprenticeships. (3) The incumbent argues Porto Seguro School occasionally provided information on IFPA's quality to its stu-

²³ These are two of the most important institutions that constitute the S System in Brazil, which is supported by a tax of 2% on the payroll of the private industry sector. SENAI (National Service of Industrial Education), for instance, is a very important private VET institution in Brazil. It offers, in addition to other vocational training programs, secondary level VET. According to SENAI Annual Report (SENAI, 2010), it operates nationwide and is responsible for nearly 27% of all secondary level VET enrollments done at private vocational schools in Brazil. SENAI offers VET at different levels, including secondary level VET in the external concomitant and subsequent modalities; see SENAI (2010).

dents as well. It also demonstrates the influence her school, as a non-human event carrier, had on her decision to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship. Lisa was exposed to two important sources of information and impulse, respectively, the principal of her school and his propaganda at Porto Seguro School, as well as the active advertising made by IFPA at this German school through on-site presentations. (4) Lisa's parents supported her decision as well. The informant encountered parental support based on the fact that she would attend a dual system apprenticeship that could represent a financial relief for the family. The informant shows the particular influence her father had in this decision making process. As he had already had a positive experience working for a multinational, he ended up influencing Lisa to follow his professional footsteps. Lisa, on the other hand, felt secure about her decision because she could count on a role model who could give her needed guidance. (5) The informant wanted to further acquire and improve her German language command to avoid forgetting what she had already attained at Porto Seguro School, where she learned German as a foreign language for several years. This last motive seems to be the most direct occupationally-oriented reason stated by the informant. (6) It was an opportunity to enter the labor market at an early age, and Lisa was convinced that working for a multinational would also be an asset in her dual system apprenticeship. It appears, however, that Lisa's choice to undergo IFPA's dual system apprenticeship was the only remaining option she could refer to at the time. It wasn't a first order choice; due to the fact that the educational program clearly belonged to a modality she heavily criticized and tended to detach her biographical development from.

From a selection of four different courses²⁴ offered at IFPA School, Lisa decided to undergo specifically the office clerk apprenticeship. This decision arose from different conditions and was an important precondition for negative outcomes: (1) before commencing IFPA's apprenticeship, Lisa had to overcome another potential superimposed structural impediment, more specifically, IFPA's admission test. It is basically a German language test used to assess whether candidates are able to undergo its apprenticeship successfully, for it is taught 90% in German language. One can perceive that the incumbent's attitude towards risk taking in her biography was altered after failing to pass two entrance examinations, and it had an impact on her future educational choices. In other words, not overcome superimposed structural impediments and its accumulation with her trajectory, the outcomes of an interlink, the suppression

²⁴ IFPA offers four different apprenticeship courses: IT, administration, logistics and office clerk; see IFPA (2012).

of her primary post-high school educational aspiration and the restricted educational margin she was left with have altered the incumbent's risk taking attitude. The informant made the decision to attempt accessing the office clerk VET course at IFPA for the reason that its offer was higher than demand. Lisa's action scheme seems to be based on the anticipation of a threatening outcome, rather than as a consistent part of an occupational orientation aspiration. This attitude has also had significant impact on her biographical development: Due to a fear of failure, arisen from a negative experience already made by the incumbent, Lisa chose an apprenticeship course she did not identify herself with, and which did not foster an occupational orientation. (2) Lisa chose to enroll in an apprenticeship course that led to a low-prestige profession within her social frame, and wasn't even seen as appropriate by the informant herself. The individuals that belonged to her social frame context perceived the profession as a line of work filled with unfulfilling tasks, as an occupation that did not fit with their expectations regarding Lisa's educational as well as vocational orientation. Therefore, it became the source for a cognitive dissonance process with significant impact on the incumbent's identity development. The incumbent had to encounter a manner to suppress these judgments and add more consonant beliefs that could outweigh the dissonant beliefs. Lisa's social identity development was put to a test during this biographical experience, and she certainly had to defend and show commitment to her action scheme in several different situations of socialization. Her actions seemed to contradict her self-theoretical guidelines that "one needs to be in the right place at the right time", and seemed to be inconsistent with her self-theoretical approach towards secondary level VET. Besides, as the actors involved in her social frame seemed to have interpreted her actions as unexpected, Lisa's perceived membership in her social group started to be involuntarily questioned, a fact which can heavily influence one's social identity development. It demonstrates that not only did the informant have to constantly convince herself of a different perception with the intention of reducing conflict between beliefs and actions, but she also had to persuade others that her decision to undergo an office clerk apprenticeship was an appropriate choice. Therefore, she had difficulties identifying with the social group to which she belonged. As her qualification as a secretary was apparently stigmatized by these actors, and to a certain extent even by herself, Lisa had to undergo a rationalization process in order to change her, as well as others', perception of the educational modality and her apprenticeship course choice. It constitutes an apparent cognitive dissonance, which arose from Lisa's decision to make a post-high school horizontal edu-

cational advancement by undergoing an educational modality she actually believes to be aimed at the socioeconomically underprivileged, low-achievers, and manual workers.

Bearing in mind that Lisa did not change her action or her belief, she was forced to construct a perception of IFPA, based on arguments she could use to reduce or even resolve this cognitive dissonance, which would still enable her to perceive her apprenticeship as an action scheme motivated by the achievement of positive distinctiveness. These are the main consonant beliefs added by the informant to her legitimization attempts to validate her decision: (a) IFPA cannot be considered as a school that offers vocational education and training per se because its apprenticeships do not lead to the achievement of qualifications used by the individual to become a manual worker. (b) The vocational educational modality offered by the school, as well as the institution itself, are practically unknown in Brazil. As the vast majority of the population does not know about the existence of the dual system apprenticeship offered by IFPA in Sao Paulo, it has apparently made it easier for the informant to justify her actions. (c) The informant also further attempts to justify her actions by making a comparison between vocational education and training in Germany and Brazil. She affirms that, in Germany, a *Berufsschule* is aimed at those individuals who would like to undergo vocational training, and *Abitur* is targeted at those who would like to attend a university. The informant assumes a peculiar perception that the ones who enter universities in Germany are individuals who necessarily belong to the elite. Furthermore, the incumbent argues that attending this specific vocational school does not mean one is a low-achiever and won't access university later, as if comparing it to Germany. (d) The informant believes only IFPA offers secondary level VET in the subsequent modality. A plausible rationale for the informant's assumption is very likely based on the fact that she entered IFPA before 1997, when VET legislation changed in the country, through the Decree 2.208. Secondary level VET became independent from high school education, and began to be offered in three different modalities, namely, concomitant, integrated and subsequent. Yet, Lisa had the perception that she was undergoing a unique secondary level apprenticeship program, which offered her a possibility for differentiation and to engage in an individual mobility strategy.

The informant's choice appears to have been a biographical trajectory exit pathway. It enabled her to return to Sao Paulo to resume her relationship and also terminate her biographical trajectory in Silver Bay. Lisa did not look for this apprenticeship modality to obtain a profes-

sional qualification in the area with the intention of pursuing a career as a secretary. Therefore, this decision did not assist the incumbent in further developing a specific occupational orientation. This condition continued and, at the time, certainly influenced the perception she had of her own decision and actions, since she apparently wasn't "in the right place, at the right time". In addition, Lisa chose an apprenticeship in an occupation in which she was unwilling to perform. It leads one to conclude that not only had she lost her occupational orientation of becoming a veterinarian, but she was also about to embark on a cul-de-sac action scheme. One can notice that at this given point in her biography, the desire to interrupt a biographical trajectory, the wish to resume an affective relationship, superimposed institutional impediments, the incumbent's fear of failure and altered risk-taking attitude, have blurred Lisa's actions and, most importantly, have had a harmful outcome on her biographical vocational plan. She suddenly found herself making a post-high school horizontal educational advancement within an occupational orientation she absolutely didn't intend to pursue.

5. IFPA as a trigger for a biographical trajectory

After passing IFPA's admission test, Lisa began attending the office clerk apprenticeship at IFPA in the regular modality, attending school twice a week and working at a company (KLS) three times a week. This specific process was an action of endurance that demanded the informant to make immense physical and psychological efforts. Lisa did not have an intrinsic identification with the vocational course chosen, and still had to bear with the fact that she was not yet acting upon a basis orientation she had once established, namely, making a vertical educational advancement by accessing higher education in order to obtain a degree, before entering the labor market with a qualification and continuing to follow an institutional expectation pattern in her biographical development.

Lisa started her two-year dual system apprenticeship at IFPA School and, therefore, had to immediately move in with her grandmother, who lived nearer to the vocational school. Residing with her grandmother in a wealthy district, while undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship, was an important condition for a social frame disparity experienced by the informant on a daily basis, while commuting to school. The school used to be located at Largo Treze de Maio (nowadays the school is situated in Interlagos District). Largo Treze de Maio is a neighborhood located in the outskirts of Sao Paulo and one of its main characteristics is the popular

commerce, especially of products coming from the northeast region of Brazil. One can visibly identify that the incumbent did not see this locality as one composed by individuals who belonged to her social frame. Lisa suddenly began to experience a feeling of being dislocated, a sense of not belonging, and was in fact experiencing the financial degradation her family was thrown into.

Another condition that contributed to Lisa's sense of being socially detached in the process she was undergoing was the means of transportation she had to take in order to commute to school; more specifically, the public bus; a rather recurrent event carrier; see Schütze (2008). It was simply a means of transportation with which she wasn't accustomed, but which she had to take in order to get from an elite neighborhood to a popular, commercial area of Sao Paulo, where the school was located. Lisa experienced it as social degradation, which had an impact on her inner development as well. As Lisa didn't use public transportation in her childhood and was not encouraged by her parents to become independent in terms of urban mobility, the incumbent experience a situation of total contrast and became rather confused about this development in her biography. The act of sharing a public bus with in an extremely new social frame constituted a source of considerable distress for the informant, who perceived it as a means of public transportation aimed at lower-skilled, manual workers, and the socioeconomically underprivileged immigrants from the northeast region of Brazil²⁵. The incumbent suddenly found herself among a social class she did not belong to, which can also be a precondition for a lack of social belonging. Seeing oneself as socially connected is a basic human motivation, and a sense of social connectedness can also predict the outcomes of certain decisions see MacDonald & Leary (2005). One can observe that the incumbent felt tremendously overwhelmed because of an incongruity in the collective environment to which she was exposed, and also with the sudden need to become independent and begin caring for her own spatial mobility in the urban area, as opposed to her childhood and adolescence, when her parents cared for it.

Lisa's unfulfilled need for social belonging was also further compromised by: (1) a sense of loneliness in the development of her biography precipitated by a strong despondency experi-

²⁵ These individuals migrated to Sao Paulo due to a strong industrial economic development this region was going through, especially in the period between 1930 – 1980, and came from conditions of extreme poverty; see Gomes (2006).

enced by the informant in terms of maternal protection. This physical separation had an impact on Lisa's perception of her development at the time. She found herself far from maternal protection and confronted with a new situation, in which she became responsible for her own decisions. Hence, she perceived it as a time of suffering, which had to be overcome without her parents being included or involved. (2) The informant was also frustrated due to a sense of sibling treatment unfairness (Kowal, Krull, & Kramer, 2004) developed in relation to her brother. He had just started attending a private university, which was being financed by her parents, and he began working with his father in Silver Bay at the newly-opened computer school. This sibling treatment unfairness led the informant to experience a stronger sense of loneliness in the development of her biography at the time.

The informant's life rapidly became difficult during this period characterized as a time of struggle. The informant underwent a number of additional predicaments while attending IFPA's theoretical part of her apprenticeship at school: (1) she intensively experienced a language barrier, which became a significant non-human event carrier dictating her perception of the apprenticeship. Lisa had to start using German as a first language in her classes at IFPA, for nearly 90% all subjects are taught in German. It was a significant contrast to the situation experienced by the informant at Porto Seguro School during her basic education, where the German language was taught primarily as a second language. The incumbent had difficulties with comprehending her teachers and constantly feared failure, a sense strongly developed by the informant after not having succeeded at the two higher education entrance examinations. (2) The language barrier was also an important determiner for a sense of social exclusion developed by the incumbent during her apprenticeship at IFPA. Unlike some of her classmates, she didn't speak German at home. Thus, Lisa felt detached from social relations within the institution she attended due to language motives. In addition, she mentions the teachers were native speakers as well. Lisa felt intimidated and at disadvantage. Her lower language proficiency level led her to a negative discernment and, consequently, a sense of social detachment. (3) A need for social hybridity also perturbed the identity development of the informant. Lisa had attended a German school for eleven years and identified herself with the German culture to which she was exposed at this educational establishment. Moreover, the incumbent used to excel at German language while attending Porto Seguro School and did not present any complaints regarding lack of language competence during that time. Once she began undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship, she became confronted with the perception of not

being part of the culture to which she was once related. This was a vital condition for the informant to notice there was a contradiction between the state of affairs and her self-theoretical assumption that “one needs to be in the right place, at the right time”. It contributed to a sense of not belonging developed by the informant while attending IFPA’s apprenticeship. She constantly questioned her decision to be at a place she apparently did not belong, or a school “full of Germans”, as described by the informant. (4) The incumbent has also experienced a socialization process of negative influence on her identity development. She extensively narrates about an event carrier, namely a teacher called Müller. He was another imperative condition for Lisa’s sense of unacceptability, mainly due to his attitudes towards the incumbent. This unacceptability arose from an apparent rejection displayed by Müller, who did not seem to accept her ethnic origin. Her communication with this teacher was of poor quality for she could not clearly comprehend him, and he apparently did not make further efforts to be understood by the informant. One can state that Lisa was a stranger in her non-arbitrary in-group, also due to the fact that her classmates could understand classes normally, as opposed to the informant.

On the other hand, the incumbent positively evaluates her experience at the company, as opposed to the experience she made at the school. Lisa portrayed very optimistically the opportunity to experience a job rotation process at the company. Even though she had to perform different unfulfilling tasks, she assumed it was extremely relevant because it allowed her to have a systemic view of the company, and it also provided an opportunity to socially integrate at work; a need she was apparently seeking, due to all the social loneliness she experienced while attending school. In addition, the informant did not have to overcome a language or a cultural barrier at the company, and she did not have to deal with conflicting social relationships, once she had a satisfactory relationship with colleagues at work. Moreover, the incumbent implicitly argues that it was the entrance door, the genesis of her professional career in this company. Lisa felt connected and accepted at her company due to all the social contacts she made there. It ended up constituting a noteworthy polarization in her biography in terms of social belonging and acceptance, which she lacked at school and could find at the company during her vocational training.

Generally, one can argue Lisa’s biographical action scheme had social and biographical outcomes that perhaps were not clearly predicted in advance and can be seen as significant condi-

tions for her pessimistic appraisal of IFPA's apprenticeship. Lisa had to deal with a variety of circumstances concomitantly; namely, becoming more independent from her parental care, dealing with new social frames and the clash of social classes she had to face while commuting and getting to the school, the process of coping with the cognitive dissonance she was undergoing, her clear regret to have chosen the office clerk apprenticeship course, her German language limitations, her teacher's lack of comprehension and acceptability, the social hybridity demanded by the situation, her feeling of being socially detached, her constant fear of failure, the fact she was following an educational pathway which was harshly criticized by her and wasn't part of her primary post-high school educational intention, the fact that she still found herself in a state of confusion due to a lack of occupational orientation and, most importantly, the fact that she wasn't complying with her parents' expectation regarding school track choice, which was made clear through their educational action scheme for the incumbent. Therefore, one can argue the informant's measure could be seen as an effort justification paradigm, which is aroused whenever individuals voluntarily engage in an unpleasant activity in order to achieve some desired goal; see Festinger (1957). The informant absolutely did not undergo IFPA's apprenticeship to obtain secondary level VET qualification with the purpose of becoming a secretary. However, this process apparently served as a mechanism used to achieve other career goals as well as a bridging mechanism that would enable the incumbent to eventually make her desired post-high school vertical educational advancement.

6. First pivotal creative metamorphosis of biographical identity in the incumbent's life

The period of predicaments and endurance undergone by the incumbent while attending IFPA's apprenticeship ended up setting off a process that culminated in a creative metamorphosis of biographical identity. At the beginning, the entire experience was rather irritating for the informant, since many circumstances were new. Yet, Lisa began to find out the benefits it had in the development of her biography, especially in her occupational orientation. As the incumbent had to face biographical conditions that were new to her during this specific process, this period of time enabled her to enter adulthood and begin shaping her personality. It shows the extremely significant role IFPA had in Lisa's identity development as a non-human event carrier. This period of struggle for the informant has shown her the arduousness one's biography can experience regardless of their socioeconomic profile origin. This new important inner development in her biography is a result of a concatenation of biographical pro-

cesses, since one can see the inner changes of the narrator as the person having been involved in the events. The informant began to realize that life has its obstacles and she would have to develop a sense of independence in order to overcome them.

Nonetheless, the informant still didn't have a very clear occupational orientation after graduating from IFPA's apprenticeship. Even though Lisa already had a professional qualification, she did not yet perceive herself as qualified. It merely opened the entrance door to the labor market, but it couldn't fulfill her educational action scheme of entering the labor market as a university graduate. Nevertheless, the inner changes arisen from the outer events she experienced while attending IFPA's apprenticeship changed her attitude towards her biographical intentions. She noticed that she had become more independent and even more driven to find a way to accomplish her educational and vocational biographical plan. One can, therefore, observe the predicaments experienced by the informant were of vital importance in her identity development, for she could learn how to develop her own biographical action schemes and to acquire skills to exercise biographical work. Therefore, the informant became very determined to provide intense labor with the intention of pursuing a path leading to tertiary education access, and later, to the development of a professional career in order to accumulate material assets to follow a normal life-cycle pattern, which is a personal motivation in Lisa's biographical orientation. IFPA was about to present itself as a bridging mechanism that could connect her second order horizontal educational advancement with her desired primary vertical advancement aspiration. In other words, the qualification provided by IFPA and its dual system apprenticeship could be the entry door to permanent employment upon VET graduation, which would provide the biography incumbent with a source of income that was in turn used to finance a private university. It would equally presented itself as a mechanism that would help circumventing the potential outcome of once again not overcoming superimposed structural impediments, given she wouldn't need to access a public university anymore.

Furthermore, Lisa ended up becoming more driven after undergoing IFPA's dual system apprenticeship, and became determined to suppress the possibility of the recurrent difficulties of the past in her biography. Lisa's experience through the impacts of a collective trajectory and its interlink of biographical importance, as well as an institutional barrier, influence the incumbent's disposition to further developed herself in order to avoid a possible recurrent deg-

radation, which she had to firstly undergo with her family as they moved to the countryside, and later alone while undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship modality.

7. Post IFPA's apprenticeship trajectory of unemployment

After the successful graduation from her dual system apprenticeship, Lisa became unemployed because KLS did not offer her further permanent employment. It represented a series of difficult aspects in her biography development at the time: (a) Lisa could not continue her professional development at a company she had already identified herself with. (b) The incumbent couldn't further financially provide for her own existence and, most importantly, was not able to make a vertical educational advancement by accessing a private university, given she wouldn't be able to finance it. (c) She was suddenly compelled to look for employment in a vocational field she never aimed at to obtain financial means to follow through with her educational intention of obtaining a university degree. At this point, even though Lisa didn't yet have a clear vocational orientation, she was compelled to begin accepting the idea that she would have to work as a secretary. It would be the only manner to use the dual system apprenticeship as a functional mechanism bridging a second order educational choice and her primary post-high school aspiration of making a prompt vertical educational advancement.

Lisa associates her post-apprenticeship dismissal to merely misfortune. This experience had a complex inner development impact on the biography incumbent. It is clear how she fades out and avoids further rendering on the matter. She noticeably avoids formulating inner development commentaries, and she does not provide additional narrative on some, merely vague, higher predicates. The informant only refers to her dominant self-theoretical commentary that "one needs to be in the right place, at the right time". In other words, she does not associate becoming professionally successful only with work. Once again she is possibly confronted with the recurring sense of unfairness, given that after all the hurdles she had to overcome, starting with her father's dismissal, the family's moving to the countryside, and the efforts she had to make to undergo IFPA's dual system apprenticeship, she was not given the deserved reward for this immense physical and psychological effort. Consequently, the informant starts another biographical trajectory in her biography. Yet, it was also a period of reflective biographical work for the informant, as she had time to question and assess whether the educa-

tional pathway taken had been the most appropriate one in her biographical development up to that point.

8. Post-IFPA's apprenticeship first employment

Lisa decided to embark in another biographical action scheme with the purpose of ending the distress arisen from her post-apprenticeship dismissal. She once again attempts to shape the course of her biography by actively seeking for employment; after all it was the representation of a solution that could finally lead her to a vertical educational advancement. After a short period of time, Lisa encountered a job opportunity. However, the informant obtained employment in an occupational area at which she didn't wish to steer her career. She had already made clear she did not undergo IFPA's apprenticeship to become a secretary and follow a career in the office clerk area. Lisa once again had to experience an inner conflict at this given point of her biography, due to the fact that she was engaging in occupational tasks in an undesired occupational orientation. It was rather difficult for the incumbent to comprehend and accept this turn of events and all the hurdles had to overcome to steer her biographical development at her primary post-high school intentions. In addition, she was still struggling against the constant enquiries made by actors involved in her social frame, who could not fully comprehend or encounter a legitimization that could relate her professional occupation to her social identity.

Lisa began working as a secretary for a German company named ORD, which was located in Campinas, near her parents' house. It becomes noticeable that the affective relationship that once motivated her to return to Sao Paulo no longer had its initial significance. Lisa had already readjusted her most immediate aims and obtaining employment with the purpose of financially providing for her own existence, as well as for her educational objectives, had become more important. Therefore, she decided to move back to the countryside. This specific biographical process entailed some remarkable aspects: (1) it showed the necessity of the German language in the informant's future employment, a condition which caused her a lot of frustration during IFPA's apprenticeship. (2) The informant obtained employment at another German company based in Brazil, which demonstrates a clear connection to her apprenticeship and her previous employment. It is, therefore, possible to identify the importance IFPA had on the informant's post-apprenticeship biographical processes. In other words, it certainly

opened doors for the informant in the labor market and enabled her with the bridging functional mechanism allowing permeability within the educational system. (3) Lisa had to attend orthopedic fairs and deal with daily office work as well. The informant's exposure and contact with diverse physically-challenged individuals might have reinforced the incumbent's discernment of herself and her desire for achievement. As she was not physically-challenged, she might have felt compelled to continue achieving further goals in her biography. It could also be a point which influenced the institutional expectation patterns often found throughout her biography.

It was also during this period that Lisa finally realized her primary post-high school educational intention of making a vertical educational advancement. Due to this new employment, she began obtaining the necessary financial means to finance a private university attendance. The incumbent passed the entrance examination and started majoring in international trade at UNIP²⁶²⁷, a private university located in Sao Paulo. It can also be inferred that Lisa's motives to look for this specific course lay on the fact that she had already gathered some experience in this specific field, especially at ORD, a company that works mainly with importation. What's more, having worked at KLS had also exposed the informant to a global company which focuses its business on the production and importation of steel, components, material, and elevators, among others. One can also notice that after having lost occupational orientation for some time, Lisa finally found a basic orientation for pursuing her professional career once again. Lisa justifies this specific major could provide her with further career possibilities and that she could grow professionally in the area. It demonstrates the importance IFPA had on her future educational and professional career attainments as well. Due to the experience gained while attending her dual system apprenticeship and her subsequent employment, the informant resolved her occupational orientation deficiency; it could only be obtained through the possibility for work orientation offered by the dual system through the in-company training opportunity.

Lisa states different key motives for her decision to look for tertiary education at this given point in her biography: (1) According to her perception, IFPA's apprenticeship is only recognized by some German companies, but it does not replace a college degree. In other words,

²⁶ In 2009 the university had nearly two hundred thousand enrolled students; see UNIP (2012)

²⁷ It is, however, important to mention that UNIP isn't even among the best 100 universities in Brazil.

the informant, implicitly, tries to convey that Brazilian companies are not familiar with IFPA's dual system course, and they assign more value to a higher education degree. It assists in demonstrating the significant role the labor market plays as a non-human event carrier used by the biography incumbent as a reference within the establishment of a primary post-high school educational aspiration. (2) It had always been part of her vocational biographical plan, which only underpins the assumption that IFPA's apprenticeship was merely a second choice. She felt compelled to obtain a higher education degree in order to climb the career ladder in the labor market. (3) Lisa also rationalizes other social actors who belonged to her social frame at the time were basically in their entirety attending a higher education institution. Lisa unconsciously presumed it could have an impact on her identity development. The incumbent expresses that she had become an exception in her social frame context, referring to her educational as well as professional choices, which appeared to be incongruent with pathways followed by individuals who belonged to a similar socioeconomic profile, individuals who attended a German private elite school such as Porto Seguro School, and whose parents lived in wealthier neighborhoods in Sao Paulo. However, after working at ORD for nearly seven months, Lisa was once again laid off, and involuntarily began a new trajectory of unemployment in her biography. The informant was dismissed during the Samba Effect²⁸ crisis, which occurred in the 90's in Brazil. By 1999, Brazil owed \$244 billion or 46% of GDP to foreign creditors and the Brazilian currency suffered a great depreciation, which made the U.S. dollar increase dramatically see Evangelist and Sather (2006). This crisis had a transformational impact on the informant's biography for the company, which worked mainly with importation, had to lay off a great number of workers. This was the second interlink of biographical processes in Lisa's life. These interlinks have clearly endangered the development of Lisa's biography. Once again a collective economic change had had an impact on her life course and had, for the second time, culminated in unemployment; firstly her father's dismissal and later her own. One can presume that this trajectory of unemployment was very likely a source for distress and irritation for the incumbent. As she was attending a private university, she found

²⁸ The samba effect and refers to the nearly 35% drop in the value of the Brazilian real that occurred in 1999. The effect was caused by the 1997 Asian financial crisis which led Brazil to increase interest rates and to institute spending cuts and tax increases in an attempt to maintain the value of its currency. These measures failed to produce the intended effect and the Brazilian government was forced to float its currency against the US dollar, which led to the dramatic decrease in its value; see Evangelist and Sather (2006).

herself in a difficult financial situation, saw her biographical plans once again become very restricted, and would once more have to postpone her desire to obtain a tertiary education degree.

9. Post-IFPA's apprenticeship and a new concatenation of biographical processes

Once again Lisa found herself forced to actively shape the course of her biography in order to avoid further distress, since she found herself in a new trajectory of unemployment. This state of affairs in her biography led Lisa to an important decision: to promptly look for a new job which could further assist her financially in order to be able to afford a private university, after all IFPA's dual system apprenticeship had already assumed this functional mechanism. Therefore, Lisa obtained a job in a company called SG, a French company that produces glass abrasives. Once again Lisa demonstrated how she could take full control of her biography and, through her own effort, continuing pursuing her basic biographical orientation. In the French company, Lisa worked at their logistics department and, for the first time, she was given different work assignments, other than performing office clerk tasks. The informant relates this job offer to her own efforts and, even though IFPA's apprenticeship was the only professional qualification she had at that time, Lisa did not mention IFPA as a catalyst for it.

Yet, despite the new opportunity, Lisa was dissatisfied with her new challenge because she was not working in her area, international trade, which was also her major at university. Even though she had just started majoring in the area, and did not hold a degree so far, she already considered it to be her profession. It seems to have marked a division in Lisa's professional life, going from unwillingly being a secretary to working in the international trade area.

At this given period, it is perceptible how secure the informant became about the future development of her biography. Lisa had finally made a vertical educational advancement and was attending university, wasn't working as a secretary anymore, wasn't undergoing a biographical trajectory, did not have to deal with a cognitive dissonance process any longer and, most importantly, she had finally re-established her once lost occupational orientation. It was the proper time to focus on her primary basic biographical orientation and further develop her already initiated institutional expectation pattern process.

10. Experiencing the realization of a basic biographical orientation

Due to her discontentment at SG, Lisa decided to change the course of her biography by starting another internship at AHK²⁹, in Sao Paolo. It would be the first time in her biography that she wasn't forced by an interlink of biographical importance or by a biographical trajectory to redirect the course of her life. Lisa promptly embarked on a new biographical action scheme process that eclipsed the institutional expectation pattern she was undergoing. Not only had the informant actively proceeded to obtain a more satisfactory employment, but she also acted based on her desire to grow professionally. Therefore, she applied for an internship at the Chamber of Industry Brazil-Germany in Sao Paolo. During this period of time, the incumbent was still attending college in the evening in Campinas and working day time at AHK in Sao Paolo. This specific phase is also portrayed by the informant as problematical. All over again Lisa is confronted with the same key event carrier, namely, the bus as a means of public transportation. Lisa still perceived it as something that did not fit in with her identity development due to the fact that she does not belong to the socioeconomic class that uses it on a daily basis. Lisa had to undergo an endeavor to accomplish her goal of financing and attending tertiary education, specifically, commuting and enduring substantially long days since her private college was located in the city of Campinas and AHK in Sao Paolo (these two locations are nearly 120km away from each other). This was certainly a period of reduced hours of sleep due to her long days as well as a reduction of leisure time.

In 2000 the informant was sent by AHK to Germany with the purpose of working in a Brazilian stand at Expo³⁰, in Hannover. This was the first relatively stable phase in her biography, after the outcomes of a first interlink of biographical importance. She welcomed the opportunity to work abroad for the first time and for a possibility to finally significantly improve her language skills; a source of constant distress while attending IFPA's apprenticeship. Lisa moved to Hannover and began sharing an apartment and working with a group of ten people. She felt accepted and expressed a sense of belonging as well. It was basically the first time in her biography, since the family's moving to Silver Bay, that she could experience financial

²⁹ Chamber of Commerce and Industry Brazil-Germany.

³⁰ According to the website Hannover Messe (2012), Expo refers to the Hannover Messe which took place in the year 2000 on the Messegelände Hannover. It was a world's fair held from Thursday, June 1 to Tuesday, October 31, 2000.

stability, social acceptance, a sense of belonging, absence of suffering, and positively-evaluated socialization. Lisa portrays the experience of working and living in Germany very optimistically due to two aspects, namely, social companionship and the opportunity to exercise as well as enhance her language skills. Reflectively, she evaluates it positively and mentions that it has helped her professionally, which concatenates it with her career in the international trade business. Moreover, it also had an impact on Lisa's appraisal of her decision concerning her tertiary education major. Before the end of Lisa's contract in Hannover, Lisa's capability could be observed by her supervisor who noticed her commitment. He then offered her the possibility to stay three additional months in Hannover, which she gratefully accepted. On the whole, one can infer that this biographical process constituted an oasis in the informant's life.

11. Further employment to consolidate an institutional expectation pattern

Before the fair in Hannover was even over, the biography incumbent wished to stay longer in Germany with the purpose of further reaping the fruits of the biographical oasis in which she found herself at the time. Lisa, as usual, promptly acted to consolidate her aspiration. Her former supervisor at Expo assisted her writing her CV, so she could begin applying for internships starting immediately after Expo was over. In a scene of biographical importance uttered by the informant, she inquired her supervisor, Carl, about his perception of her language command as well as her professional performance. The informant looked for approval in order to determine her limits and, consequently, confirm whether or not she should advance with her intentions. Carl, as an important event carrier, helped Lisa by encouraging her to further pursue her ambition, to obtain a second internship in Germany before returning to Brazil. Carl was a human event carrier of crucial magnitude in Lisa's biography for, according to the informant, he had sympathy for Brazil because his daughter was born there and their entire family spoke Portuguese. This personified event carrier played a significant role in the professional course of the informant. He assisted her twice during her stay in Germany (firstly with the extension of her employment period in Hannover and then with her next internship application) and was undoubtedly an individual who openly acknowledged the informant's capabilities. Hence, the incumbent decided to continue pursuing her career plans and, consequently, kept on following an institutional expectation pattern process. One can

observe the informant's need for achievement and the high degree of independence developed within the last biographical process.

After a short period of time, Lisa was offered an internship at KLS in Bochum, Germany. Lisa believes it occurred mainly due to its short duration and her previous experience at the same company in South America. She does not mention the fact that she had already worked for the same company in Brazil and that her apprenticeship at IFPA could have been the genesis for this opportunity as well. It certainly was a beneficial experience for the informant. She could finally accomplish a goal she had established based exclusively on her professional development and her efforts were "acknowledged" this time. Two individuals, Carl and the KLS manager, demonstrated that they recognized Lisa's potential and qualifications. In addition, the informant's own efforts culminated in a positive outcome. It is possible to infer that the interviewee might have felt more confident and secure about her biographical plans and their developments due to this biographical process. All in all, this period of time once again clearly reinforces the institutional expectation pattern the informant was undergoing. Lisa had finally achieved a balance in her biography and the entire period of distress she had to undergo while attending IFPA was over. Lisa was not working as a secretary, she had the opportunity to work abroad and practice the language she constantly complained about having a command limitation, she was attending university, and the company that once dismissed her was finally acknowledging her competence and giving her an internship opportunity in Germany. Lisa was finally experiencing favorable circumstances and the days of her biographical trajectories due to interlinks, father's unemployment, the temporarily loss of contact with her biographically important boyfriend, her feeling of not belonging, among other difficulties at IFPA, and her social frame clash due to exposure to a recurrent event carrier, the bus as a public means of transportation, seemed to be over.

It was also during this period that Lisa's parents decided to visit her in Germany. Their decision was based on the incumbent's announcement that she would like to stay longer than previously planned in Germany. This was also a scene of biographical importance the informant could still vividly remember. It may have been a significant occurrence in the life of the incumbent, for she could then realize her parent's caring and possibly diminish the sense of unfairness, which has already previously been mentioned. Lisa realized, even if unconsciously, she could count on other people's acknowledgment regarding her capability, she could also

experience her parents support, and her efforts were finally paying off. On the other hand, it was also a period of distress for the incumbent because this was the time chosen by her parents to announce they were getting divorced. Lisa explains that it was a way to escape from their turbulent daily life in Brazil, and an experience of relief for the difficult moment they were going through. Lisa lamented not being close to her parents. She could not assist them in that moment or even help avoiding such a turnout of events, but she does not plainly narrate about any impacts it had on her own biography. Lisa's parents left and she started her internship in Bochum. The informant job was rather artistic and, one can say, it probably encouraged her to further develop her creativity. Lisa saw the opportunity as a possibility to expand her business-related contacts within the company as well as the opportunity to work for KLS in one of its units abroad. The informant sensed she could achieve her professional goals, was qualified for it, and even other parties recognized it. She was once again working for the same company that dismissed her after her dual system apprenticeship, and it might have reinforced her desire to continue her institutional expectation pattern biographical process.

The informant mentions positive appraisal of her experience in Bochum is related to two main aspects: (1) working at KLS, a company where she had already worked, identified with and done her dual apprenticeship. (2) The opportunity she had to further improve her language skills. This last aspect is rather recurrent and one can observe how negatively the IFPA teacher, as an event carrier, had on the perception of her own development. Yet, Lisa did not feel incapable. On the contrary, she looked for means to enhance it so it would not become a barrier later in her career path.

12. Returns to Brazil to work as a temp at KLS

Before Lisa's internship in Bochum was over, KLS Brazil called her home in Brazil in order to offer her a temporary six-month position to temporarily replace a secretary who was going on maternity leave. The informant also mentions that the company in Brazil was surprised she was working in Germany and had absolutely did not know about it. This process may have been a peak of events of significant importance in her biography. Lisa finally, concretely, realized the company had acknowledged her as trustworthy and competent, recognized and remembered Lisa's work during her dual system apprenticeship. It was an important factor in the construction of self-esteem and, conceivably, increased the incumbent's overall evaluation

as well as appraisal of her own worth. Another event carrier appears in Lisa's biography during this period, to be precise, Mr. Wilson. As he already knew Lisa, he suggested her for the temporary job. Moreover, Lisa was already acquainted with the department and the daily work, as she had already done it all during her dual system apprenticeship. Lisa keeps following her institutional expectation biographical process. What's more, it was the first time Lisa clearly associated her IFPA apprenticeship as being the reason for employment. She could perceive that her efforts were at last being rewarded. She, at last, realized her initial biographical action scheme aimed at changing the course of her biography due to an interlink that led to her father's dismissal and, consequently, their moving to the countryside, had brought a recompense. It was definitely a fundamental concatenation of events the narrator was involved in, and it may have led to inner changes as well, for she was certain of her competence and also positive performance during her apprenticeship. The sum of working for the same company abroad and the recognition of her competence were the summit Lisa had to reach to fully understand she definitely could achieve the goals established in her basic biographical plan, especially the goals aimed at a professional career and educational pathway.

13. Pursuing a professional career and determining a normal life-cycle pattern

After ending her six-month temporary contract, Lisa was finally offered a permanent position at a different department at KLS, in Sao Paulo. Once again Mr. Wilson, a significant event carrier in Lisa's biography, helped the informant in her institutional expectation pattern. However, she wasn't willing to work as a secretary any longer. She was focused on pursuing a career in her institutional expectation pattern biographical process, but not in the field of her dual system apprenticeship. IFPA served as an important professional tunnel leading to career opportunities as well as a bridging mechanism enabling her to accomplish her primary post-high school educational aspiration of making a vertical educational advancement, but it was no longer needed once she had already reached her destination. After some discussion, the company finally offered the incumbent a position in their logistics department, which was more than welcomed by the informant. Hence, Lisa reached a vital point in her biographical process. This process characterizes the line dividing her institutional expectation biographical process, and IFPA's apprenticeship was crucial in this progression. Lisa finally freed herself of an unwanted aspect that accompanied her decision to undergo her dual system apprenticeship, namely, being a secretary. It can be observed that the accumulation of hindrances expe-

rienced by the informant within her primary post-high school educational pathway, especially the fact that she didn't overcome superimposed structural impediments, led her to a fear of recurrence and also to an alteration of her risk taking attitude that led to a long process before she could finally get rid of an occupational orientation she much disliked and didn't want her identity development to be associated with. After a few years working in the logistic department, and after getting sufficiently acquainted with crucial aspects of the company's international trade, Lisa climbed the career ladder and achieved a new position within the company. She started working in the area of international trade. At last, Lisa achieved her aim of working in her field, the one in which she was majoring. She received the opportunity to work at KLS export department. In 2007 the import and the export departments merged, and during this process Lisa was assigned to be the manager of this new combined department. Even though Lisa did not have sufficient knowledge about the field of importation, she was eager to learn more about it. The outcomes of this merge were very relevant in the life of the informant because, even though it led to redundancies, Lisa was not thrown into a trajectory of unemployment this time. On the contrary, the company saw the opportunity for professional growth in her as well, and she was offered a higher position and, for the first time in her biography, she became a supervisor. Following this managerial position, the informant continued developing her biography within her institutional expectation pattern and is nowadays in charge of another important department within the international trade area. Lisa clearly climbed the career ladder quickly and has already become a manager. However, it cost a considerable amount of effort and it was not only once that she had to undergo a biographical trajectory her life. Even though she wasn't hired after the completion of her apprenticeship, she clearly continued pursuing her institutional expectation pattern biographical process, which is currently a very dominant process in her life.

14. Reflective analysis of IFPA's contribution to current dominant biographical process

Since 2007, Lisa has been able to observe a significant professional growth at KLS. She has already developed projects in the area of international trade in the United States, in India and in China, which is driven by her considerably dominant institutional expectation pattern biographical process. Reflectively, the biography incumbent articulates that undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship was an act of endurance and that, despite the trajectories of suffering she underwent, its outcomes enabled her to further pursue an, evidently dominant, institutionally

shaped and normatively defined course in her biography. IFPA's dual system represented the genesis for a substantial alteration in her biographical plan, which characterizes this phase as a period that entailed a diverse set of outer events that have influenced the inner development of Lisa's biography. The biography incumbent had to start acting autonomously to be able to steer her biographical development, by mingling in a social frames she was not accustomed to, and enduring trajectories, in which she had to, at times, commit to an effort justification paradigm as an exit to re-steer the course of her biography. This process was characterized as a period of time the incumbent achieved adulthood, for she had to begin financially providing for her own existence and had to take charge of her actions in order to achieve her established biographical plan. It has made the informant more ambitious towards her biographical plans, which plainly demonstrates the influence IFPA's apprenticeship had on the development of Lisa's identity. It was certainly a crucial condition that helped trigger the significance assigned by the informant to the establishment of a successful career and the presently exacerbated focus on an institutional expectation pattern. It is notorious the swift in Lisa's objectives in her biography for, before accessing IFPA, she focused on caring and further conducting an emotional relationship, whereas after IFPA she clearly began having professional development as the core objective in her biography; within a normal-cycle biographical development focused on an already dominant institutional expectation pattern.

From today's perspective, the informant's appraisal of IFPA's apprenticeship modality has considerably changed: (1) she evaluates it as a very positive educational pathway and argues that Brazil should definitely offer secondary level dual system apprenticeships in a dual system in order to establish a consistent cooperation with the Brazilian companies to further qualify the workforce in the country. (2) The informant is proud of her accomplishments, associates her professional maturity with her vocational training at IFPA, and perceives it as an indicator of maturation. Given that the informant is thankful to have endured all the trajectories and adjustments to which she has had to submit herself during her biography thus far, it seems Lisa found out what the very quality of her creative metamorphoses of biographical identity during her vocational training might have been. What is more, not only did she experience a serious process of identity change during her apprenticeship, but she also focused on an institutional career expectation later on, by continuing to professionally develop inside the company where she did the practical part of her dual vocational program. (3) Lisa appears to be aware of her overall development in the company, which began with IFPA's dual system

apprenticeship. The informant climbed the career ladder in a very visible way. Firstly, she started working at KLS as an apprentice. Later on she had the opportunity to work at one of its units in Germany. After this experience abroad, she was firstly employed as a temporary secretary in Brazil and then permanently, to work at their export department. And finally she reached a management position, becoming responsible for the entire international trade department. Although, Lisa's primary post-high school educational aspiration did not include attending IFPA and obtaining further qualification to enter the labor market, it ended up shaping the course of her life and also dictating the dominant biographical process in the biography of the informant nowadays. One can observe that Lisa acknowledges and realizes IFPA was the genesis of her professional career as well as the bridging mechanism that enable her to finally accomplish a vertical educational advancement. IFPA was the institution responsible for providing her the opportunity to enter the labor market by beginning to work for a German multinational company, and is certain that it was the origin for the subsequent career accomplishments achieve in her biography. Even though she had to endure trajectories of unemployment and suffering, she can nowadays comprehend the significant impact IFPA had on her dominant institutional expectation pattern. In addition, reflectively, the informant seems to have gained clarity about the overall shape of the life history up to now and she believes to have achieved even more than actually previously intended. Several adjectives highlight the informant's perception of her own biography "young, well, fine, fortunate, prepared".

All in all, argumentatively, the informant assesses the overall course of her biography as a path containing a considerable amount of struggle. She explains that it depended a lot on her own effort to actively shape the course of her life. Hereby, she inferred that she had to go through different biographical process counting exclusively on her initiative. It all began with her first biographical action scheme, aimed at avoiding a trajectory of suffering, which originated with an interlink of biographical importance. It also includes the biographical trajectory she underwent while attending IFPA. She finally re-uses her self-theoretical approach "I'm at the right place in the right time" in order to make a clear comparison between the current state of affairs and the beginning of her extempore storytelling, when she mentioned that she was not hired by KLS after her dual system apprenticeship because "she wasn't at the right place it the right time". One can observe once again a very strong institutional expectation pattern, here implicit in the informant's eagerness to climb the career ladder. The informant explains that she is currently building a house, apparently a modern, luxury one. It is certainly part of

the personality development lived by the informant throughout her biography. Lisa has always achieved at higher levels and her professional and educational development, and it is plausible she aims at her private life goals using the same criteria. In addition, she tends to continue her current dominant biographical process. Professionally, the informant is absolutely determined, and argues modern women focus on their jobs and that it is their priority³¹. The informant is currently following two biographical pathways, namely, the climbing of a professional career ladder action scheme and the continuation of a normal citizen existence; see Carsten (2009). Finally, the evidence from Lisa's extempore storytelling suggests that she will most likely proceed with her institutional expectation pattern. However, it seems the informant will focus substantially less on the foundation of her own family. Lisa is driven and appears to be on a search for further career growth within the labor market.

6.2 The reconstructed “gestalt” of the overall biographical structuring of Virginia Müller

IFPA's dual system vocational training as a functional mechanism leading to upward mobility, ameliorating a lack of occupational orientation and bridging primary post-high school educational intentions

1. Preliminary aspects regarding the biography incumbent

Virginia was born in 1989 in a German colony, named Greenville, Brazil. The town has approximately twenty five thousand inhabitants and was founded in 1858 by German immigrants³². The informant has two siblings, and she attended elementary and secondary school at a private school located in her hometown. Upon graduating from high school, Virginia underwent IFPA's office clerk dual system apprenticeship between 2007 and 2008 in the traditional modality. The practical part of her apprenticeship was done at KS SP (a global and first-tier supplier to the automotive industry), in a city called Campinas, in the state of Sao

³¹ IBGE (2012) published that women are studying longer and more frequently seeking for further qualification in Brazil. In addition, there is a constant increase of female workforce in the Brazilian labor market. These last data published in 2012 also pointed out that Brazilian women are having children at a much older age than a decade ago and are, therefore, prioritizing entering the labor market and obtaining further education.

³² From 1824 to 1969, around 250,000 Germans immigrated to Brazil, being the fourth largest immigrant community to settle in the country; see IBGE (2012a).

Paolo. After concluding IFPA's apprenticeship, Virginia accessed tertiary education. She is currently majoring in industrial engineering at a private university located in Sao Paulo, too. At present, she has been working at the engineering department of DBS, a fairly new position which she has now been occupying for the last few months.

2. The incumbent's family milieu and her childhood developments

Virginia's family was essentially founded in Greenville. Her grandparents, and later her parents, met in this German colony in the extreme south of Brazil. The informant's great-grandparents were merchants, and enjoyed a favorable financial situation during their lives in Greenville, which enabled the interviewee's grandparents to inherit a piece of land. This property would later become very important for the family of the biography incumbent, due to the fact that Virginia's grandfather became a small farmer and his plantations served as an important source of provisions for the interviewee's family. Virginia's grandparents were, therefore, farmers and they only attended school until fourth grade. The informant's mother was born in Greenville and is an only child. Concerning her education, she underwent a vocational training course in accountancy and worked in this area in a nearby city for a period of time. Later, she began working in Greenville, at the town hospital. Her last employment, which she essentially had during the informant's childhood, was as a secretary at the Lutheran church of Greenville. Virginia's parents also began a vocational course in computer science, which her mother concluded and her father didn't manage to. This VET course was allegedly undergone by her mother with the purpose of obtaining the basic required qualification and understanding in the area of IT in order to be able to efficiently perform tasks at her secretarial work which demanded such skills. It is also relevant to mention that both parents attempted to obtain a higher education degree. They accessed and attended a private university for one semester, majoring in languages, but they abandoned it, due to its costly tuition fees. It can be observed that, despite the financial situation of the family, accessing higher education and thereby making a post-high school vertical educational advancement was perceived as important by the informant's parents. Nevertheless, without any vocational qualification, her father became a manual worker and his last occupation was as a driver at a shoe factory, where he earned less than minimum wage. One can notice that Virginia comes from an ethnic minority German group in the south of Brazil, where she was born and grew up. She originates from a socioeconomically underprivileged family, which has marked the biography of

the incumbent with tough and constant financial hardship. Her parents don't have any valuable assets, bar only a very modest 50m² house in the little town where the family once settled. One of the central customs of the informant's German colony is to maintain its German culture. Thus, conserving the language is primordial. This practice remained throughout the years and is still being passed on to further generations. The biography incumbent's German colony, as well as others in the southern states of Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina, essentially speak a dialect called Riograndenser Hunsrückisch, a variation from the Hunsrückisch dialect, which was brought to Brazil by German immigrants from the Hunsrück region of Germany (Rhineland-Palatinate), who settled in southern regions such as Rio Grande do Sul; see Meyer (2009). As a result, Virginia acquired the dialect as a first language, at home. It was a necessary means of communication, given that the other actors of her social frame in Greenville, as well as her own family, also used the same dialect to converse on a daily basis. Virginia only began learning Portuguese a while later, in school. This was indubitably a solid basis for the identity development, a sense of self of the incumbent, considering that Virginia truly identifies with her ethnicity, place of origin and its culture.

After Virginia and her siblings were born, one child right after another, her mother became a full-time housewife, given that she became incapable of coping with the housework, her occupation and concomitantly raising three children. This period was marked as a time of even greater financial difficulties due to the fact that only her father was providing for a family of five members with his income from working as a driver at the shoe factory, in Greenville. This financial hardship was partially relieved through the Virginia's grandfather, though. He aided the family with basic food items from his small plantation until the day he passed away, and one unpleasant outcome arose from this circumstance. Virginia and her two siblings had to contribute, by constantly being involved in arduous, laborious agricultural activities. They had to help their grandfather by proving additional workforce on the small farm, very likely in retribution for the basic provisions her family received on a regular basis. One of Virginia's self-theoretical annotations regarding this matter is two-fold: (a) she advocates that easy-provision can be detrimental. She defends the notion that one needs to individually achieve and provide for a self-existence. Therefore, she assumes her grandfather should have ceased his aid to her parents at a much earlier stage. (b) One should bear the consequences of his actions and decisions relying on individual effort, and constantly search for personal as well as financial independence.

While residing in Greenville, Virginia constantly detected circumstances that led her to experience a sense of inferiority. The family used to live in a small house, in a humble neighborhood of Greenville. The incumbent constantly compared their residence with the villas in the other side of town. Virginia lived her childhood in this small German colony where, apparently, she could clearly see this clash of socioeconomic backgrounds on a daily basis. Seligman (1975) reminds us that ethnic minority children and youth may be reminded over and over again that the social identities of their ethnic groups and families are inferior, often based on a comparative framework. It was the genesis that prompted the incumbent to develop a sense of social unfairness based on unequal distribution of wealth. In other words, she could observe and point out the abysmal social class and distribution of wealth difference in the town where she used to live. Another aspect that influenced the biography incumbent's sense of inferiority, on the grounds of an essentially comparative framework, was the attendance of a private elementary and high school in Greenville. Despite the family's very scarce income, they managed to keep all three children attending a private school in Greenville, which apparently offered a better level of education than other public schools in the area. This educational action scheme of the parents regarding Virginia's education demanded a great financial commitment, which was made by the family in order to be able to afford tuition fees was basically attained through the effort of every single family member, and relied on two distinctive aspects: (a) a maternal fear of a potential negative influence through social-interactive processes in a public school. Virginia's mother distrusted public educational institutions due to their apparent negative reputation. She feared the causal consequence that Virginia could begin associating with individuals that would set examples that diverged from the ones she expected her daughter to display, a probable preconceived stigmatization of public education and the agents of socialization therein present. (b) As part of a strategic educational pathway that could lead to intergenerational upward mobility, as a way to interrupt the continuation of a financial hardship within the family.

As Virginia and her sisters attended a private school where the elite in town studied, this specific aspect triggered a sense of social discrimination and social segregation in the incumbent, within this educational context. She felt at a disadvantage and as an underclass member, forced to exist and experience unpleasant disadvantages other socioeconomically privileged individuals didn't have to withstand. Virginia experienced social segregation in relation to her

classmates, and also a certain discrimination coming from her teachers due to her socioeconomic background. She felt as an exception in this educational institution and had difficulties to be accepted and identify with the socioeconomic profile of her classmates. One can infer that Virginia sensed a social exclusion at school due to two distinct conditions: (a) a perceived financial inequality between herself and the other actors of this social frame. (b) Her mother's unconscious discouragement, for she also reinforced the informant's sense of not belonging by wanting Virginia to achieve upward mobility by all means, and therefore, indirectly conveying the message her daughter wasn't yet "somebody in society".

A further particularly pertinent aspect regarding the incumbent's childhood is the influence the incumbent's mother had on her biographical development through a social-interactive process. Her mother's discernment and self-theoretical approaches to society in general served as a basis for Virginia's development of her biographical objectives. The informant has internalized and initiated to share her mother's perception that one needs to commit to the objective of striving to be recognized in order to earn a sense of belonging in society. Accordingly, Virginia's biographical plan was incredibly influenced by this perception, which has considerably motivated her eagerness for professional and educational achievement. The informant's relationship to her mother during her childhood was very uneasy and this social-interactive process has not ameliorated within the last years. The issues involved in this divergence are varied. Firstly, since the early years of Virginia's life, her mother has generally demonstrated eagerness to see her daughter engaged in activities of labor and could not tolerate the incumbent being at home unoccupied. This specific behavior persistently perturbed the informant, who was perceived by her mother as a "good-for-nothing" whenever not engaged in any sort of labor. Hence, Virginia and her sisters had to engage in labor from a very early age, be it at her grandfather's plantation or at the church with their mother. It is likewise relevant to point out that her mother's employment at the church may have been an important condition of influence on the family per se. As the children had to assist her at work, it is conceivable that they attended and were also exposed to the Christian values advocated by this religious institution. These values played an important role in the development of the identity of the informant. Moreover, one should bear in mind that Virginia's mother's behavior in relation to labor could be associated with an influence of Pietism, a movement within Lutheranism that emphasized hard work and shunned worldly amusements - one should feel guilty when not working. Certain traits of this movement might have been, to a certain extent, pre-

sent in the lives of the informant and her mother, once they used to go to a Lutheran church in Greenville, where her mother also used to work as a secretary. Furthermore, the incumbent's mother's attitudes have helped shape the informant's discernment of a German individual, given that Virginia believes her mother is the personification of a German individual and that, thereby, she fully represents a culture that demands results, barely tolerates mistakes, doesn't accept one being unoccupied, and applies punishment whenever results aren't properly delivered. One can notice that Virginia developed a relationship based on fear with her mother, which could have catapulted the development of a generalized stigmatization of the German individual. What's more, Virginia's always had the vivid impression, and even clear examples, that her mother wanted her to become independent and leave Greenville as soon as possible. The incumbent used to be verbally punished whenever she didn't comply with her mother's orders. Conceivably, the informant has never fully comprehended the intentions of her mother concerning a possible generation contract - the informant's mother made all possible efforts, demonstrated support, and also prepared Virginia to leave Greenville intentionally, in an attempt to, later, use Virginia's assistance to further assist her siblings to leave Greenville as well.

3. The genesis of a noteworthy biographical trajectory within the incumbent's family

The first significant process experienced by the informant of biographical importance occurred when her father began developing a mental disorder during her childhood. Essentially, it marked the beginning of a biographical trajectory for the whole family. After an absolutely atypical behavior at his workplace, the family was informed about the occurrence and the informant's father was admitted to a psychiatric hospital, where he was diagnosed with schizophrenia³³. After three months of treatment, he returned home. However, despite the doctor's order, the informant's father became very reluctant to continue with his prescribed medication, which seriously deteriorated his mental health and acutely affected the family's well-

³³ Schizophrenia is a psychotic disorder that impairs the ability to think creatively and imaginatively, to have close social relationships with other human beings, to use language to express ideas with clarity, or to experience and express a variety of emotions such as love and fear. People with schizophrenia are tormented by intrusive experiences such as hearing voices or by beliefs that they are being persecuted or injured by those around them or by alien external forces. No single sign or symptom defines schizophrenia. It is defined by the fact that people who suffer from it experience abnormalities in many different kinds of mental activities; see Andreasen (1999).

being, domestic harmony and his own physical integrity. As the situation worsened extremely, he could no longer live with the family in Greenville, and had to be permanently admitted to a clinic. Virginia's father's mental disorder, and the aggravating fact that he negligently ceased taking his medication, led to a trajectory that was painfully experienced by all family members, and the succeeding events only helped foster distress: (a) conflicts within the family due to his unusual actions as well as divergences with neighbors who were also disturbed by some of his actions. (b) An abrupt termination of Virginia's relationship with her father. The informant even tried to seek information about the matter in order to better comprehend her father's condition. Yet, she became very reluctant to visit him at the psychiatric hospital, given that his mental and corporal conditions had enormously deteriorated. Therefore, Virginia began avoiding these encounters as a way of bypassing the anguish she had to experience whenever exposed to a situation of socialization with her father. This outcome, however, assisted the incumbent in developing a closer relationship to her grandfather, who became an identity model in the biography of the incumbent, even becoming, later, a reference for the informant's vocational orientation – as it will be cited in subsequent passages. (c) Virginia barely had sufficient time to comprehend the infirmity her father had begun developing, and already had to start coping with a second loss, namely, that of a united family and the sharing of one single home with both parents. The culminating result of the informant's parent's separation characterized the end of the existence of an already fragile family. (d) At this point the already fragile financial as well as psychological well-being of the family had significantly worsened. The informant, her mother and siblings had to move in with her grandfather, and very conceivably intensified the amount of time they had to dedicate to working on the plantation and harvesting. In addition, Virginia's mother could no longer afford paying the school tuition for all three children and was on the verge of enrolling them in a public school, thereby abandoning the initial educational action scheme aimed at providing Virginia and her siblings with a more propaedeutic education that could lead to a post-high school vertical advancement enabling the children with a possibility they could not accomplish. This fact was only changed with the help of the biography incumbent's school, which promptly gave Virginia a scholarship based on her school performance and on the comprehension of the state of affairs of the family at the time.

After a while, Virginia, her siblings and her mother were able to move into a new house. This new residence was rather improvised and its construction was still unfinished. It certainly was

a very humble and precarious construction. They were still facing financial difficulties and could not afford finishing the house. The incumbent was experiencing arduous conditions at this particular time. She had to work hard with agriculture on her grandfather's small farm, had to deal with her father's absence as well as health condition, had to cope with her parents' aggravated relationship, and she had to take care and assist her two younger sisters while her mother worked in order to provide for their existence as a church secretary. In other words, the negative combination of different factors only intensified the roughness of the state of affairs and Virginia was in the middle of a biographical trajectory, feeling powerless. She only strived to abide and cope with all the deterioration of the circumstances since the diagnosis of her father's mental condition. Essentially, the informant had a childhood full of endurance, difficulties and hard work. Reflectively, though, she does not complain about the turn of events, but she assesses it as very harsh period of her existence.

A while later in her biography, during her high school, Virginia pursued her last educational achievement in Greenville. She underwent secondary level VET, at the same private vocational school where she attended elementary and high school, in Greenville. Her vocational training was done in a concomitant modality, as she attended high school in the morning and her vocational course in the evening. During this time, Virginia also did an internship at a shop that sold home appliances, as part of her secondary level VET program. Virginia was compelled by her mother to attend this VET course in IT, the same one her parents attended, but that only her mother finished. Her other two siblings also had to undergo it, but weren't able to finish the course due to a lack of financial means. This participation in VET during high school was mainly motivated by the need to acquire essential skills that would be complemented with a higher education degree. It was always made clear to the incumbent that this VET course had the purpose of providing her with additional, necessary qualifications to later enter the labor market. Reflectively, Virginia positively assesses this educational achievement in her biography, considering it to entail the development of essential skills and qualification demanded by the labor market nowadays.

4. First biographical action scheme in a search for upward mobility

After a considerable amount of affliction, due to the aforementioned conditions in her biography, Virginia yearned to establish a biographical plan based on finding a possibility to

achieve upward mobility in order to comply with her mother's expectations as well as parental educational action scheme and, concomitantly, withdraw from all the distress taking place within her family. She became driven to be seen as a prominent individual in society, in an attempt to eliminate the social exclusion and inequity she had to experience while attending school, motivated by her perception of a polarization of the wealth distribution in her German colony, and also to circumvent the recurrence of the financial hardship she had to withstand during her childhood while residing in Greenville with her parents. She no longer wanted to be seen as a socioeconomically underprivileged individual, and this commitment had an important impact on Virginia's identity development as well. Virginia wished to leave Greenville and initiate her search for upward mobility elsewhere, within a different social frame. Moreover, she seemed to be ready to commit, regardless of the required efforts she would have to make, or suffering she would have to withstand, for it could not become any worse than the state of affairs at the time in Greenville. In other words, the outcomes became absolutely more important than the pathway leading to it. Proof of that was that, at the time, she decided to terminate a romantic relationship she had with a young man at a very early stage, given that she was already convinced she would have to leave her German colony.

It can be clearly noticed that a fundamental stimulus for the initial shaping of the incumbent's biographical objective was the socialization process she experienced with her mother at home, since the early years of her childhood. Her mother used to strongly persuade her by stating that staying in Greenville would be an erroneous choice that would most likely lead to downward mobility. Her mother's basic self-theoretical that socioeconomically privileged individuals have advantages over others whose families are not affluent or have any kind of social influence, and that we live in a capitalist world, where one needs to be wealthy or originate from a socioeconomically privileged background to have a social identity considered by society as distinct and worthy of consideration, became guidelines for the incumbent. Despite her conviction that leaving Greenville was the key to achieving her biographical goal, neither did she have a clear occupational orientation, nor an alternative educational pathway she could possibly follow. Nonetheless, it must be clearly stated that the biography incumbent was always aware of the necessity to make a post-high school vertical educational advancement. However, despite all the distress of the moment, she also didn't have an occupational orientation, being thereby in a process of indecision.

Nonetheless, the opportunity arose when IFPA was advertised in her private school in Greenville, and its trade courses were presented to the students. Virginia realized it was a feasible pathway, and essentially depended on her individual effort. She perceived IFPA as an opportunity to leave Greenville, promote upward mobility, attain positive distinctiveness, and more unconsciously as a possibility to obtain the necessary income as well as work orientation before making a vertical educational advancement, which would become feasible after obtaining permanent employment. Virginia is just about to embark on an educational pathway aimed at executing her established biographical plans. She decided to embark on this educational pathway based on various motives: (a) Maintaining an emotional distance that could diminish this period of trajectory. Being away from home, and consequently her mother, would be painful due to the distance and the new phase of adaptation, but it could also mean relief, for she would be for the first time away from the problems caused by her father and his mental disorder, as well as from a demeaning mother with whom she always had to comply with to not be punished. (b) Leaving Greenville and searching for qualification that could enhance her chances of obtaining employment with superior compensation. It could, as a result, lead to upward mobility and also to an enhanced social identity, vital aspects of the informant's main biographical objective. (c) As an opportunity to improve personally through the experiencing of new processes. Indeed, she experienced a creative metamorphosis of biographical identity during this process. (d) This educational pathway wasn't unknown to the informant. IFPA's apprenticeship would be the second secondary level VET in the educational pathway of the incumbent, and her siblings and parents had already attended this educational modality in Greenville, too. (e) The informant's ethnic origin and her identification with the German culture played an important role; given that IFPA's apprenticeship was taught primarily in German, and was therefore related to her family's roots and ethnic origin. (f) She perceived IFPA as an institution located in a strategic place, far away from Greenville. Leaving for Sao Paulo was already the representation of a distinctive social identity, given that she was seeking possibilities to attain her biographical objectives in the biggest Brazilian metropolis, a place not everyone could afford residing and/or coping with. (g) Due to the importance of the duality aspect of this vocational education course. Working for a company could assist her in developing a clearer occupational orientation. At this given time, the informant was still experiencing a lack of orientation and indecision. (h) IFPA would be an alternative pathway to making a prompt post-high school vertical advancement. Instead of accessing tertiary education after the conclusion of her first VET course, Virginia opted to do a second vocational course at

secondary level. This decision was also based on the fact that the incumbent would have to face the issue of overcoming superimposed institutional impediments – the entrance examination and the fierce competition at public universities. In a way, it was also a superimposed self-chosen impediment established by the incumbent, especially due to one of her main self-theoretical biographical orientations that one needs to do something right the first time one does it, leaving no time or room for a second attempt; it clearly mirrors self-theoretical commentaries used by the biography incumbent's mother and that were borrowed by Virginia. In addition, her pathway margin leading to higher education became even more restricted due to a lack of financial means to afford attending a private university; it can be noticed that the motives are part of a complex concatenation of conditions and intrinsically related to prior biographical processes. It can be stated that Virginia's primary post-high school educational aspiration was aimed at making a vertical educational advancement. However, due to a concatenation of circumstances, making a horizontal educational advancement appeared to be a crucial functional mechanism that would not only ameliorate the dominant biographical process the biography incumbent was undergoing at the time, but would also enable her to make a subsequent vertical educational advancement.

As a result of the aforementioned concatenation of circumstances, Virginia decided she would make a post-high school horizontal educational advancement by taking IFPA's admission test, as the initial step to start undergoing secondary level VET in the subsequent modality, thereby postponing a vertical educational advancement. Prior to this event, a significant impulse occurred that made Virginia feel prepared for the test. Virginia won a foreign language contest in German, in Greenville, and it provided her with the necessary confidence to definitely embark on this biographical action scheme, which would be the road leading to her biographical objective. Despite the victory, and even though she spoke German at home, lived in a German colony and had German in school for several years, and had won the German language contest, she still feared IFPA's admission test and felt she needed further language preparation, given that the test was in German. As a result, Virginia attended a prep-course for the admission test, in the evenings. It was offered by the same private school where she attended elementary and high school in her German colony. It might have been a time of physical and mental weariness, since the incumbent had to labor in her grandfather's plantation on the weekends, assist her mother at work and at home and at church, and in addition to that, she had to attend, prepare, and study for her educational commitments. In any manner, Virginia

left for Porto Alegre to take the test. Her mother arranged for her to stay at an acquaintance's house there, so that she could take the test at the German Consulate in the same city. It demonstrates two different aspects: (a) the difficult financial situation of the family that had to ask for the help of an almost stranger. (b) The effort made by the informant as well as her mother to pass the admission test with the purpose of having it as the foundation to achieve the goal of climbing the socioeconomic ladder.

After taking the test, she believed she did not pass it. The informant's judgment of her performance also reflects her fear of failure concerning the biographical action scheme in which she was then engaged. She knew that this specific step of her plan depended exclusively on her individual effort, and was also afraid of disappointing her mother who had always attempted to influence Virginia to leave Greenville in search for upward mobility. In addition, individuals who belonged to Virginia's social frame at the time didn't assume she could fulfill the necessary criteria to live and undergo an apprenticeship in Sao Paulo.

5. IFPA's admission test: the genesis of an eclipse of biographical processes

In due course, the results were published and Virginia could hardly accept as true that she had passed. The informant experienced the result as an unexpected event, and then she realized she had to begin redirecting her focus. Passing IFPA's admission test was the first step in her journey, and as Virginia was about to start doing something many thought she was capable of, she had already initiated her desired process of social identity alteration, which was crucial for the informant's perception of her self-worth and key for her determination to remain motivated as well as focused on her biographical intentions. After passing IFPA's admission test, Virginia left for Sao Paulo for her first interview at SC Group, a company that produced coating for seats. Given the seriously difficult financial situation of the informant's family, her mother had to buy a plane ticket, in installments, using a neighbor's credit card. Much to her disillusionment, she wasn't offered the position, and it originated some undesired outcomes: (a) the incumbent suddenly felt very discouraged and disappointed. This reaction could be explained in one of the incumbent's self-theoretical approaches. Virginia advocates that she needs to do everything right the first time she tries it. This has constantly put the informant under pressure whenever involved in a biographical action scheme or an institutional expectation pattern process. In addition, it also entails the fear of failure constantly present in the bi-

ography of the incumbent. Virginia's fear is also, as previously cited, closely related to the social-interactive process undergone with her mother during her childhood. Her mother used to refer to a poorly or undone task as "labor performed by a black person", in all probability, making reference to a stigmatization of the former African slaves in Brazil, as if they did things in a sloppy way. Hence, the informant has always approached objectives, and even simple tasks, with great fear and pressure, which visibly put her under a considerable amount of distress. (b) She was forced to return to Greenville and face skeptical commentaries made by individuals in her social frame who had already foreseen this unsuccessful attempt, in addition to her mother's disappointment. This was the first time the biography incumbent would be faced with an even more intense fear of failure and recurrent non-overcome impediments.

Upon returning to Greenville, Virginia began working at an office where she had to grant loans to pensioners, a task which she vehemently disliked. Yet, she was compelled to engage in labor, given that her mother wouldn't tolerate her being at home unoccupied. Virginia was definitely going through a rather rough process in her biography. She wasn't yet fulfilling her biographical intention of "becoming someone in society" by moving to a bigger city to obtain further qualification as a possibility to achieve a higher social status. She didn't pass the interview process at BLC, she was still living in Greenville, she still had to deal with her mother's and peers' pressure and questionings, she was working at an office where she had to perform tasks she didn't perceive as appropriate, and wasn't making any post-high school educational advancement at all.

After a while, Virginia was invited for a second interview at a company in Sao Paulo. Despite the financial hardship and the very low income, Virginia boarded to Sao Paulo for this interview. Virginia once again didn't pass the interview and she would necessarily have to return home one more time. However, at this given point in time, due to a very scarce amount of money she had at her disposal and her mother's inability to further assist her financially, Virginia realized that the only possible option would be to find a possible way to stay in Sao Paulo, in the hope of being called and later hired at one of the companies that have cooperation with IFPA School. This was a crucial point of biographical significance in the development of her biography as well. The incumbent began going through a creative metamorphosis of biographical identity, in which she began realizing that she would have to care for herself and her acts, and begin taking responsibility for her financial well-being as well as the further devel-

opments of her biography. She began to comprehend that her mother simply couldn't provide for three daughters any longer and she would have to put even more effort into attaining her objectives. It represented the cut off between actions assisted with maternal protection and assistance. Virginia began to comprehend that she was becoming an adult had to take full responsibility for her actions and strive to become independent and self-sufficient. This, obviously, marked a period of great uncertainty. Virginia was alone in a metropolis she barely knew, away from her parents and German colony, and very skeptical about ever passing the necessary interview in order to be able to begin her dual system apprenticeship. Nonetheless, she was very strong-minded about accomplishing this educational objective, which could possibly lead to her desired biographical goal. She knew that returning to Greenville wouldn't be the way to reach it; on the contrary, it would only make matters worse. She was following one of her self-theoretical approaches as well that there are always two possible paths to follow in life and that one needs to compromise. Thus, she was willing to risk, to take chances and do whatever was necessary to stay in Sao Paolo and find a company at which to start her dual system apprenticeship. The incumbent, therefore, embarks on another biographical action scheme process with the purpose of steering the course of her biography and avoids returning to her German colony. She was also aware that it would take a considerable amount of effort, but seemed to have kept focus on the outcomes the endurance of this process could bring.

As Virginia's mother couldn't assist her financially, in an apparent act of despair, she contacted an acquaintance from Greenville, named James, who lived in Sao Paolo at the time and could possibly provide Virginia some shelter for a while. The informant's mother was concerned about her well-being, and at the same time, showed a tremendous act of trust by contacting an essentially unknown person, attempting to provide all the feasible necessary help at her disposal from Greenville. After contacting James, Virginia was told by her mother that he would help her in Sao Paolo; and the incumbent was compelled to accept it, for there apparently weren't other alternatives at her and her mother's disposal. James picked her up and took her to his apartment, where she would live for the next coming weeks. This individual, as an important event carrier, helped Virginia with shelter and also by showing her Sao Paolo, considering it might have been very overwhelming for Virginia since she came from a very small town in the South of Brazil. In addition, he also assisted her in obtaining two different jobs that could provide for her basic existence in Sao Paolo. Firstly, James took Virginia to different shops where she could possibly permanently work as a shop assistant. The incum-

bent found an adequate position and passed the interview as a clerk in a surf shop. Yet, before even beginning her job at the shop, James assisted her in finding a temporary job that could provide her with some initial capital, until she received her first salary from the surf wear shop. Given that he was a model, he managed to obtain a four-day job for Virginia. She worked for an agency in Sao Paolo as a receptionist at a trade fair and was then able to make enough money to keep her going for a few weeks. These two employments were fundamental sources of income for the informant at the time, for she had to wait in Sao Paolo for further interviews at companies that had cooperation with IFPA. Nonetheless, residing with James was considered by the informant as a period of significant endurance. He displayed orientations and behavior that made it difficult for Virginia to accept him as an individual who conformed to the values and beliefs she had always been exposed too in her place of origin. In other words, Virginia perceived James as unsuitable and non-conforming regarding the social frame where they both grew up. It essentially developed on the grounds of two different aspects: (a) Virginia's disapproval of James' sexual orientation. This could possibly be associated with the religious environment in which the incumbent was raised in Greenville. Since her mother used to work as the secretary of a Lutheran church in town and Virginia was very likely frequently exposed to the values of this religious institution, by the institution itself and also by the socialization processes she experienced within this religious context. (b) Another aggravating aspect that made it difficult for Virginia to withstand this period was that James used illegal substances in the residence. These different conditions have made the informant assess this environment as obscure and negative. It was the first time the incumbent witnessed someone using narcotics. Virginia vividly remembered these disturbing moments and she contrasts his behavior to the values she learned in school in Greenville, as if in an attempt to convey this individual's behavior was absolutely divergent from what was in reality appropriate. It also demonstrates the influence this educational institution also had on the shaping process of the personality of the incumbent. Virginia felt she was experiencing events and sharing a house with individuals with whom she shouldn't be socializing and associating. It was certainly an unpleasant situation which had to be overcome by the informant in order to reach her objectives. It seems Virginia never doubted the fact that the benefits of accomplishing her goal would certainly preponderate the efforts she had to make along her pathway.

After waiting for some weeks, a company named KS SP from Campinas (nearly 100km away from Sao Paolo) contacted the informant while she was still working at the surf wear shop in

Sao Paulo. Virginia was extremely pessimistic about this third attempt, after all she was going against one of her main basic biographical orientations that one needs to succeed in his or her first attempt. She was fully aware this was her third interview and that the countdown had begun - theoretical classes had already started at IFPA and she wasn't allowed to join the group until she had been admitted by a company where she could do the practical part of her dual system apprenticeship. In other words, Virginia was very concerned and afraid of not attaining her intended objective due to an institutional barrier imposed by the school.

6. IFPA's apprenticeship: a trajectory within an institutional expectation pattern

Fortunately, Virginia succeeded in this third attempt. The informant was accepted at KS SP - a global and first-tier supplier to the automotive industry, which has several offices and plants in Germany as well - and could then begin her vocational training. At last, she was able to begin IFPA's dual system apprenticeship, which signified the end of her searching for a company and the beginning of her biographical educational intention. She was now beginning to follow a natural life-cycle in an institutional expectation pattern, acquiring further qualification to obtain employment and follow her biography development. The informant finally began attending IFPA's dual system apprenticeship in 2007, after a long period of struggle and perseverance, in the traditional modality - students acquire theoretical knowledge at the IFPA two days a week and practical knowledge in the company three days a week. Virginia had to begin commuting from Campinas to Sao Paulo and back very regularly, and thus, the situation demanded finding new housing nearer to the company in order to avoid exhaustive travel times on a daily basis. She found an ad online and went downtown in Campinas to see a shared house. As she arrived there, she found out that there were nine homosexuals living in the house. However, apparently due to a lack of financial means, this seemed to be the most affordable housing and Virginia was compelled to take it. Therefore, once again Virginia found herself living with individuals who behaved in a disapproved manner, according to her values. This period was also seen as a time of perseverance, always bearing in mind the outcomes would ameliorate all the commitment. She had to bear with the fact that she was undergoing an undesired situation with the purpose of achieving her objectives and that the outcomes were more relevant than the conditions of the pathway leading to it. This is a recurrent theme in the biography of the incumbent, namely, the divergence of moral values and behavior perceived in other individuals in different social contexts than that of her ethnic origin.

Conceivably, Virginia might have perceived these individuals as a threat to her social identity as well. The informant's antipathy regarding this matter can be associated with a certain institutionalized homophobia, due to the religious precepts she used to be involved in her social framework in Greenville. Another important aspect could be Virginia's need to conform to cultural expectations from her place of origin in an attempt to feel "normal" or someone who is "conforming". It was also certainly a very overwhelming time for the informant, since she was trying to form and establish a new social frame at work and at school, dealing with all the learning she was committing herself to, coping with the fact she was living in a shared flat very far away from any parental care, and being responsible for her own finances, and also enduring a certain transient loneliness due to the fact that she was far from friends, high school peers and family in an unknown, huge city. She simply committed to an effort justification pattern and focused on her biographical objective in order to gather the needed power to withstand the hardship and stress this initial period might have brought.

Virginia interacted and socialized with different social actors during her dual system apprenticeship at IFPA. Regarding her teachers, they played a fundamental role that, to a certain extent, assisted Virginia encountering an occupational orientation, but also influenced the incumbent negatively to the point of endangering her social identity development. One of the teachers, here called Mr. Müller, demonstrated to be truly interested in her and, apparently, showed curiosity in the contributions Virginia made in the classroom. This teacher became an event carrier in the development of her biography due to the fact that his positive influence and interest were very positively assessed by the incumbent, who willingly began listening to his vocational counseling. He wound up clearly promoting vocational orientation in her biography. Another teacher that played a significant role in the development of Virginia's biography was Mr. Kaufmann, a German citizen who seemed not to be generally fond of Brazil and constantly made comparisons in the classroom between Germany and Brazil, which were used to strengthen the superior quality of the European country regarding its products, items, traffic, among other aspects. Virginia perceived it as negative and describes a teacher who demonstrated insufficient intercultural competence. This teacher's behavior also influenced an already stigmatized perception of Germans that the incumbent had; firstly preconceived by her mother during her childhood. Another crucial aspect regarding this teacher was that, through his self-theoretical commentaries, on the basis of what seems to be simplistic good and bad comparisons between Brazilians and Germans, he incited a process of hybridization

in the incumbent's social identity development. Given that Virginia perceived herself as part of a German culture, someone of German descent, who spoke the language at home (even though it was a dialect), attended a Lutheran church in Greenville, went to a private elementary and high school where German was taught, and later attended IFPA's apprenticeship which was also conducted in German, it is proper to ascertain the interviewee identifies with the German culture. However, the attitudes displayed by this specific teacher may have endangered her sense of self, for she began noticing she didn't belong to that German culture. In other words, suddenly the incumbent felt confronted with the fact that other individuals doubted her social identity. Mrs. Grün also had a crucial significance regarding Virginia's identity and reinforced the process of hybridization undergone by the informant while attending her vocational training at IFPA. The incumbent suffered prejudice regarding her German language command. Given that she learned German at home and came from a German colony, she may have experienced hybridization due to the fact that, despite her already established German identity, she was faced with prejudice on the grounds that she didn't have a good command of what she considered to be her own language. This could also be addressed as a cultural marginality, given the lack of understanding displayed by the educator regarding the incumbent's ethnic origin and the manner the incumbent sensed this process. In addition, this teacher also influenced the development of one of the incumbent's basic biographical positions, which assisted in reinforcing her fear of failure.

Attending IFPA also meant being inserted in a setting of clear social segregation for the incumbent, based on her socioeconomic profile and this of other apprentices. It was the second time in her biography that Virginia was attending an educational institution where she sensed social segregation - she had already mentioned the same about her private school in Greenville. In other words, Virginia left Greenville to fulfill her main biographical plan of "being seen by the society". However, she found herself in the same kind of circumstances. Once again she sensed she didn't belong to the major social group at that educational institution. Virginia perceived herself as an underclass, forced to co-exist in the social frame within that educational institution. She constantly made comparisons to her socioeconomically privileged classmates and, as a result, might also have experienced a sense of unfairness; just like she felt while living in Greenville during her childhood. In addition, Virginia experienced social loneliness while she was attending IFPA's apprenticeship. It can be assumed due to the fact that she was living in a very different city, far away from her family, friends and peers, expe-

riencing social exclusion as well as a perceived social unfairness. That is why she became inclined to associate with two young men who also came from a socioeconomically underprivileged context. As a result, she separated herself from the rest of the group, for neither could she identify with them, nor was she accepted as a member of this group. Nonetheless, her biographical goal always remained absolutely clear and the informant remained committed to this effort justification endeavor, since she knew the outcomes of enduring this process were more relevant to the trajectory she had to undergo.

As for Virginia's perception of the school she was attending at the time, she considers it to be an elite school, where socioeconomically privileged individuals are enrolled in vocational education. Her perception of the education provided by the institution and its reputation are rather divergent, though. The informant disapprovingly evaluates IFPA regarding the contents and subjects included in the apprenticeship program, which could be related to her personality. Virginia does not steer away from challenges and seems to be constantly ready to face any difficulty a dispute might cause. She appears to be always searching for the next step, and simplistic tasks that do not demand endeavor might be perceived by the informant as too effortless. Virginia also criticizes the difficulty of the specific language used in the classes. In a comparison between IFPA and other regular vocational schools in Brazil, the informant points out two distinct points: (a) other VET schools could present an enhanced set of contents taught in their vocational training. She provided the example of her VET in Greenville in the area of IT, which she assesses as superior in quality compared to content taught at IFPA in its dual system apprenticeship. Virginia does not make any comparison to other vocational schools that meant a negative representation of other general trade schools in Brazil. (b) IFPA's certificate employability limitation. Virginia argues that IFPA's certificate is of little value in the Brazilian market when one needs to apply for a position in a non-German company. She believes IFPA has a limited range of impact on the Brazilian labor market due to the fact that only German companies know about it. Yet, she also points out the reputation of the institution as being a very recognized school among German companies based in Brazil. This is a crucial point leading the biography incumbent to make a subsequent vertical educational advancement, due to a fear of future employability within a Brazilian context.

Subsequently in her biography, after living in a shared house for a few weeks, Virginia couldn't tolerate it for very long. She needed to find new housing, which would enable her to

move out as soon as possible. Virginia, as a rule, always took action whenever a situation demands alteration. She was aware that achieving her objectives demanded effort, but alleviating any potential barrier was also equally important. Hence, driven by her discontentment of living and unwillingness to socialize with the above-mentioned individuals, she decided to search for new housing options, where she could more easily follow up with her objectives. This was a rather pessimistic period and the incumbent feared moving out again, as it would immerge her in an unknown world in that huge metropolis. Nevertheless, she took action and decided to actively look for individuals within KS SP who could help her to find a new place to live. Eventually, she met another intern, Larry, who was willing to assist her in finding a new place to reside; even though she was very skeptical about his interests at the beginning, Virginia accepted his help and seemed to have started developing a relationship with his young man. This young was an important event carrier in her biography. He began being part of her life at a very crucial period, when the incumbent was under a considerable amount of distress and in need of social contact as well as care and understanding. He helped her from the very beginning, therefore, winning her trust and becoming a very important person in this process. The loss of biographically important peers, friends and family members seemed to have been, to a certain extent, relieved once she met Larry, someone who protected and guided her in Sao Paolo; months later, he ended up becoming her fiancé - considering that one of the aims of her German colony is to maintain its culture of origin, Virginia is clearly discontinuing this cultural tradition by moving and very likely not marrying someone from the same ethnic origin.

This young man introduced Virginia to five other girls who were also interns at KS SP and were attending tertiary education in Campinas, where they shared a flat. After conversing and negotiating with the girls, the incumbent finally moved in with them. Everything appeared to have begun settling, she no longer had to reside with the group of homosexuals she disapproved of, and she would finally begin living and interacting with individuals that would be regarded by her as conforming and even as distinguished, once their sexual orientation was congruent and their educational achievements superior, due to the fact they were attending tertiary education in Sao Paolo, an enormous metropolis. This last aspect is also of fundamental importance, for it exposed the informant to a social frame that generally considered this educational level as an important step regarding educational biographical plans. However, the experience turned out to be uneasy for the informant. She began developing a sense of exclu-

sion and rejection coming from her roommates. The incumbent occasionally spent time with the wealthiest girl of the group, from Sao Paolo, which might have instigated jealousy in the others, who also came from the southern states of Brazil. This became a source of conflict among them, and Virginia felt absolutely excluded among the group. It appears she tried to resolve the issue and come to terms with the other girls, but without success. It only augmented the trajectory Virginia was undergoing during her apprenticeship. Being in Sao Paolo, far away from family, peers and friends, experiencing a hybridization process and segregation at school might have been sufficiently hard, and then she had to cope with rejection coming from the other girls she shared an apartment with during her apprenticeship. Moreover, it was a period of intensive learning and getting accustomed to new situations. For instance, Virginia was still undertaking a process of becoming financially independent and coping with her own finances. The informant had to rent a room at IFPA's dorm - the school also had rooms available to accommodate apprentices coming from other states in Brazil, called IFPA-Haus. It was also an attempt to diminish exhaustive commuting times in the huge metropolis. In addition, moving in with the other five girls also meant additional expenses and less money available for other purposes. The incumbent could barely make ends meet for the reason that she had to pay rent on two accommodations. Thus, there was very little money left for groceries, which forced the incumbent to feed on leftovers. As a result, Virginia contracted a serious intestinal infection at the time. This was also driven by one of her self-theoretical orientations that quitting financial obligations was more important than caring for a proper diet as a crucial part of one's physiological needs. Her financial responsibility could possibly be associated with all the financial hardship she had already gone through in her biography at that point in time. On the other hand, it could also be considered a byproduct of processes undergone by the informant during her childhood that led her to fear punishment. In other words, not payment her bills could incur penalties that should be avoided.

Immediately after finding out about Virginia's illness, a social worker was designated to talk to her about her living conditions in Sao Paolo, and the company was determined to increase her compensation by 100%. It can be considered as a marker indicating the end of a financial hardship in the biography of the incumbent. It meant she no longer had to put her health at risk, she had enough money to cover all her expenses, and she definitely wouldn't need any help from her mother anymore. At last Virginia seemed to have overcome important hurdles in the pathway she decided to follow in her biography. She was finally living in Sao Paolo,

she had been admitted by a company and had begun her dual system apprenticeship at IFPA, and she had finally achieved a financial independency that certainly helped assure her the days of hardship were over. At this point in time, Virginia was following an institutional expectation pattern, which was part of her educational intentions of becoming qualified and obtaining solid employment in order to fulfill her biographical plan of “being seen by society”. Nonetheless, her achievement came with other endurances she had to bear: (a) Virginia suffered from the image associated with her character while attending IFPA and working at KS SP. It was a rather irritating period for the incumbent due to the fact that she couldn’t comprehend the reason why other individuals perceived her as intrusive, as a threat, given that she had to endure and commit to a great deal of suffering and struggling to achieve the results she had already accomplished at the time. Virginia believed others felt intimidated and did not consider her as a member of that social group. Her colleagues saw her as “just a person from Bahia”, very likely referring to a stigmatized perception of Afro-Americans who live in a condition of poverty in Northern Brazil. Virginia didn’t feel accepted at either place during her apprenticeship. Neither did she feel accepted at school, nor did she at work at KS SP. (b) Virginia expresses that she experienced loneliness in Sao Paulo, and that her parents did not provide the emotional and financial support she needed to overcome the situation. This aspect amounts to all possible factors that have led to a friction between her and her mother. As Virginia’s father lives in a psychiatric hospital far away from Sao Paulo, and their relationship has only deteriorated within the last years. As for her mother, Virginia gives the impression that their relationship conflict has scaled and she now avoids including her mother in crucial biographical situations in her life. For instance, she did not invite her mother to attend IFPA’s graduation ceremony.

Virginia experienced an eclipse of biographical processes during her IFPA apprenticeship. She was undergoing an institutional expectation pattern, in which she was attempting to follow a normal citizen life, searching for further qualification to obtain better employment and consequently a determined upward mobility. Yet, concomitantly, she was also undergoing a trajectory of suffering during her dual system apprenticeship at IFPA. The incumbent could not alter and/or control certain aspects of the developments at the time. Being away from home and her mother, basically losing contact with her father, residing in an overwhelming metropolis, and sensing social exclusion at home, work and school, where she also suffered due to the a hybridization process and cultural marginality she was constantly exposed to.

In 2008, KS SP also was hit by the ongoing global financial crisis. This occurrence became a collective trajectory, which brought negative and positive outcomes in the biography of the incumbent. The company dismissed the previous secretary due to an exceedingly high compensation and needed a replacement for her. This led the company to offer Virginia a permanent position as a secretary at a lower compensation. It was crucial for her self-assertion, since she was hired in a very turbulent moment, it showed her that she was capable and other individuals also acknowledged her as a competent person. Virginia was immediately hired to work permanently as a secretary upon graduating from her dual system vocational training. She occupied this position for nearly two years. The setback of this employment was that the incumbent didn't like and didn't want to pursue a career as a secretary. Virginia was convinced that she wouldn't be perceived as an individual of a distinctive social identity if she were to become a professional in the secretarial area. She associates the image of a secretary with her mother, and it is closely related to low income, financial hardship, financial dependency on others and most importantly, she might internalize her mother's self-theoretical commentary that only the wealthy are worth being respected in society. Therefore, becoming a secretary wouldn't help her to achieve a higher social class and, as a result, would not boost distinctiveness. At this given point, it is also possible to ascertain, based on the grapevine, that Virginia opted for a dual system apprenticeship in an area she didn't intend to pursue as a career. However, IFPA was an important educational tunnel leading to her biographical intention. In all probability her self-chosen superimposed impediment regarding a post-high school vertical educational advancement, in addition to her basic biographical orientation that one needs to succeed in his or her first attempt, have led the biography incumbent to opt for a VET course where the probability of passing a potential superimposed structural impediment was more probable. Yet, it was not a choice that didn't help her choose a more biographically adequate apprenticeship area, nor did it help her encounter an occupational orientation, which she didn't have due to a process of indecision upon high school graduation.

It was also during this period of time that Virginia reestablished her educational objectives with the purpose of consolidating even more her initial biographical intention of "being seen by society". It also demonstrates that IFPA's apprenticeship was of vital importance for her accomplishments, but that further steps would be needed to boost her drive to achieve higher upward mobility. That's the reason why Virginia began, in 2009, a *curso pré-vestibular*,

which is a type of cram school, in general private, that attends to students who are trying to access universities via the entrance examinations. Through her permanent employment, Virginia was finally able to make a post-high school vertical advancement, which had always been clear and was merely postponed by the biography incumbent. IFPA was finally assuming its functional mechanism of bridging a horizontal to a vertical educational advancement by accessing college, which would in turn provide her with further upward mobility. The informant was essentially motivated to access tertiary education due to three main reasons: (a) Influence and perception arisen from socio-interactive processes at work. Nearly all the informant's colleagues at work had or were pursuing a college degree. (b) It was a means of obtaining further qualification with the purpose of remaining in a competitive labor market. (c) It represented the educational step necessary to further develop the employability skills needed for such a position as director. In a process of organizational socialization, in which Virginia was acquiring the necessary knowledge and skills to effectively perform in her job at KS SP, she was exposed to a vital scene of biographical importance that served as a source of motivation to behave and to further actively shape the course of her biography. One day, she had the chance to visit the director's office and that was when she decided that one day she would be sitting in that office. (d) A more unconscious motive was the fact that she knew VET was an additional qualification, as her mother had already explained to her in reference to her first vocational course in the concomitant modality in Greenville. Virginia knew she had only postponed a vertical educational advancement, but she would have to make it eventually, because she had been prepared to follow a more propaedeutic educational pathway by her parents who struggled to provide her with an educational action scheme that entailed only attending private high quality schools.

Accordingly, the informant attended a private course that prepared her for the university entrance examination at Unicamp University³⁴. Interestingly, though, it can be observed that Virginia no longer had superimposed self-chosen impediments in her way. After acquiring a clearer occupational orientation, she was willing to make a vertical educational advancement by attempting to access a public university by facing a fierce competition. She decided to major in industrial engineering, based on the assumption that studying the process flow of a

³⁴ It is a public university in the Brazilian state of São Paulo. It is the largest Brazilian university and the country's most prestigious educational institution. UNICAMP is responsible for around 15% of all Brazilian research and has 53.6% of its students at the graduate level, see UNICAMP (2011).

company is a rather challenging assignment. Virginia's wish to major in industrial engineering might also be justified in the influence she gained from her dual system apprenticeship where she obtained for the first time a systemic view of the process flow of a company. Another important aspect was the processes of socialization she experienced with male figures, for instance two of her classmates at IFPA and also her teacher Mr. Müller who influenced the incumbent in her vocational orientation. Another clear aspect of influence in her vocational orientation, which was developed and assumed as feasible by the informant a while later in her biography, was the fact that she spent a great deal of time in a social-interactive process with her grandfather, who also became a vocational identity-model. Industrial engineering was to a certain extent related to the tasks she had to perform at her grandfather's small farm, because the incumbent always envisaged developing the necessary machinery and products to use them in his plantations and harvesting.

Nonetheless, the incumbent didn't pass the entrance examination and, therefore, couldn't carry on with her educational plan of attending higher education. After not overcoming a superimposed structural impediment, Virginia once again was ready to engage in a new biographical action scheme process. She took action and attempted to actively steer the course of her biography once again. She looked for professional advice by asking KS SP director for educational and career advice. Once again KS SP decided to help the incumbent and established that they would pay for 90% of her university tuition fees at a private university. One can clearly observe the bond between the company and the informant. The dual system apprenticeship certainly assisted in strengthening this relationship, for the company had two years to observe and closely work with Virginia. Studying at a private university would also cost Virginia a considerable amount of effort due to the fact that she would need to work during the day and attend university in the evenings. Yet, Virginia did the entrance examination at a private university in Sao Paolo, passed and began majoring in industrial engineering, therefore, putting her institutional expectation pattern back on track, and by finally making an inevitable post-high school vertical educational advancement. This educational achievement came accompanied by another feat. In 2009, the informant was eventually able to afford renting an apartment for herself. She no longer had to share a flat with the other interns from KS SP. A more favorable financial situation, has also given the incumbent the opportunity to afford a vehicle, too. It is perceivable that Virginia's persistence and discipline led her to achieve

enormous goals. After all that she had to withstand at the beginning in Sao Paolo, she was finally reaping the first results of her past actions.

7. The end of an uncomprehended generation contract

In 2009, the year Virginia began renting her own apartment, another important occurrence took place - her mother officially divorced her father. In the midst of this occurrence both of Virginia's siblings lived with her in Sao Paolo, though one at a time. Yet, the incumbent engaged in disagreement with both of them after a short period of time and asked them to leave. Both sisters were sent back home by the incumbent for the same reason, they appeared not to be striving to accomplish anything in their lives and were at times seen at home unoccupied by the informant, who did not tolerate their attitude. Virginia, probably unconsciously, seems to have internalized traits of her mother's behavior that are even nowadays heavily criticized by the informant. She accepted having her sisters come live with her, but determined that both would have to do whatever it took to work in Sao Paolo, including tasks that entailed endurance and hardship. It mirrors a lot the situation the informant and her siblings experienced during their childhood in Greenville. As if reproducing her mother's behavior, Virginia expects her sister to perform any kind of labor in order to provide for their own existence and also as a way of avoiding seeing them not involved in any sort of labor. Plausibly, it could also be said that Virginia assumed she would not repeat the same incorrect behavior of her grandfather and it was her duty to teach her sisters they needed to strive for financial independence.

It appears to be a clear case of a generation contract. Firstly, her mother made all possible efforts to provide for the oldest, so that she could later help her younger siblings with their further development, financially and educationally. However, this contract came to a fail, once Virginia did not further help her sisters. Although the incumbent's mother seemed to have had her child's best interests at heart, the fact that she continuously pushed her down a certain route simply ended up backfiring. Nowadays, in a reflective manner, Virginia even accuses her mother of brainwashing them. This unsuccessful generation contract led to relationship problems between mother, daughter and sisters, and very likely the continuation of a distance between Virginia and the rest of her family. In other words, despite all the financial and psychological help her mother provided through hard work to pay for a private school, the

money she had to invest to send Virginia to Sao Paulo, her concern with the informant's well-being and the attempt to contact acquaintances in Sao Paulo that could help her, Virginia does not seem to acknowledge that and has a rather negative remembrance of her mother once denying her financial support on the grounds she did not have it. This issue remains unresolved, and Virginia and her mother are still going through a difficult time in their relationship due to this turnout of events. Conceivably, there may be a lack of comprehension by both parties. Virginia is very likely unaware of the generation contract her mother put so much effort into, and Virginia's mother is not aware of the aspects that influenced Virginia not to further help her sisters.

8. Steering her vocational orientation and exiting IFPA's remaining professional aspects

It appears that her efforts to find an alternative to the superimposed structural impediment she first encountered at a public university had begun paying off, after she accessed a private university. After a short period of time, in May of 2011, Virginia began working in the KS SP engineering department. It marked a turning point in her professional career. Virginia had finally accomplished her goal of steering her professional career, and in full awareness of her occupational orientation, which was carefully developed and aimed at a self-fulfilling vocation. It seems it established the end of a tunnel followed by Virginia to achieve her biographical intentions. At this point in time, she was working at an engineering department prior to graduating from university, she wasn't following the steps of her mother as a secretary, she was living in Sao Paulo, was financially independent, was undergoing a vertical educational advancement by attending tertiary education and finally reaping the fruits of her labor, endurance and perseverance.

Virginia only worked in the KS SP engineering department for six months. Before leaving the company, in order to embark on a new professional challenge, she managed to find employment for her sibling and one of her friends at KS SP, too. These attainments are depicted by the informant in an act of self-disclosure, which appears to be an attempt to openly demonstrate her capabilities. The informant made an important decision to leave the company that had helped her considerably during her dual system apprenticeship, later gave her permanent employment, paid her university tuition and also provided her with the opportunity to definitely change her area of work by giving her a position at their engineering department. On

December 31, 2011, Virginia obtained a new job at a company called here DBS - a company in the agricultural and construction equipment businesses. She's been working for this new company and she needs to travel within Brazil for meetings as well as for trainings, engaging in different management projects and seems to be satisfied with her new challenge. The informant seems to be willing to keep her focus on the biographical plan she aimed at before leaving Greenville years ago. It is also clear that Virginia will definitely continue to follow an institutional expectation pattern in her biography. Virginia finally obtained employment in the area of her university major. In addition, the concatenation of experiences regarding her decision to begin working for this specific company is visible. They work in the field of agricultural engineering, a crucial point that influenced her occupational orientation development through the role of an event carrier played by her grandfather. In other words, a process Virginia experienced in her childhood constituted the genesis of her profession and current employment. She came from the countryside, where she had to help her grandfather to perform various agricultural activities. It can be affirmed because nowadays she is a project analyst of sprayers that are used to fertilize on plantations at DBS in Sao Paolo. In addition, at DBS, she feels accepted and displays a sense of belonging. Virginia only truthfully began experiencing a sense of belonging after she finished her dual system apprenticeship and left KS SP. It might have been an additional motive leading to her decision to leave this company.

9. Pursuing a professional career and determining a normal life-cycle pattern

Leaving Greenville for good with the intention of making a post-high school horizontal educational advancement was a decision filled with obstacles that demanded enduring hardship. Yet, concomitantly, Virginia now aims at forgetting the path not taken. She is still undergoing a process of comprehension that there is always going to be a separation in a decision process. However, she does not regret the efforts she had to make, and still seems to be very committed to her initial goal of enhancing her social identity by boosting upward mobility. It is rather impressive the intensity and speed at which Virginia developed toward her biographical goal. Her determination and desire to constantly shape the course of her biography seemed to have always motivated her to strive for further achievement, and it has also been recognized by other individuals, be they at work or university. Virginia will certainly continue to follow an institutionally shaped and normatively defined course of life. Reflectively, the informant can explicitly perceive her professional growth, which is driven by this biographical process.

However, she remains unaware of her mother's generation contract plan and seems to have brought it to an end. This matter with her mother remains unresolved. Proof of that is that the informant does not intend to invite her mother to her university graduation ceremony and also not to her wedding. An additional example is that the informant also obtained the opportunity for an exchange program in Germany in 2011 and didn't receive her mother's support or approval – friction appears to come from both parties. One can realize at this point that Virginia remains focused on her biographical objectives, in the avoidance of repetition of unpleasant occurrences experienced in the early years of her life, social segregation, financial hardship, sense of inferiority, and hesitation about her social identity. Virginia is fully aware that, despite all the effort she made and suffering she had to withstand to reach this point in her biography, the effort justification she was involved in is finally becoming fruitful. She also obtained employment in Sao Paulo, outside Greenville. She is nowadays able to provide for her self-existence, and continues to follow an institutional expectation pattern. She wishes to become a director and, therefore, is attending university and keeps focused on her objective. Furthermore, nowadays in a reflective-retrospective manner, the informant evaluates and associates her professional success to the apprenticeship she underwent at IFPA in Sao Paulo. It demonstrates the contribution IFPA had in the shaping of a benign overall fate in Virginia's life history up to now. Even though she had to endure trajectories of suffering, hybridity issue, social exclusion as well as loneliness, she can nowadays comprehend the significant impact it had on her dominant institutional expectation pattern. Yet, it is difficult to envisage her return to Greenville to follow an institutional expectation pattern there. It does not seem that Virginia will soon return to Greenville and carry on with her ethnic background there in order to preserve the culture, a fact which she claimed to be very important there.

10. Reflective analysis of IFPA's contribution to current dominant biographical process

It is possible to observe that Virginia constantly experienced an eclipse of biographical process in the developments of her life. By attending IFPA and moving to Sao Paulo, she was obviously undergoing a biographical action scheme with very clear biographical intentions. However, these objectives have brought certain trajectories such as her social loneliness, the social segregation she experienced at school, the distance from her family and the suffering she experienced while going through this vital process in her biography. Yet, it has led the incumbent to a crucial creative metamorphosis of biographical identity as well. New, im-

portant inner developments started in her biography. Today she sees that other individuals also recognize all the efforts she had to commit to reach the position she finds herself in today. She uses her story to her benefit as well, whenever needed in an attempt to make the listener identify, sympathize and comprehend the hurdles she had to overcome in her biography so far. Moreover, Virginia can nowadays perceive the process of change her social identity underwent. It can be observed in a comparison made by the interviewee between her attainments and those of a classmate who had the best grades in Greenville in their private school. Her classmate stayed in Greenville and became a humble farmer, whereas she had managed to obtain a distinctive identity far away from their German colony. It's also possible to ascertain that the informant will successfully finish her tertiary education, continue to excel at work and, therefore, follow an already dominant institutional expectation pattern, aimed at pursuing a natural life-cycle. Virginia is a very determined person and has a very special drive to achieve her objectives. Virginia has managed to encounter a pathway that diverged from all the developments she has tried to steer away from in her biographical objectives.

6.3 The reconstructed “gestalt” of the overall biographical structuring of Eva Schmidt

IFPA's dual system training as a functional mechanism aimed at gaining occupational orientation clarity and diminishing indecision and avoiding inadequate vertical educational advancement

1. Preliminary aspects regarding the biography incumbent

Eva was born in 1984 in Sao Paolo³⁵, Brazil. The informant has one younger sibling, and she comes from a socioeconomically privileged family background. The informant's family is heavily orientated to the German culture, given that her grandmother is from Austria and she lived in a German colony³⁶ when she first moved in Brazil with the informant's grandfather, who is Greek, but who also resided and attended university in Austria. The informant has al-

³⁵ Sao Paolo is the largest city in Brazil and the capital of the state of Sao Paolo, which is the most populous Brazilian state, and exerts strong regional influence in commerce and finance. The city has the largest economy, by GDP, among Latin American and Brazilian cities. Its GDP per capita is the second highest among the larger Latin American cities as well as in Brazil, behind only Brasília; see IBGE (2012).

³⁶ From 1824 to 1969, around 250,000 Germans immigrated to Brazil, being the fourth largest immigrant community to settle in the country; see IBGE (2012a).

ways been exposed to the German culture and language throughout her biographical development, through different social arenas. In addition, her grandparents have also certainly influenced the informant's identity development. The informant's mother lived in this colony with her parents until she was twenty years old, when she moved to Sao Paolo, met her husband, married and gave birth to Eva and her younger sister. Eva has both Brazilian and Greek citizenship. The latter came through her father's nationality, because he is from Greece. Obtaining this dual citizenship was also part of an action scheme established by the incumbent and her family aiming at a widening Eva's employability margin internationally. By holding a Greek passport she knew she would be entitled to work in any of the European Union countries, including Germany, where she currently works, as a matter of fact, for the same company she began working for right after she left the one where she had done the practical part of her dual system apprenticeship, still in the same field as her dual system apprenticeship.

As for the incumbent's parents, her mother has two university degrees; one in engineering and another in pedagogy. She worked for several years as an engineer, and then, after getting pregnant, she stopped working and only re-started when the children began attending school. Then, she became a private teacher, in all probability to continue working and also to contribute financially to the expenses of the home, especially considering that both children were attending expensive private schools in Sao Paolo. Eva's mother had two important commitments at the time; namely, caring for the children and working in order to obtain the necessary means for the family's existence. Later, the incumbent's mother obtained a teaching position at the *Schweizerschule*³⁷, in São Paolo, where the incumbent also attended the first years of elementary school. Eva's father has a degree in business administration and a MBA. In addition, he worked for the same multinational company for several years before retiring. There is a clear closeness of the incumbent to her mother, especially due to the fact that she worked only part-time and was in contact with the children more often during daytime. In all probability her relationship with her father was more distant than with her mother due to the father's work commitments; the children barely had a chance to see him during the week.

³⁷ It is one of the most prestigious and expensive German schools located in Sao Paolo. It offers a bilingual education at elementary and high school level. Tuition fees are extremely costly, especially within a Brazilian economic context. They can reach up to €1.000 a month; see *Escola Suíço Brasileira* (2012).

Eva attended elementary and secondary school at two different German private schools located in Sao Paulo, both very expensive, high-quality, prestigious educational institutions in Brazil. Upon graduating from high school, Eva underwent IFPA's logistics dual system apprenticeship between 2007 and 2008, in the cluster modality. The practical part of her apprenticeship was done at NCA (one of the world's largest steel producers), in a city called Campinas, near the capital Sao Paulo. After only six months of IFPA's apprenticeship, Eva accessed tertiary education. She has also done an MBA, and is currently working in the logistics department of HS (one of the key carriers on the North-South trade routes by ocean transportation). This is the first and only company she has worked for following NCA, where she also worked full-time after her dual system apprenticeship.

2. The incumbent's family milieu and her childhood developments

The incumbent had a normal, harmonious childhood with intense social interaction with other children in her neighborhood. Her family has always lived in the same house in a prestigious neighborhood of Sao Paulo. There, Eva lived in a pleasant and very protective home, where her parents cared for her and her sister and tried to make them feel protected as well, especially living in a huge metropolis such as Sao Paulo. The informant was raised within cultural arenas that constantly exposed her to the German culture, more specifically, the private German schools she attended, her grandmother from Austria who lived in a German colony in Brazil, at home through her mother who also was born and lived in a German colony, her friends and peers from Germany and Switzerland, who also attended the same schools, and the Girl Scouts that was also integrated to a German Lutheran church in Sao Paulo.

The incumbents' parents have always tried to involve the informant in different extracurricular activities, such as swimming classes and the Girl Scouts³⁸. This latter social arena made part of a considerable chunk of her biography, and has also helped further develop her connection with the German culture. The incumbent joined the Girl Scouts in the early years of her childhood, and this social arena represented a non-human event carrier with a fundamental role in her identity development. This event carrier was rather a reproduction of patterns. The incumbent's mother had already attended it in her childhood as well. The group

³⁸ It is a youth organization for girls. It is aimed at developing young people in their physical, mental and spiritual development, with the purpose of positively influencing a constructive role in society.

was located at a Lutheran church, which the whole family used to attend and also where she later got married. Even though the family didn't go to this church regularly, there was a religious influence on the development of the incumbent as well, given that it is an institution that transmits determined societal values and expectations, which are to be followed by its members. The biography incumbent has experienced both social arenas very positively, and underwent intense contact with the German culture, the language and the influence of significant others and human event carriers therein. The Girl Scouts helped the informant to shape her identity, which is very closely related to the German culture, to which she identifies and associated herself. The Girl Scouts and its outdoor activities were the first opportunity, within one of her social arenas, the informant had to exercise independence and be away from parental care. In addition, it was certainly a social arena that helped foster her social and personal skills, such as working in groups, dealing with problem-solving, integrating, organizing and demonstrating responsibility. It unquestionably helped boost her identity development and also an earlier sense of independence. There, she acquired several social and personal skills on the grounds of the activities she performed within this group. Given that the Girl Scouts was associated with the Lutheran church which the family also attended in Sao Paulo, this religious institution also played an important role as an event carrier in the development of the incumbent, who developed basic biographical positions based on the values transmitted by the institution and also reinforced her connection and identification with the German culture.

Another extracurricular activity occurred on weekends. Eva used to regularly visit her grandparents. Eva appears to have a close relationship to her grandparents. Her grandmother had always been a housewife, whereas her grandfather attended college in Austria, where he met the incumbents' grandmother before moving to Brazil, and holds a degree in engineering. He has always worked for multinationals and had a very significant professional development. It can be seen that there's been a clear reproduction in school track choice between generations. From a reproduction point of view, it would be expectable that Eva would also make a prompt post-high school vertical educational advancement. It is important to bear in mind that Eva spent a great deal of time with her grandparents during her entire childhood and teenage years, and her grandfather has certainly served as a vocational-identity role model. He might have stimulated Eva directly and indirectly. In other words, Eva had two channels of influence regarding her educational and professional development, namely, her parents and grandparents. By socializing with her grandparents during her childhood developments, she was

intensively exposed to the German language and culture, given that her grandparents spoke German at home and intensively lived the culture, despite the fact that her grandfather actually comes from Greece, he also speaks German for her lived and attended university in Austria. It also helps understanding that it might have been easier for the incumbent to make a decision to move to Germany and begin working there, in the sense that she was already used to the culture, spoke the language and identified with it; after all it wouldn't represent a huge change. These moments of socialization with her grandparents at the specific location where they reside have also contributed to the development of identification with nature. The incumbent enjoys being in contact with nature, an orientation that was certainly heavily influenced by three aspects: (a) the location where she resided in Sao Paulo allowed a more limited spatial mobility and limited access to nature; (b) the weekends at her grandparents' residence on the coast represented a polarization to her residence in Sao Paulo; (c) the Girl Scouts provided her with and exposed her to various situations of contact with nature, which she might have associated with freedom.

It can be observed that the informant's childhood developments and her teenage years were composed essentially of four main social arenas, her family and her home, her grandparents' home at the beach, her private German school and the Girl Scouts at church. Eva was clearly exposed to the German culture in all of these social arenas. It is, therefore, expectable that she would develop an identity related to this specific culture through processes of socialization. As for the educational action scheme of the informant's parents for the biography incumbent, it can be stated that it was not only aimed at providing the incumbent with high quality expensive basic schooling within German private schools with the intention of forcing the biography incumbent to pursue a more propaedeutic educational pathway by making a post-high school vertical educational advancement, but also to assist developing an identity based on the German culture, to which the family was already entirely related. Eva's parents also demanded that she achieve satisfactory results and accomplish their educational action scheme, and making a post-high school horizontal educational advancement leading to secondary level in the subsequent modality was never clearly a school track option desired by the family or the biography incumbent. It becomes evident that these two significant others were of great importance in her school track choice. Their educational action scheme is clearly aimed at providing the functional means for the incumbent to find an occupational orientation that could provide her with a satisfactory income and social prestige. Her parents' conveyed the

perception that it was her obligation to excel in school, as if justifying a fear of downward mobility through poor school performance. As the parents had a clear educational action scheme for the biography incumbent, which was aimed at a more propaedeutic basis in preparation for higher education access that could develop an occupational orientation leading to non-manual employment, they firstly enrolled the incumbent at the Schweizerschule, in São Paulo. After that, they always managed to continue affording private, expensive and high-quality elementary and high schools for the incumbent and her sister. They aimed at providing Eva with a wider post-high school educational margin, in the sense that high quality basic schooling would prepare her to access higher education at a public university, or at a private university that they would then sponsor. Eva attended the most expensive and prestigious elementary school in the capital city of the state of Sao Paolo, where classes are entirely taught in German. However, she had to change to Humboldt School after the fourth grade, due to a financial constrain caused by a micro-situational condition. It happened mainly due to the fact that her sister was also beginning to attend elementary school and the parents couldn't afford sending both to the Schweizerschule. Therefore, the incumbent's parents decided to send both children to Humboldt School³⁹.

It can be observed that the parents have always kept the incumbent in schools where she could be in direct contact with the German culture. It was a manner to pass on to the incumbent the ethnic cultural basis for an identity development based on German customs, which her mother had already been exposed to in her own childhood in the German colony, and through her mother who came from Austria. In a nutshell, Eva's first and second elementary schools were part of her parents' educational action scheme, which had a two-fold intention: (a) to provide the incumbent with a culture exposure that would lead to an identity development based on the German culture; (b) a part of an educational pathway leading to a more propaedeutic school track, steering away from public basic education of lower quality that could one day restrict the informant's educational tertiary level pathway margin. After finishing elementary school at Humboldt School, Eva changed schools one more time. She began attending high school at Porto Seguro School⁴⁰, in Sao Paolo, another German school located in Sao Paolo.

³⁹ Humboldt School is a traditional bilingual school located in Sao Paolo. It was founded by German immigrants in 1916; see Colégio Humboldt (2012).

⁴⁰ Porto Seguro School, founded in 1878 by German immigrants and previously known as "Deutsche Schule" (German School), is a private bilingual school located in the city of Sao Paolo, Brazil; and it also has several

3. The biographical action scheme during an educational transition period

In the last year of high school Eva was clearly undergoing a process of indecision concerning a determined occupational orientation. Making a prompt high-school vertical educational advancement would demand a clearer orientation, which should be used to choose a more appropriate major leading to a specific vocational orientation. Thus, she embarked on an action scheme, which was aimed at resolving any potential post-high school pathway indecision. She began attending a vocational test program that lasted one year, where she took a variety of tests weekly. It was done prior to her decision to make a post-high school horizontal educational advancement, within a transitional period in the biographical development of the incumbent, at the end of high school. The tests were offered at no cost by the university where she, later, began majoring in foreign trade. It was a measure taken in an attempt to ameliorate the indecision process the incumbent was already experiencing before graduating from high school. Nonetheless, it is important to notice that there wasn't any doubt regarding either a vertical or horizontal educational advancement. Eva didn't know which major to take within a vertical educational advancement, which was apparently taken for granted and aligned with her parents' educational action scheme of aiming at a more propaedeutic educational pathway for the incumbent. In other words, Eva's primary post-high school educational aspiration was aimed at making a prompt vertical advancement. However, the tests didn't suffice to provide her with a clearer occupation orientation and the doubt remained. Still, Eva needed to resolve it prior to a vertical advancement, for it would determine the course she would study in college. There was also an evident perception of the incumbent that choosing a major in higher education was related to a profession that would be pursued for eternity, thus the considerable amount of pressure and doubt. Eva graduated from high school at age seventeen, and was still undergoing an indecision process concerning higher education. Yet, it remained absolutely clear and also obvious that accessing higher education was perceived as an alternative-less educational pathway she simply need to comply with. There is no doubt that Eva's primary post-high school educational aspiration was to access higher education, which she didn't at first due to not having a clear occupational orientation, which as a result also led to an impediment superimposed by her parents who became reluctant to invest in an expensive university and feared change or drop out. It is clear that there was no doubt related to making either a

other units in the state of Sao Paulo. It is considered one of the best schools of Sao Paulo, and its monthly fee can cost up to nearly eight hundred Euros, see Porto Seguro (2012).

post-high school horizontal or vertical educational advancement. Her indecision process was exclusively related to a lack of orientation regarding a determined major in higher education that could lead her to an occupation based on personal cultivation and self-realization. In addition to these two hindrances, namely, lack of occupational orientation and parental drop out or change fear, Eva also displayed traits of a superimposed self-chosen impediment that restricted her pathway margin as well. She didn't even attempt accessing a public university, even though it is generally of better quality and free of charge. It is, interestingly, perceptible through an absence of rendering regarding this possible pathway in her school track choice. In all probability, it was also a way to circumvent potential superimposed structural impediments that could hinder a vertical educational advancement. This self-chosen impediment of not undergoing the physical as well as emotional distress attempting to access a public university can also be associated with a fear of not being able to comply with parental as well as societal expectations regarding school track choice.

4. IFPA's apprenticeship as a functional mechanism aiming at occupational orientation

During the third and last years of high school, the incumbent was exposed to intrapersonal information about IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship modality. The vocational school delivered a presentation about its courses at the informant's high school, which helps demonstrating that the intrapersonal and direct cooperation of IFPA and other German schools in Sao Paulo indeed affects one's post-high school track in the possibility it can represent a functional mechanism, but not as a first order choice leading to a cul-de-sac educational pathway. Eva became interested in the educational program offered by IFPA due to different motives: (a) she would still be able to accomplish her primary post-high school educational aspiration of making a vertical advancement after IFPA's dual system apprenticeship or even during this process. (b) It would be used as a functional mechanism to gain work orientation and possibly a clearer occupational orientation prior to accessing university, which would enable her to make a more appropriate choice regarding higher education. (c) Even after attending a one-year long vocational test, she was still undergoing a process of indecision concerning a more appropriate higher education major, hence IFPA's apprenticeship would grant her the necessary time to carefully assess her options. (d) The possibility of an early entry into the labor market and the prospect of obtaining permanent employment upon dual system apprenticeship graduation. Interestingly, despite coming from a well to-do family, the aspect of

accessing the labor market at an early age is considered to be one of the most relevant aspects for the informant. It serves to demonstrate that this aspect is not necessarily connected to the socioeconomic background of the individual, but to a competitive labor market and a very predictable “normal” pathway followed within the educational system in Brazil. Nevertheless, it could provide her with early labor market entry, which university could not do at first. The incumbent perceived that companies are not interested in retaining individuals that stay only for a short period of time and do not develop any identification with the company, making it difficult to find permanent employment during college. Eva’s perception that companies have trainee programs or they demand qualification which one does not yet have, have also driven her in the search for IFPA’s apprenticeship. She had already learned within her social world that other actors within her social frame that had done an immediate vertical educational advancement post-high school hadn’t yet entered the labor market. This was also certainly another argument that helped the incumbent to deal with any questioning regarding her school track choice. She also certainly used this perception to convince herself that this was an appropriate decision, despite the fact that she wasn’t following a “normal” vertical educational advancement yet, which had always been her primary educational intention anyway and which was also perceived as compulsory and unquestionable. (e) A chance to advance an opportunity for work orientation. A prompt vertical educational advancement post high school could probably delay the incumbent’s opportunity for work orientation, given that the vast majority of higher education courses only demand one compulsory internship, which does not normally occur within the first semesters. This was certainly an argument used by the informant within post-hoc rationalizations. Despite the image of overvalue associated with higher education, she gained permanent employment with the assistance of a horizontal educational advancement. It also demonstrates that IFPA and its dual system can serve as a shortcut into the labor market, which higher education cannot provide within such a short period of time. (f) The educational institution represented an extension of the identity development of the incumbent based on the German culture. Undergoing IFPA’s apprenticeship was a continuation of this development. The cultural identification facilitated the informant’s and her parents’ acceptance of this school track choice. However, it was always taken for granted that she would, just like her grandparents and parents, access higher education. (g) The incumbent obtained parental approval. It was needed because it didn’t characterize a “normal”, expected vertical post-high school advancement. The informant also looked for parental approve in the sense of their expectations, but it always remained clear that a subsequent vertical advance-

ment would be made and IFPA would have the specific functional mechanism of providing the incumbent with a clearer occupational orientation and wouldn't represent a cul-de-sac educational pathway leading to the labor market. Parental approval has demonstrated to be crucial in the process, especially their comprehension of the structure offered in the dual system. (h) Eva could observe that other acquaintances and even neighbors also attended IFPA School. It is also another indicator that other social actors, also outside her schooling context, believed and perceived this horizontal school advancement as worthy, despite not being the "normal" vertical pathway leading to higher education. She could also, even if unconsciously, perceive that the decision to undergo IFPA's dual system apprenticeship wouldn't demand post-hoc rationalizations within the school, but only outside that social arena. Within that context, other social actors were very likely experiencing similar processes of rationalization in confrontation with their social world. Given that this social arena entailed a number of individuals coming from more socioeconomically privileged families, it certainly helped individuals to rationalize this "unusual" school track choice. (i) Eva's decision to make a post-high school horizontal educational advancement by undergoing a dual system apprenticeship could also be adequately used by the biography incumbent to undergo any process of rationalization regarding the self-chosen superimposed impediment of not attempting to access a public university. The dual system demands full time availability and attending a public university wouldn't be possible, for commitments would overlap. Attending a private university, however, shouldn't be a problem given they offer a great majority of courses in the evening, due to the fact that most students work during the day to finance their studies. In other words, it could be a way to justify the decision to circumvent the possibility of accessing a public university; not overcoming superimposed structural impediments in such a context, could generate more need for justification within her social arenas.

Eva decided to embark on this institutional expectation pattern. She passed the admission test and decided in favor of a post-high school horizontal educational advancement. However, she could only enroll after obtaining her parents' approval, given that they also had to agree to an, at first, unexpected horizontal advancement, because this was never an option discussed or considered by the incumbent. This was a rather different outcome than that which her parents had planned within their educational action scheme, but it was a decision to gain a clearer occupational orientation in order to make a more appropriate decision concerning a subsequent vertical educational advancement. Thus, the informant's parents gave their consent to

the idea and the incumbent embarked on this institutional expectation, which eclipsed with a biographical action scheme, after all the incumbent was trying to steer her biographical development at an occupation related to personal cultivation and self-realization, based on an appropriate assessment prior to any impulsive decision. Eva's parents' agreed to her intention of undergoing secondary level VET in the subsequent modality under the condition that: (1) she should find a company near their residence, which would mean she could still be under parental supervision, especially because she was still underage at the time; (2) She should find a company that was located near a university in Sao Paulo, so that she could begin this vertical advancement as soon as she had gained a clearer occupational orientation. It becomes clear that IFPA was a second order choice educational pathway alternative, but a crucial mechanism enabling a more appropriate first order choice advancement. Accessing university was perceived as an alternative-less educational pathway by the incumbent and her family, and it would be followed regardless of IFPA's apprenticeship, which was being used essentially as an occupational orientation mechanism. It can be observed that the incumbent's initial plan refers to her primary post-high school educational aspiration, which was to graduate from high school and immediately make a vertical advancement and leave secondary level education. The informant considered it a risk to make an immediate vertical advancement by accessing higher education during a process of indecision and a lack of clearer occupational orientation that could potentially lead to change or drop out. In all probability her parents were also in doubt regarding any costly investment given the incumbent's indecision, especially after an entire year of unfruitful vocational tests. Interestingly, though, the informant does not provide any rendering on parental attitude regarding an apparent self-chosen superimposed impediment. It can be observed that the lack of occupational orientation was the means of justification for circumventing the need to face entrance examinations at public universities. Eva wished to make a choice and follow through with it, but first she needed an educational program that could enable her to gain work orientation and possibly an occupational orientation. The informant opted for making a more prudent horizontal educational advancement by entering IFPA.

Eva managed to be admitted by a company that fulfilled her parents' requirements, even though these demands weren't directly stated or imposed on her. The informant received the opportunity to undergo the practical part of her dual system apprenticeship at NCA. She would have the possibility to remain residing at her parents' home, and also had the necessary

proximity to a university she could begin attending soon after. After being admitted by NCA, Eva was finally able to initiate her apprenticeship at IFPA. It marked the beginning of an institutional expectation process. Eva began undergoing an apprenticeship in the area of foreign trade with emphasis on logistics. Only a few months after the beginning of her apprenticeship, the incumbent began: (a) a sense of identification with the company, where she felt absolutely accepted. (b) Developing an occupational orientation she would like to continue pursuing. A fundamental characteristic of the dual system apprenticeship is associated with this development; namely, the job-rotation aspect. It provided Eva with a clear perception of the existing connection between theory and practice, which enabled the incumbent to develop a systemic view of the company and also experience processes of socialization with various other actors within this arena.

5. The Routine at IFPA School and its impingements

The incumbent's routine during her apprenticeship was very intense, with an extensive number of classes. It was certainly a contrast to high school and elementary education, which normally take place either in the morning or in the afternoon. As Eva attended the cluster modality, the periods of classes at school were indeed very intensive, entailing long hours daily. In addition, she had to face long commuting hours, which could only be reduced once she turned eighteen, when she gained a car from her parents and began driving to school. It also shows the socioeconomic context of her family. Moreover, the informant was always dedicated, preparing all the tasks and projects that had to be developed at the company and school during her apprenticeship. Eva adapted well within the apprenticeship because it aligned with some important basic biographical positions she has, namely, being responsible, dedicated and committed.

As for her relationship to other social actors within this arena, Eva didn't have any problems, integrated very rapidly and, above all, naturally. Even though Eva portrays a heterogenic social arena, she perceived IFPA and its actors as an extension of her previous German school and also of her identity development closely related to the German culture. These actors were already known and also understood the incumbent's school track choice, for they were also undergoing the same post-high school educational pathway. Interestingly, the incumbent detaches herself from a group of more socioeconomically disadvantaged apprentices. It also

helps understanding that in fact there was a determined social marginality within the educational institution, despite the educational level, which is essentially regarded as insufficient regarding a “normal” school track choice in a Brazilian context. Nonetheless, this heterogenic group could foster processes of creative metamorphoses of biographical identity, which indeed ended up occurring. In regard to her relationship with the teachers at IFPA, Eva also perceived that they belonged to an already “natural” German social arena in her biographical development, which helps to determine that undergoing IFPA’s dual system apprenticeship was also easier for the incumbent who perceived it as a cultural extension of the identity development she had already established. It represented a harmonious social arena where the incumbent was exposed the “already known”, from German teachers, to the language in which the classes were taught and also classmates. In other words, there were no in-group motives for strangeness of post-hoc rationalizations regarding this choice. The confrontations were essentially in the out-of-school context.

6. The incumbent’s perception of IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship

The meaning associated to the VET she underwent is lucid. It was clearly an attempt to adjust further educational choices, leading to yet more appropriate choices. In addition, it would be an additional qualification that would accumulate with an already predictable and obvious subsequent vertical advancement. Moreover, it was also a manner to circumvent the need to face potential superimposed structural impediments that could hinder the biography incumbent from accessing a public university. The lack of occupational orientation was certainly an argument used by the informant to convince parents that this pathway choice wouldn’t be appropriate. However, this self-chosen impediment was also a way to avoid these hindrances that could lead to questioning and the need for rationalizations. There is evidence that the incumbent wasn’t preoccupied in case she couldn’t find the orientation she was looking for, given that she would access higher educational anyway. Eva perceived IFPA as an educational institution of restricted popularity, which had a twofold purpose: (a) it was easier to give it a different perception; a mechanism used to facilitate processes of rationalization regarding this school track choice; (b) it remained a selective institution aimed at a determined group of individuals, which also turn it into a distinct VET school among secondary level ones. It was also another argument that can be used by the incumbent in case of inquiry coming from other social actors within their social world who could not comprehend the need for a horizontal

educational advancement instead of a “normal” vertical one. In addition, the incumbent perceived her educational pathway and school track choice as a superior one. She detaches herself from other individuals that access regular secondary level VET schools in Brazil. In addition, Eva assumes that by obtaining a higher education degree she fostered this differentiation. Her perception is that these other individuals belong to another social group and do not share the same socioeconomic profile she has. Her perception of IFPA and general secondary level VET is also based on a self-theoretical commentary related to a comparison between Brazil and Germany. She assumes that the labor market in Germany does not demand one to obtain a higher educational degree to succeed professionally, whereas in Brazil it is a compulsory educational advancement. The informant perceives higher education as an obligation one needs to comply with, the price of effort one needs to pay to achieve higher professional positions in Brazil. She rationalizes that someone who does not make a vertical educational advancement following IFPA’s apprenticeship at secondary level should leave for Germany, where one does not necessarily need a higher education degree. In case one decides to remain in the Brazilian labor market, one will need to comply with the demands of this significant non-human event carrier.

7. The need for post-hoc rationalizations regarding school track choice

The decision to undergo IFPA’s apprenticeship and make a horizontal educational advancement, which had a very specific functional mechanism of providing her with work and also a clearer occupational orientation that could enable her to make a more appropriate choice in higher education, was accompanied by situations of confrontation with other actors of different social arenas that led the incumbent to experience a cognitive dissonance process as well. This process was also reinforced through the incumbent’s perception of general secondary level VET. She still enrolled in a school that has VET programs and trade courses at secondary level, which was questioned by others, including the biography incumbent herself. It constitutes a cognitive dissonance process, which arose from Eva’s decision to undergo an educational modality she actually believes to be aimed at the socioeconomically underprivileged. The informant plainly defends the perception that individuals who undergo secondary level VET come from more disadvantaged socioeconomic contexts, and that she was fortunate to come from a family milieu that enabled her to have a wider educational pathway margin that allowed her to discard other secondary level vocational schools which she regards as not wor-

thy. The informant stigmatizes individuals who undergo secondary level VET, which also helps understanding the need for post-hoc rationalizations. Finding a school that offers a secondary level VET based on a distinct structure, which can facilitate processes of rationalization used by one in order to detach him- or herself from this stigmatization has demonstrated to be crucial in one's decision to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship. Eva assumes that IFPA is aimed at individuals coming from private German schools, who are more socioeconomically privileged individuals. It is interesting how she associated herself with a distinct group within an educational modality she regards negatively as insufficient. The incumbent didn't even consider the possibility of undergoing secondary level VET at other vocational schools, and didn't even seek out information about these educational establishments and their respective VET programs. Eva considers these "other trade courses" to be rather worthless, and wouldn't even consider attending one. She considers it to be educationally insufficient and aimed at someone who has a different socioeconomic profile than that of herself, and an education modality that does not comply with the demands of the Brazilian labor market. However, she opted to enter IFPA which, as a matter of fact, still belongs to secondary level VET, and still is a vocational school offering trade course, which invariably led to post-hoc rationalization processes whenever the incumbent was inquired about this "unusual" post-high school track option. Given that there was an apparent incongruent perception x decision attitude, the incumbent had to encounter a manner to suppress these judgments and add more consonant beliefs that could outweigh the dissonant beliefs. Bearing in mind that Eva did not change her action or her belief, she was forced to construct a perception of IFPA, based on arguments she could use to reduce or even resolve this cognitive dissonance, which would still enable her to perceive her apprenticeship as an action scheme motivated by the achievement of positive distinctiveness. These are the main consonant beliefs added by the informant to her legitimization attempts used to validate her decision: (a) IFPA cannot be considered as a school that offers vocational education and training per se because its apprenticeships do not lead to the achievement of qualifications leading one to become a mere manual worker. (b) The restricted popularity of IFPA was also used to diminish cognitive dissonance. As the vast majority of the population does not know about the existence of the dual system apprenticeship offered by IFPA in Sao Paulo, it has apparently facilitated processes of rationalization regarding this school track choice; (c) The intensity of the classes in terms of quality and time is compared by the informant to the intensity and quality of classes in higher education, implicitly stating that there are essentially no differences. Eva considers that both educational commitments,

despite the level, were very demanding. It also appears to be another argument used by the informant to deal with post-hoc rationalizations. (d) It was a selective, exclusory VET course aimed at a determined group of individuals who are able to speak German at an advanced level. The exclusory language aspect of the vocational school and its apprenticeship, which appears to be more important than the dual structure and the possibility for work and occupational orientation, which was the incumbent's functional mechanism related to this school from the beginning on. It is interesting that the school had a determined purpose for her, but whenever confronted or questioned about her school track choice, she used an exclusory aspect to rationalize her horizontal school advancement. The informant uses the language in which the apprenticeship is taught as an argument that is often used. Interestingly, she does not refer to its dual structure and the possibility for work orientation. She focuses on this exclusory aspect that can help her to provide a rationalization separating her from the group of "regular" individuals that attend other regular secondary level VET schools. (e) IFPA School and its apprenticeship weren't related to SENAI and the perception these individuals have of the socioeconomic profile of its apprentices as well as their socioeconomic profile. It can be seen that there was a constant need for argumentation, which was used by the biography incumbent to differentiate IFPA from other regular VET secondary schools. Eva also had to do it to protect her identity development as well. Unconsciously, she did not want others to perceive her as someone who would attend SENAI's VET programs; she still wanted to be associated with an exclusive group. Hence, she had to rationalize, explain and give others a determined perception of IFPA with the purpose of resolving any cognitive dissonance others might have observed.

All in all, Eva had to engage in processes of post-hoc rationalizations to convince herself and also other social actors that this school track choice was worthy of following. However, her school track choice didn't avoid these confrontational situations. In general, it can be stated that the points of distinctiveness make it easier for the incumbent to convince himself and others that this school and its VET program can be detached from other general secondary level VET courses, thereby giving it a positive perception that can resolve cognitive dissonance. Only within an in-school arena, where social actors share a similar socioeconomic profile and also similar functional mechanisms associated with IFPA School and its apprenticeship, the incumbent did not need to experience processes of rationalization. On the contrary, it helped the incumbent comprehend that this school track choice is acceptable within this sce-

nario and structure; which would not happen within a regular secondary level VET program at any other school.

8. Concomitant horizontal and vertical educational advancements

After only six months of dual system apprenticeship, Eva began realizing it was providing her with an occupational orientation. She identified with the company and the tasks she was involved with in the VET program and wished to make a vertical educational advancement to begin majoring in foreign trade. It can be observed that IFPA clearly influenced this subsequent educational pathway. She continued to pursue further studies in the same area of her apprenticeship. Eva identified with the company and the tasks she was performing, which led to the decision of making a prompt access to higher education. The informant didn't want to allow time to elapse in an unproductive manner regarding education. It already demonstrates the value associated to IFPA and a horizontal educational advancement, which clearly served as a functional mechanism and not as an educational measure leading to a qualification within a cul-de-sac school track choice. It only laid the foundation for a vertical advancement, which is apparently considered essential by the informant. She had finally begun closing the cycle leading to a vertical educational advancement, after gaining the necessary work orientation. The motives that led the incumbent to make a concomitant vertical educational advancement are multiple: (a) not to waste any time, given she had already gained the occupational orientation she was seeking; (b) A fear of future employability regarding IFPA's apprenticeship and the fact it is not well-known by Brazilian companies; (c) comply with societal expectations, including that of significant others and the labor market as a non-human event carrier. It appears that the last event carrier tended to play one of the most determining influential roles in the incumbents concomitant measure of committing to both educational levels at the same time. Her educational development was already aimed at higher education access from the very beginning, it was taken for granted. Accessing IFPA was in fact a second order choice. Nonetheless, this unintentional school track choice has incredibly benefited the incumbent, who developed an occupational orientation, continued to follow a career in the area, made a more adequate vertical educational advancement that did not lead to drop out or change, and is nowadays following an already dominant institutional expectation pattern. She clearly perceived that other actors of her social world also normally make a vertical educational advancement, which is regarded as an alternative-less educational pathway. The informant im-

PLICITLY conveys that not accessing university would not be accepted by her parents and wouldn't be understood by others. It only helps explain the cognitive dissonance and processes of rationalization undergone by the incumbent in relation to IFPA. Therefore, as soon as she gained occupational orientation, Eva promptly made a vertical educational advancement to avoid further need for argumentations, and to begin following a "normal" and expected post-high school educational pathway. IFPA School was certainly a second order choice regarding the informant's primary post-high school educational intention. However, it had a very important functional mechanism. It allowed the incumbent to enter the labor market at the company she currently works for and where she rapidly developed professionally, and she gained the occupational orientation she lacked to make a prompt vertical advancement upon high school graduation. She also justifies her higher predicate saying that "her problem" was to obtain a high education degree. (d) Follow a "natural" post-high school educational pathway, which is perceived as compulsory by the informant, and which cannot be replaced by a horizontal advancement. (e) Attend the demands of the labor market as an event carrier. The incumbent wished to comply with demands made by the labor market within a Brazilian context. Interestingly, this action scheme is also based on a perception coming from a comparison between Germany and Brazil regarding school track choice. She assumes that only in Germany can one undergo solely VET and not need to access higher education, in case one wishes to further develop professionally, a fact which is not the case in Brazil. The fact that she underwent secondary level VET did not eliminate the demand established by the labor market, regardless of the vocational school or its apprenticeship modality. Regarding the motives that led the incumbent to opt for a private college, it can be stated that: (1) the result of a self-chosen superimposed impediment, which had already accompanied the biography incumbent's school track decision process. Accessing a private university was easier and could circumvent any potential superimposed structural impediments, and it wouldn't require enormous physical and emotional efforts that would be demanded in a prep course leading to the access of a public university. Avoiding such a potential hindrance can also be understood as a mechanism used by the incumbent to avoid any strangeness coming from other social actors and any doubts in relation to her identity development. (2) The source of income received by the incumbent, in addition to her parent's financial condition, have enabled her to afford a private university without further problems related to any financial constrain.

The routine of the incumbent changed considerably during this period of time. She began attending college, and was undergoing her dual system apprenticeship. Even though it might have been a phase of strangeness to the still young incumbent, she seems to have dealt well with the new routine. It can also be argued that the role her father played at home could have influenced her perception of work, which demands commitment and is very time-consuming. Concomitant educational commitments demanded intense physical and mental effort at the time. These commitments also affected her social life, by distancing the incumbent from contact with other social actors of her social world. It can be clearly observed that IFPA's apprenticeship has completely changed her biographical development. She entered the labor market at an early age and was committing to two difficult processes concomitantly. In addition, she also certainly had to deal with the inquiries of other social actors of her social world, who might have been puzzled by the responsibilities in her early adulthood. Yet, it was also during this biographical period of adaptation with IFPA and loss of social contacts that a significant other appeared in the biographical development of the incumbent. During her dual system apprenticeship at NCA, Eva met a young man that worked as an engineer in the same company. She embarked on a relationship with this individual, who became a significant event carrier during this biographical process.

As the end of her apprenticeship approached, Eva began developing anxiety concerning a post-IFPA permanent employment offer. The incumbent was experiencing an intense concern regarding early post-IFPA permanent employment. It calls attention that, despite the fact that the informant's family was more socioeconomically advantaged, she was still preoccupied with remaining in the labor market. Her decision to make this horizontal advancement wasn't aimed at obtaining permanent employment, but gaining time, work orientation and a possible occupational orientation. The fear concerning post-IFPA permanent employment offers was intensely experienced by the incumbent, who perceived it as a traumatizing experience. It is certainly a reference to outcomes that could arise from such a lack of interest regarding the company in offering permanent employment to the apprentice: (a) the fear of future employability within the Brazilian companies that wouldn't know the apprenticeship. (b) The concern of not accomplishing the aim established within the functional mechanism associated to IFPA as a horizontal educational advancement (c) the disappointment with the company in relation to an already developed sense of identification, which could even lead to doubts regarding an already developed occupational orientation.

In all probability this is related to the educational pathway she had decided to follow. Eva had already developed an occupational orientation, identified with the company and her dual system apprenticeship, and was attending higher education in the same area as her VET program. In other words, she was already working for a company in a position she desired and leaving the company would result in a difficult experience, firstly because of the identification and secondly due to a possible trajectory of unemployment; which could also be a minor one. However, the connection with the company and the desire to follow a professional career in the area has made Eva gain an occupational orientation and also to wish continuing working for the company after her apprenticeship. The mutual interest between her and the company led to further post-IFPA permanent employment, as the company was also willing to reap the fruits of the investment made during the dual system apprenticeship. It helps understating that such dual system apprenticeship can establish a sense of identification in the apprentice and the willingness of the company to keep this individual and further invest in him or her. There is a general identification with the company through IFPA's dual system that leads to an occupational orientation and the desire to continue developing professionally within these organizations.

This period of concomitant vertical and horizontal educational advancements marked the time in which the incumbent essentially had to dedicate to three obligations: IFPA, the company and university. These have also added to long travel distances the incumbent had to travel on a daily basis to commute to work and university. This state of affairs began developing contours of events and led the incumbent into a very stressful daily routine. It led her to make a difficult decision, namely, to stop attending for one semester, which was perceived by the informant as wasting the time she wanted to avoid from the very beginning. However, Eva couldn't put up with the exhaustive routine any longer, despite her urge to obtain a higher education degree as soon as possible. It is interesting that the fact that the vocational school is unknown, plus a societal expectation and the labor market as an event carrier can be the genesis for a considerable amount of distress in the biography of the incumbent, who perceives that making such a concomitant commitment is an obligation, which is aimed at "not wasting time".

9. Following a dominant institutional expectation pattern

Upon graduation from IFPA's apprenticeship, the informant reveals she was offered a position at the foreign trade department, which she gladly accepted. Eva was still a teenager when she received her first permanent employment offer in the area of logistics, the exact area of her dual system apprenticeship. It demonstrates that the company was willing to reap the fruits of the two-year in-company training. Eva was prepared theoretically and practically to assume the position. It is rather remarkable how the incumbent began climbing the career ladder from the very beginning. Right after finishing her apprenticeship, she was already occupying a position that demanded a great deal of commitment and responsibility. She felt connected to the company and the institution deposited trust on her as well. By accepting the employment offer, Eva continued to follow an already dominant institutional expectation pattern in her biographical development. After working for two years in the above mentioned new permanent position, a considerable amount of distress began to accumulate once again. The informant needed to find a manner to reduce commuting times between her home, university and work. It was becoming a problem affecting academic performance and work dedication. Hence, Eva initiated another biographical scheme with the intention of altering the state of affairs. She began searching for a new employment that could accommodate both tasks without a considerable distress, namely, attending higher education and working concomitantly. Eva aimed at obtaining a new job in the area of logistics in São Paulo, near college and her parents' home. The distress that the informant was undergoing led to her resignation from the company where she had done the practical part of her internship. This also marked a period of contours of events in her biographical development. Eva was just about to make a second necessary decision, but that represented a difficult process to go through. In order to reduce distress, she was compelled to quit her first permanent employment, against her will. The informant felt connected to the company and developed a strong relationship to the institution during the two years of apprenticeship and during her permanent employment thereafter. It made this transition process difficult, which demonstrates that the dual system apprenticeship can indeed enhance retention. The company regretted her desire to leave, but fully comprehended her reasoning; and left a door opened for the incumbent, in case she would like to return in the future, which also shows that both parties have developed a sense of identification. A human event carrier also played a fundamental role in Eva's professional development within the organization, more specifically her supervisor. This individual played a nearly pa-

rental role within the company and assisted her in developing professionally, which also demonstrates the importance of a person who can assist the young apprentice within the company during the practical part of the internship. It can lead to a better identification with the company, which could result in difficulty to leave due to an intense identification with the company.

The new employment opportunity came rapidly. However, a suitable one, according to the criteria established by the incumbent, only appeared six months later. Then, she obtained a new job offer at HS; in the same area she had done her dual system apprenticeship. Eva received additional specific training and began working with the logistics of dangerous cargo. This is also a clear marker indicating that IFPA and its apprenticeship indeed developed an occupational orientation in the incumbent biography who still works for the same company and department nowadays. The new job opportunity was followed by another significant change in the biographical development of the incumbent. After several months, Carl's dissatisfaction with his job at the time, the long commuting hours to go to work and visit each other and the lack of quality in the relationship due to the distance led the individual to find a new job in Sao Paolo. Carl's new job flexibility, and the eagerness to leave his parents' home resulted in Eva and him moving in together in 2009, thereby leaving their parents' homes. Carl represented an interesting human event carrier, who appeared in a very important time in the biographical development of the incumbent, who was at the time struggling to keep pace with friends and socialization due to the time- and energy-consuming commitments she already had at an early age. Carl represented a balance in this time, given that the relationship served to compensate the distance from friends and peers. It might have ameliorated the social confrontation of the incumbent at the time, due to the fact that Carl was also working at the same company and could identify with the efforts made by the incumbent at the time.

Moving in with Carl also posed an internal conflict for the incumbent, which can be associated the informant's religion. It is certainly related to the value she grew up with within her family, which also included the religious beliefs she was exposed to at church and at home through the influence of significant others. Eva repeatedly refers to the fact that they moved in without getting married, and the parents approved of the idea, despite they were doing it without following the necessary religious steps. It is also a clear indication of the very influential role of the parents on this decision. Eva was surprised with her parents' approval because ex-

pected they wouldn't accept it. It shows the importance it had for the informant, who appears to be a very formal and traditional individual, especially regarding such values as matrimony. The idea of moving in together without getting married was more difficult for her than it was for her own parents to accept. It shows certain basic biographical positions of the incumbent, which are relevant to comprehend how she experienced the entire flux of events in her biography until the present day. Eva is very traditional, correct, dedicated and committed to certain religious values as well.

10. Pursuing a career internationally within a dominant biographical process

After only one year living with Carl, Eva received the first opportunity to further develop a professional career in Germany. It also helps demonstrating the importance of IFPA in widening one's employability in the domestic market and also internationally. Eva was offered the possibility to conduct a project in Germany, at the company's headquarters, which would initially last three months. Certainly IFPA's apprenticeship has prepared the incumbent to conduct this project, in terms of language as well as know-how. The company has also perceived the incumbent was sufficiently prepared to conduct the project in the German market, using the idiom and being able to adapt to the culture. This opportunity has completely changed the course of the informant's private and professional development. Once again Eva applied her basic biographical orientations at work in Germany. She committed demonstrated responsibility and interest. The outcomes were that a few weeks prior to her return to Brazil, she was offered a permanent position in Germany to work at the logistics department in the headquarters of the company. It clearly demonstrates how IFPA can expand one's future employability internationally as well. Eva accepted the permanent employment offer in Germany and is, nowadays, following a clear dominant institutional expectation pattern. This professional outcome, though, depended then on a private life condition. The informant didn't want to lose a significant other, namely, Carl. Eva would only accept the job offer if he could also move to Germany so they could continue a normal life-cycle and begin a family. This is also related to another basic biographical orientation of the incumbent. Eva does not place professional development before private life and her relationship to Carl. However, she perceived it would be the right timing to leave for Germany, for in case it didn't work they could return to Brazil and continue their professional career there. Carl made the necessary arrangements and they left for Germany.

11. Current developments and dominant biographical development

The informant and her husband have adapted well in Germany, which is certainly the result of identity development related to the German culture. There are no evident traits of hybridity in her biographical development in Germany. The only contour of events appears to be the distance from her family, which makes the process more difficult to withstand. Carl has enrolled for a master's degree and, as he holds an engineering degree, he could also obtain a permanent position at the same company the incumbent currently works for. Once gain both are working for the same company, just as they did when they first met in Brazil. This significant other has also become her husband after a short period of time. The incumbent is evidently following a dominant institutional expectation pattern characterized by developments in two distinct areas, namely, growing professionally and establishing a family. Eva acknowledges nowadays that IFPA had considerably altered the pathway of her biographical development, personally and professionally, and that despite the exacerbated value associated with higher education; she had a rapid professional development with the assistance of an educational modality and level which she openly criticizes. She still made the vertical advancement she had as a primary post-high school educational orientation in order to comply with societal expectations and also those of a relevant non-human event carrier; namely, the labor market. Yet, she acknowledges that both degrees have assisted her in her professional development, one as a functional mechanism and the other as an alternative-less pathway. It can be observed that the informant didn't have to struggle with trajectories of unemployment after IFPA's apprenticeship, which as a matter of fact has widened her employability margin, including internationally.

Despite the fact that the incumbent had to experience cognitive dissonance and undergo post-hoc rationalization processes, even characterizing an effort justification paradigm, she can nowadays reflectively see the positive impingements IFPA had on her educational as well as professional development. Currently, Eva has just finished doing a MBA, and clearly intends to continue seeking further education with the intention of reaching her goal to one day become a manager at the company she works for. There is no doubt Eva will continue to grow professionally and will achieve a managerial position. She is very driven and dedicated, and above all wishes to continue studying to achieve her professional intentions.

6.4 The reconstructed “gestalt” of the overall biographical structuring of Alice Bauer

IFPA’s dual system training as a byproduct of a superimposed self-chosen impediment, avoidance of potential structural hindrances and barriers imposed by significant others

1. Preliminary aspects of the informant’s biography

Alice was born in Sao Paolo, Brazil. The informant has two siblings and all three of them have double citizenship. Given that her grandfather was German, they obtained the right to become German citizens as well. However, German is not the informant’s mother tongue, and she only visited Germany for the first time at age fifteen. Alice attended elementary and high school at a private German school located in her hometown. Upon graduating from high school, Alice underwent IFPA’s insurance clerk dual system apprenticeship, between 2001 and 2002 in the traditional modality – interestingly, one of her sisters has also undergone IFPA’s apprenticeship. The practical part of her apprenticeship was done at IS (an insurance company), in Sao Paolo, too. After concluding IFPA’s apprenticeship, Alice accessed a private university in Brazil, where she majored in business administration. Later, she also did a tertiary level specialization course in logistics. At present, she has been working for an American vehicle manufacturer in the logistics department.

2. The incumbent’s family milieu and her childhood developments

Regarding the informant’s family milieu, it can be pointed out that she has close ties with the German culture. Her grandfather fought during the war and then later decided to leave Germany and emigrate to Brazil. Hence, her father is also a German citizen and the informant has a double citizenship, being concomitantly German and Brazilian. This also helps understanding her interest of the incumbent in the German language, which was also certainly driven by her desire to develop an identity closely related to the German culture. Yet, German was never her mother tongue at home, especially because her mother isn’t fluent in the language. Only the informant’s grandparents spoke to them in German. In addition, it can be argued that Alice comes from a more privileged socioeconomic background in Brazil, especially considering that all three children attended very expensive private schools in Sao Paolo. Both her parents

hold a higher education degree in the area of IT and have worked for many years in their respective areas, even though her mother is now retired.

Alice is a student who is not keen on studying theoretical concepts, and is more practically-oriented. School and studying always involved a lot of effort for the biography incumbent as she perceives education as an obligation, a necessary pathway leading to the labor market that could provide for one's self-existence, essentially in a pursuit of a normal life cycle pattern. Alice's basic schooling took place at a private German school in Sao Paulo, where she graduated from elementary and high school. The biography incumbent and her siblings attended this particular school for the reason that it had always been the dream of her paternal grandparents who emigrated from Germany to Brazil after the war. As Alice's grandparents couldn't afford a private German school in Brazil for their children, the informant's father decided to enroll Alice and her sisters in this school as to fulfill this dream.

The family's educational action scheme concerning Alice's biography is reasonably clear. Her parents wanted her to follow the same propaedeutic educational pathway they had pursued. They invested in an expensive private German school so as to provide the informant with a supposedly high-quality education that could better prepare her for the higher education entrance examination at a public university, which would as a result represent a financial relief for them, and also an important educational achievement for the incumbent, as the best ranked universities in Brazil are public. In other words, they made a financial investment during her basic schooling so as to avoid an even bigger one during tertiary education, in case Alice had to access a private university. Yet, Alice was not fond of studying and lacked interest in such an activity. She prefers practical-oriented activities rather than a theoretical approach to subjects, which to a certain extent indicates that her primary post-high school educational choice could be related to a subjective condition due to the fact that VET, and above all the dual system apprenticeship, is fundamentally practice-oriented. Nonetheless, Alice became reluctant about her parents' educational action scheme for the reason that she preferred to focus on working and entering the labor market, obtaining experience and only later make a post-high school vertical educational advancement. Yet, it can be observed that this basic biographical orientation of the biography incumbent eclipses a self-chosen superimposed impediment established with the aim of circumventing potential structural hindrances. Her parents disapproved of postponing a post-high school vertical educational advancement, and openly complained about Alice's choice of not even attempting to access a public university. Alice's atti-

tude has also triggered a superimposed impediment established by her parents, which ended up restricting her post-high school educational pathway margin. They became reluctant in investing in a public university, given Alice's indisposition to make a prompt vertical advancement, and above all due to her self-chosen impediment aimed at circumventing the possibility to go through a selection process to access a public university.

3. A biographical action scheme leading to a desired educational pathway

As Alice was evidently unwilling to pursue a vertical educational advancement upon high school graduation, which could lead to accessing a public university, she was compelled to reach a compromise with her parents. She wanted to travel to Germany to attend school there for a semester, and would begin IFPA's apprenticeship after returning and finishing high school, an idea which was reluctantly accepted by the parents. Alice initiated her first biographical action scheme as to pursue a personal desire and, concomitantly, adjust educational decisions to her intentions as well. Therefore, during the first year of high school the informant went to Germany for the first time. Alice stopped attending school in Brazil for six months and decided to visit her aunt, who lives in Germany, in order to attend a gymnasium there, as well as to acquire a better command of the German language. This was concomitantly positive and negative for Alice. On the one hand, she could attend a German school and also see the culture of the country she is a citizen of but had never been to before. This first visit to Germany helped close the ties to the culture and assisted her in developing her identity, which she associates very much with the German culture. On the other hand, it was also a turbulent period because her cousin was experiencing serious health complications, which certainly disrupted the entire harmony of her aunt's home and also the individuals that were involved in that social frame at the time. That's why Alice perceives it as a period of mixed feelings.

4. Post-high school educational decision

The informant was undergoing a clear process of indecision in relation to an occupational orientation regarding an educational choice at the time. The informant even considered majoring in a course related to biology, to be precise, either oceanography or marine biology, but was openly discouraged by her parents, which led her to a lack of clarity regarding a vocation she would like to pursue. This lack of an occupational orientation had only strengthened her

parents' unwillingness to disburse costly tuition fees at a private university so she could make a prompt post-high school vertical educational advancement. Making a decision appeared to be even more complicated for the biography incumbent due to her discernment of the meaning a post-high school educational choice had. Alice saw it as a one-time decision that couldn't possibly be altered later, and that an equivocated choice could be financially disastrous and also lead to an unfulfilling pathway in her professional career and development. Accordingly, Alice's parents had a tremendous influence on this decision making process. Her parents openly disapproved of her primary post-high school educational choice of avoiding the higher education entrance examination to access a public university. They wanted the incumbent to comply with the educational action scheme they had established for her biographical development. Moreover, the informant's parents have always struggled to keep all children attending private German schools, and financial matters were always carefully discussed within the family due to a scarcity of capital, a fact which helps to understand the reason why accessing a private university was frowned upon by her parents. There was an over concern of the parents regarding financial matters and it also helped to restrict the margin of educational possibilities of the biography incumbent. This is an interesting phenomenon, given that, despite having the necessary capital; Alice's parents feared a wrong occupational choice that could lead to a waste of investment. Hence, one's educational choice can be heavily influenced by parents who perceive the concomitance of the circumstances: (a) the child's indecision regarding educational choice and an apparent lack of occupational orientation; (b) not overcome superimposed structural impediments prior to public higher education access or self-chosen hindrances created so as to avoid confronting efforts needed to make a prompt post-high school vertical educational advancement. Hence, accessing a private university could culminate in a financial burden, which could neither resolve the aforementioned indecision nor provide the individual with an occupational orientation.

Given that the incumbent didn't want to comply with her parents' action scheme and her parents didn't approve of her self-chosen impediment, access to higher education became an absent option. Alice developed a self-imposed barrier and wasn't willing to expose herself to a potential superimposed structural impediment that the entrance examination at a public university represented, and her parents weren't willing to finance a private university for her to major in courses they didn't perceive as adequate. Therefore, making a post-high school horizontal educational advancement, by entering IFPA School, became a real possibility. Alice's

mother, especially, was crucial in the decision leading to IFPA and, in the role of a significant human event carrier, persuaded the informant to undergo one of the school's dual system apprenticeships because: (a) it would provide direct access to the labor market. (b) It was an opportunity to obtain a paid internship. (c) It represented a possibility to gain work orientation, which could provide the informant with a general guidance for a possible occupational orientation. (c) It was a provisory solution to the indecision of the informant – which is rather questionable, given that her parents didn't approve of her educational choices concerning tertiary education. Alice's parents were aware that the dual system apprenticeship would be compulsorily and complemented with a subsequent vertical educational advancement. This influence, however, didn't take into account any personal, subjective aspects regarding the biography incumbent's orientations, and it was obviously a second order option for the both Alice and her parents. Essentially, the parents saw their entire educational action scheme fail and have heavily contributed to the development of a career path that didn't become a self-fulfilling occupational orientation for Alice.

Another key condition leading the informant to seek a post-high school horizontal educational advancement, and specifically the dual system apprenticeship, refers to several rationalizations related to a constant pressure from her parents regarding a search for financial independence. Even though Alice's parents afforded an expensive German school for all three children, they imposed a constant search for financial independence on them, including the informant. Hence, obtaining an apprentice's salary at IFPA was also a representation of financial relief for the parents and herself. This was the objective Alice had always been directed at. Even if unconsciously, this was an important aspect influencing her decision. In other words, the parental constant pressure on teaching financial responsibility may have led the incumbent to search for an educational modality that entailed the possibility of financial relief and at the same time represented a source of income for self-existence, despite her more privileged socioeconomic background.

5. A biographical process endangered by a failed examination

One language exam and the combination of event carriers have nearly hindered Alice to continue her institutional expectation pattern and access to IFPA School. She didn't pass an important language test leading to the official certification of her German language command. In

addition, a teacher confirmed she wouldn't be able to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship and very likely wouldn't pass the admission test. The accumulation of two significant impediments made the incumbent perceive that at this point in time her educational pathway margin had become incredibly restricted, given that even a post-high school horizontal educational advancement had become unfeasible. Yet, she still had time to prepare for IFPA's admission test, which she did, despite the fact that she didn't like studying. This is also an effort justification attitude of the informant based on one of her basic biographical orientations. Alice is driven by the sense of commitment to undergo educational experiences. Despite disliking studying, she focuses on the outcomes that are basically the representation of an obligation that must be fulfilled within one's biographical development in search for self-existence in the pursuit of a normal life cycle pattern, an orientation which is heavily associated to borrowed self-theoretical commentaries coming from her parents.

6. Following an institutional expectation pattern

In 2001, Alice finished her high school education and accomplished what she had promised her parents. She passed IFPA's admission test. Alice embarked on this educational program within an institutional expectation pattern due to a number of motives: (a) Acquiring further German language command while obtaining a qualification that is officially certified. This is a condition that could also reinforce the identity the informant wished so intensely to develop. The episode with the teacher who doubted her capability of being admitted to IFPA due to her apparent poor language command was also an important impulse. Even if unconsciously, Alice made a decision to develop her identity closely related to German culture, and mastering the language was a crucial condition to achieve this. (b) In an attempt to acquire a necessary qualification to alternatively access the labor market in Germany, thereby widening her future employability also internationally. (c) Due to a lack of occupational orientation, IFPA and its dual system could serve as a guideline for her tertiary level education, thereby leading to a more appropriate choice within a vertical educational advancement. (d) A possibility for work orientation which could provide a basis for assessment regarding the choice of a determined vocation. (e) In a search for financial independence through an apprentice's salary, this, as pointed out before, would also represent the achievement of an objective she has always been taught to attain. (f) It would be a financial relief for the parents who wouldn't need to disburse the tuition fees, which were paid by the company, and they wouldn't have to pay for a private

university, which could be done by the biography incumbent herself later on through her own labor. (g) It represented a mechanism that would allow the informant to gain time as to decide about a more adequate higher education degree, which is also perceived as indispensable by the informant and a mandatory educational advancement.

Other additional conditions have also influenced Alice's decision to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship. The socialization processes at school and the influence of prior educational institutions is evident. Intrapersonal information as well as the influence of other of event carriers, such as teachers and classmates, were determining on the discernment of the incumbent that this was a feasible, and above all, adequate and accepted educational institution within her social world. For instance, the informant was constantly exposed to information from her teachers that IFPA's certificate was recognized in Germany and in the European Union. This was also a motive leading the informant to seek this educational modality for she always related to Germany and wished to work in the country later in the development of her professional career. One last crucial motive, obviously, was to satisfy her family's desire for an alternative pathway to the educational action scheme they had established. IFPA represented the outcomes of an "educational negotiation" within the family, and not a concrete primary post-high school aspiration of the incumbent based on a self-fulfilling assessment leading to a desired vocation.

7. An interlink of biographical importance

After the decision was eventually made, Alice passed IFPA's admission test and had to begin applying at different companies where she would do the practical part of her apprenticeship. However, an interlink of biographical importance has impinged the course of intention once again. A macro-political and economic condition arose from an interlink of biographical importance during this process. Alice wished to access the international trade course, which could, very visibly, enable her to utilize her German language command which had become part of her identity as well. However, the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in 2001 led to temporary difficulties concerning finding vacancies in the labor market, and it also affected IFPA School and the companies with whom the school had cooperation. It led the informant to a cul-de-sac and she was compelled to accept whatever was offered to her, which led her to change her trade course. She had to enroll in the insurance clerk apprenticeship,

given that it was the only course she obtained a vacancy at a company where she could do the practical part of her dual system apprenticeship. This interlink was very significant in this process, given that it influenced the informant's course choice. The insurance clerk apprenticeship was absolutely unrelated to any self-fulfilling orientation and assessment Alice had previously had and the objective of obtaining a clearer vocational orientation was endangered.

8. The informant's assessment of IFPA's apprenticeship

Alice's reflective evaluation of the dual system apprenticeship she underwent is very positive, despite the fact that this wasn't a post-high school first order educational choice, and that her trade course was rather a necessity than an intentional choice. In addition, there isn't a perceptible discrepancy between the perception of the story carrier in the strict sense and narrator regarding the school and its educational modality. The informant seems to have had a harmonious daily routine at IFPA. She appreciated very much the contact with the German teachers and the possibility to acquire further German language command, a very important aspect in her identity development. She felt accepted and integrated at school. It must be also pointed out that this was a period of transition for the informant, who was at the time eighteen years old, and was beginning to become more independent from her parents, including financially. It was a very important phase within her biographical development, a time when several new discoveries occurred concomitantly.

Regarding the informant's assessment of the practical part of the apprenticeship program, two interesting aspects draw one's attention. The job rotation concept seems to have backfired in the apprenticeship of the incumbent. The company didn't provide her with meaningful tasks and the communication with the school was poor. This aspect led to a deterioration of her relationship with the insurance company, which led the informant to leave the company upon graduating from IFPA's apprenticeship. Another negative assessment of IFPA's apprenticeship relates to the contents of main subjects, which appear to be heavily based on a German context, which made it difficult for Alice to see how it could be transferred to a Brazilian context. It created a sense of insecurity in the apprentice regarding future employability. Alice feared other companies, especially Brazilians, wouldn't know or recognize her IFPA certificate, and the informant also feared that she wouldn't be able to apply her knowledge in a Brazilian context. It is also necessary to point out that the informant also perceived IFPA's ap-

prenticeship negatively in the sense of having to commit to an activity she didn't like, to be exact, studying. The company compelled the informant to commit because they demanded a minimum grade. This outer condition played a key role in her dedication, which was heavily characterized by an effort justification.

9. The meaning of IFPA and the confrontation of the incumbent with her social world

The meaning IFPA has for the informant is also crucial for the comprehension of her perception. She associates IFPA to a trade course that characterizes a “first phase” in one's educational pathway. In other words, it should provide work orientation and possibly assist one in the development of an occupational orientation, but it does not represent a cul-de-sac educational option that will lead to the labor market in a profession that will be followed permanently. It is merely a transitional educational modality prior to one's access to higher education within a post-high school vertical educational advancement.

As for the confrontation of the incumbent with her social world within this process, Alice wasn't constantly asked about her educational choice due to an important motive. Seemly, her classmates at IFPA were also the actors that belonged to her social frame outside the school. However, there is an attention grabbing aspect regarding this matter. The informant herself associates it to a different educational level, apparently in an attempt to avoid any possible comparison with other regular trade courses at secondary level. This is an important indicator of how the individual dealt with any occurrence of cognitive dissonance regarding his or her educational choice. In addition, her own self-theoretical commentaries regarding VET in Brazil are very clear and reinforce the idea of a dissonant perception-behavior regarding secondary level VET. Alice intensively rationalizes about her perception of a division within the Brazilian context, in which one's socioeconomic background dictates whether one will enroll at a regular trade school and do manual work, and those who will follow a more propaedeutic higher education track and will do the non-manual work. The informant's view of general secondary level VET in Brazil is closely associated with courses that are aimed at the socioeconomically underprivileged individuals who are looking for short courses leading to a qualification at schools like SENAI and SENAC. Whereas IFPA is a selective vocational school, it is only for those who can speak German, which offers exclusory apprenticeships, due to the fact that one needs to master the German language in which its VET courses are taught. Yet,

IFPA, despite its singular VET structure, belongs to regular secondary level VET in Brazil, and is recognized by the Brazilian government as a regular secondary level VET in the subsequent modality. Alice also makes one objective assessment stating that IFPA's apprenticeship offers one the possibility to begin an internship and receive an apprentice's salary, as opposed to other regular trade courses in Brazil.

Nonetheless, upon graduation from IFPA, the informant hadn't yet gained the occupational orientation guidance she expected. On the contrary, Alice couldn't identify with an occupational area she didn't intentionally choose to follow. A situational condition related to an interlink of biographical importance compelled the informant to undergo a trade course that didn't resolve her indecision, and most importantly, didn't lead to a direct permanent employment, which was a crucial precondition for her to obtain a source of income that would enable her to access a private university.

10. Reinitiating of a dominant institutional expectation pattern

Alice graduated from IFPA School and she wasn't offered permanent employment at the insurance company where she did her dual system apprenticeship. The relationship had considerably deteriorated and apparently both parties showed no interest in continuing working together. Alice only worked at this company for four months. It was sufficient time to confirm IFPA's apprenticeship definitely hadn't provided her with an occupation she would like to pursue. She accessed IFPA in a trade course she didn't intend to follow up, and the result was that she graduated with the same indecision she began the apprenticeship with. It led her to immediately act upon it and search for further employment in order to continue following an institutional expectation pattern in her biography, especially due to the fact that she hadn't yet made the mandatory post-high school vertical educational advancement, which she knew she was expected to do. Hence, she obtained employment at another insurance company and soon after that she was finally able to access a private university and began majoring in business administration, which she could then sponsor with her own source of income. The informant's major choice was done within an unresolved process of indecision concerning occupational orientation. She hadn't yet found a vocation related to subjective aspects, closely related to personal and self-fulfilling aspects. Despite Alice's permanent employment as an insurance clerk, university had to be partially paid by her parents, given that Alice's first salary wasn't

sufficient to cover the costly private university tuition fees. There are several motives that can be associated with the informant's access to tertiary education after her apprenticeship, more specifically: (a) Due to the sense of fear regarding future employability, which was developed during IFPA's apprenticeship, the informant feared that IFPA's certification wouldn't be known or even acknowledged by other Brazilian companies, who according to self-theoretical commentary of the informant perceive a higher education certification as a compulsory educational achievement. (b) Due to a societal expectation within a Brazilian context, and also in response to the expectation of her parents through their educational action scheme for the incumbent during her entire basic schooling. The informant has clearly aligned her educational objective according to societal expectations, including that of her parents. For the informant, it constitutes the fulfillment of an educational obligation of accessing tertiary education. (c) With the intention of complying with a pre-requisite established by the labor market for the pursuit of prominent professional positions. It draws one attention that the informant's decision regarding higher education which doesn't entail clear subjective aspects that could indicate a personal or self-fulfilling choice regarding her educational pathway. She was driven by objective and societal motives to seek higher education. In addition, it was an act of endurance for the informant disliked studying. Yet, she once again used her biographical orientations and effort justification approach, as previously stated.

11. New employed and the continuation of an institutional expectation pattern

After finishing the first year of university, Alice obtained employed at a German multinational engineering and electronics conglomerate company to work in their logistics department, which is associated by the informant to IFPA and its dual system apprenticeship for the reason that the vocational school had cooperation with the company, which regularly hired apprentices from IFPA. Alice was puzzled over the fact that she didn't have any experience with logistics, and was hired anyway. But, after all, the informant obtained employment in an area she initially aimed at. She wanted to undergo IFPA's international trade course primarily because it could give her the opportunity to work in a German context using the German language, aspects which had become a crucial part of her identity development.

It was during this period of her biographical development that an important event carrier changed the course of her professional development too. A German director of the headquarter

ters of the company she worked for in Brazil came to Sao Paolo to visit the subsidiary. This individual played an important role in Alice's professional development. After perceiving Alice's fluency in the German language, her competence at work, and finding out she had a German citizenship, he offered her an opportunity to work in Germany. It has always been one of the incumbent's main objectives, and it also occurred in a primordial period of time because Alice was on the verge of being dismissed due to a bad relationship with her supervisor in Brazil. He avoided a possible trajectory of unemployment and concomitantly provided her with further vital international work experience, which would also assist the informant in her future career development. Hence, Alice embarked on a professional journey in Germany. She was offered a position at the headquarters for two years, in the area of exports between Brazil and Germany. Alice essentially had the opportunity to work in Germany, where she would use the language she was so fond of, and it would certainly make a huge impression within her family, who are culturally well related to Germany. Moreover, it was also a key experience that further fostered the informant's capability to deal with her own finances and also to care for her own-existence without any kind of parental assistance. It was also during this process that Alice met someone who became another significant other as an agent of influence in her biography. Alice met her boyfriend in Germany, where he was working an engineer on a project. He was certainly another key event carrier leading the informant to seek higher education, given that he already was highly qualified, and Alice could see his professional development.

12. The biography incumbent's dominant institutional expectation pattern

The informant returned to Brazil after two years working in Germany, and continued to pursue her professional career at the same company she worked at before leaving for another four months. Then, Alice did a specialization course at tertiary level in the area of logistics, which primarily became her vocational orientation, to work in an area where she could use the German language and work in projects involving both countries, Brazil and Germany. This last consideration is an important aspect regarding the informant's identity development. She intensively associates with the German culture and this identity reason was certainly another key condition leading her to seek out IFPA's apprenticeship because it is all taught in German, by German teachers and still within a social frame with several classmates who also came from private German high schools in Sao Paolo. Undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship

helped the informant further shape her identity as someone who feels strongly related to German culture and also continued to influence her further professional achievements.

After leaving Continental, a new employment prospect arose and Alice obtained a job at General Motors, which is also where the informant is currently still working. She is now focused on a normal life-cycle pattern and wishes to achieve personal goals within her biographical development. Currently, Alice lives with her boyfriend in Sao Paulo, and is refocusing the intentions within her biographical development, aiming at starting a family and giving more attention to her personal life. Yet, this is still an orientation within an already extremely dominant institutional expectation pattern. In an overall assessment of her vocational identity development it is possible to identify that Alice didn't opt for a vocation based on a subjective assessment of an educational pathway and modality that could lead to a profession based on personal cultivation, and self-realization. However, her identity development related to German culture, which includes the language, was crucial in the professional pathway followed by the biography incumbent.

6.5 The reconstructed “gestalt” of the overall biographical structuring of Mary Weiss

IFPA's dual system training as educational pathway leading to a bridging mechanism linking second order and primary post-high school educational intentions and also as an instrument fostering a dominant institutional expectation pattern

1. Preliminary aspects of the informant's biography

Mary was born in an important capital of one of the Brazilian states in the southwest region. The city has more than 300.000 inhabitants and was founded in 1551. The informant has two siblings. She attended elementary and secondary school at a private elementary school for three years, and then she entered a private German school in Sao Paulo where she finished elementary and also graduated from high school. For one year, however, she attended elementary schooling in a German school in Portugal where she moved to with her family. She underwent the IFPA's office clerk dual system apprenticeship in the block system modality. The practical part of her apprenticeship was done at KS SP (a global and first-tier supplier to the

automotive industry) in Sao Paolo. After concluding IFPA's apprenticeship, Mary accessed tertiary education. She is currently working with her father in a construction business.

2. The incumbent's family milieu and her childhood developments

Mary comes from a well-to do family background. Her great grandfather was a merchant and her grandparents were wealthy individuals as well. Some were doctors, owned laboratories, properties and even a small hydroelectric power plant. The informant's parents also have an academic history and attended high quality elementary and high schools. Mary's father majored in Business Administration in Rio de Janeiro and her mother, who was born in Vitoria, underwent vocational training in architecture in Rio de Janeiro. She attended university, but didn't graduate. The informant's parents met in college in Rio de Janeiro, where they got married. Afterwards, they returned to Mary's hometown, where they resided when the informant was born. The financial source for the existence of the family at that time came from the construction business owned by her father. He also built a residential apartment house where several family members lived together for a while, a place where Mary had constant social contact with her family members.

Mary began attending her first year of elementary school in Vitoria, and after only a year her father decided to open a new business in Sao Paolo. Moving to Sao Paolo was also aimed at seeking better schooling possibilities in the huge metropolis for Mary and her sisters. This was part of the family's educational action scheme concerning Mary's school track choice. Her parents wanted her to enter private, high-quality schools that could prepare her for a more propaedeutic education leading to a non-manual work orientation. The informant's parents already had a determined expectation concerning Mary's post-high school educational pathway which was clearly aimed at a vertical advancement. Nevertheless, moving to Sao Paolo led the biography incumbent, for the first time, to a loss of significant others. Mary had to leave school peers, friends and most importantly her family behind and move to Sao Paolo with her parents. She simply had to comply and wasn't consulted about this decision. In Sao Paolo, the informant began attending a smaller elementary school, which she did for two years. In the meantime, Mary had to prepare for the admission test of Porto Seguro, a German private school her parents had chosen. Due to its quality of education and the restricted number of vacancies, the informant would have to confront the first potential superimposed struc-

tural impediment in her biography, still at a very young age. Nevertheless, Mary passed the admission test and began attending the 4th grade of elementary school at Porto Seguro. It was the first time she would have contact with the German culture and its idiom.

3. Collor's financial plan as a significant interlink of biographical importance

In 1989, Fernando Collor de Melo became the new president in Brazil, and hyperinflation became a serious, problematic issue. This period was marked by higher unemployment, very low annual GDP growth rate and an increasing inflation rate in Brazil, which peaked at 764%; see JusBrasil (2010). The Collor plan⁴¹ combined fiscal and trade liberalization with radical inflation stabilization measures, and it ended up freezing 80% of individuals' private assets for 18 months. During this turbulent crisis in Brazil, Mary's father feared the crisis would have a devastating outcome and decided to leave Brazil immediately. Thus, he decided to leave for Portugal with the entire family. This was the first significant interlink of biographical importance for the incumbent. In addition, it represented the second episode leading to a loss of significant others. Mary had to leave the school she had dedicated years to get into. After she passed the admission test, she had to abruptly abandon the German school and unwillingly interrupt important social relationships with friends, classmates and family in Brazil. In Portugal, Mary's father opened a new business and she began attending a private German school in Lisbon. She had to cope with a language barrier in school, given that many classes were taught in German as a first language. After only a year, however, the third episode leading to a loss of significant others occurred. As the crisis was over, her family decided to return to Brazil in order to continue with the construction business. Once again, Mary had to abandon the social frame she was inserted into. The family came back to Sao Paulo and Mary returned to the Porto Seguro School. This caused problems for the informant, who had problems integrating and began experiencing social loneliness within the educational institution. She had difficulty associating with one of the groups in the school, a fact which she associates with traits of her personality, namely, being shy and reserved. It can be seen that Mary couldn't control the development of her biography for a long period of time and simply had to

⁴¹ The plan was announced on March 16, 1990, one day after Collor's inauguration. Its intended policies included replacing the existing currency, to freezing 80% of private assets for 18 months (receiving the prevailing rate of inflation plus 6% in interest while frozen), implement an extremely high tax on all financial transactions, eliminating of most fiscal incentives and a temporary freeze on wages and prices, among other measures; see JusBrasil (2010).

comply with her parents' decision, which had a serious inner development impact on the biography incumbent, who constantly had to deal with change, abandonment and reconstruction of social arenas. Also related to this schooling period, Mary self-assesses her school achievement very positively and demonstrates that she had always been an average student, interested in exact sciences. This assessment can also be related to a scene of biographical importance for the incumbent, in which once the director of the school she attended in Lisbon once told her she would have to improve her grades to study there. The informant still remembers this criticism, and this can be related to her desire for achievement as well, which is one of her basic orientations, more specifically, to dedicate, to commit and "not disappoint".

4. First biographical action scheme of the incumbent

The first intentional action scheme of the incumbent occurred when she decided to take a test that would allow her to do an exchange program in Germany which was offered by the private German high school she attended. It arose from a pure interest in culture, her desire to travel and a particular interest in the German language. It was the first apparent result of the cultural influence she had been under the influence of so far, and which had begun to form part of her identity development. However, this decision brought the second confrontation of the incumbent with a possible superimposed structural impediment. Mary passed this admission test, however, and went to Germany for a few months, experience which she evaluates the experience as fruitful and of possible impact on further career desires. The exchange program also triggered the informant's desire to work in Germany one day. To a certain extent, Germany had become a target in her biographical development, given that through the German culture she was exposed to in school she began identifying with the country, resulting in an inner desire to reach the utmost destination that Germany represented in her identity development within the German educational institutions she attended during her basic schooling.

5. Transition between educational levels and its super-imposed structural impediments

Mary returned to Brazil and was immediately exposed to an informational session about a possible educational pathway she could follow upon graduation from high school. IFPA School representatives went to Porto Seguro School and gave a presentation about its apprenticeships. The informant didn't seem to be interested and, very likely, due to an absence of

relevant socialization processes that highlighted this possibility as a regular, feasible one, she didn't perceive it, at the time, as a "natural" pathway. In addition, she was aware that it was not part of her primary post-high school educational aspiration of making a prompt vertical advancement, also in compliance with her parents' educational action scheme. A horizontal educational advancement, regardless of its structure, was simply not part of the biography incumbent's post-high school educational pathway. Moreover, the information was also obtained far too late during her decision making process; the presentation was only made in the last year of high school and, consequently, didn't leave enough time for a better consideration regarding this educational pathway.

At this point in her biography, the incumbent embarks on an institutional expectation pattern and her primary post-high school educational intention is to make a vertical advancement by accessing higher education. The informant, initially, is uncertain about a more specific occupational orientation, but confident about the fact that she would like to enter university. Implicitly, she is acknowledging her parents' educational scheme and will follow a more propaedeutic educational pathway, as expected of her. Accessing tertiary education is also influenced by a significant other, namely, her grandmother, with whom the incumbent lived for several years. Her grandmother was a well-educated woman that, due to her husband's old-fashion mindset, couldn't attend university. The incumbent perceives herself as a modern woman, from whom a propaedeutic educational pathway is expected, especially due to her biographical milieu. Mary was also heavily influenced by the perception of her father as a helpful vocational-biographical identity model and the contrast of professional achievement to her mother who hadn't concluded her post-high school vertical advancement by obtaining a higher education degree in her field of work. Hence, she began a preparatory course for a third confrontation with a possible superimposed structural impediment, namely, the higher education entrance examination at a public university. It's rather remarkable that she didn't set any self-chosen superimposed impediments to circumvent the potential outcome of not overcoming the abovementioned structural impediment, which hadn't been a problem hindering her biographical development up to that point. It draws one's attention that she didn't develop a fear of failure that could potentially lead to self-chosen impediments, which could mean a post-high school vertical educational advancement restriction. In any case, she decided she would like to a professional in the field of nutrition. This decision came from information the incumbent sought in different sources regarding professions. It appears to have

been a choice made on a balance between objective and subjective aspects. She had the freedom of choice, as long as this choice was related to higher education.

Nevertheless, she didn't pass the entrance exam and, given the "alternative-less" situation she found herself in, she decided she would continue dedicating to her primary post-high school educational objective of following a more propaedeutic educational pathway by making a vertical advancement, which was also in line with her parents' education as well as classmates' educational intentions. Mary initiated a second preparatory course for a fourth confrontation with potential superimposed structural impediments in her biographical development. Once again, she didn't pass the exam at a public university. This was the second structural hindrance she didn't overcome. Hence, after perceiving that the accomplishment of her primary first order post-high school educational aspiration of making a vertical advancement became endangered, Mary had to persuade her parents as to access a private university. Her parents would have to spend a great amount of money on tuition fees which wasn't their primary intention, given they had already provided the biography incumbent with high-quality basic schooling that could enable her to access an equally high-quality public university. This necessity led the incumbent to change her occupational orientation. This time Mary began majoring in architecture in a very expensive university in Sao Paulo. There is no doubt that her parents played a key role in this change. The major choice can be associated to two different aspects: (a) the influence of her mother who had also majored in architecture, and (b) the influence of her father who had had a construction business for a long time in Sao Paulo.

Once she began majoring at the private university, Mary could socially integrate well, and during her architecture studies appeared to be very included and enjoyed being at college.

6. The establishment of the contours of events: a financial constrain

The first semester of the incumbent in college marked the beginning of a trajectory for the entire family. Contours of events began with the deterioration of the construction company, which was the main source of income for the family. The business was on the verge of going bankrupt and drastic measures had to be made, which led to significant outcomes. The family was compelled to sell their house in order to pay for the construction business debts. A financial constraint process related to micro-conditions initiated and had two serious developments:

(a) Mary had to drop out of university because the tuition fee had become unplayable. It would be the second time in her biography she had to abandon an educational institution that she had struggled to access, after overcoming superimposed structural impediments. The biography incumbent had to abruptly stop pursuing her desired vertical educational advancement. (b) Her sister had to drop out of school, also, given that her parents couldn't afford a private school anymore.

The above-mentioned state of affairs represented the transitory end of an institutional expectation pattern in her biography. Mary dropped out of college and began experiencing the outcomes of this trajectory with the entire family. It was a period of profound irritation in her development for the reasons that the incumbent could barely comprehend the outcome of events and the financial deterioration process the family was undergoing, especially given their biographical and socioeconomic background. The situation also caused the establishment of new residential situation for all family members. The informant and her sisters moved in with their grandmother, whereas her parents went to live in a residence lent to them by a friend, on a provisory basis. This trajectory was also the period which marked doubts regarding identity development for the biography incumbent, who had to begin dealing with justifications for such a turn of events in her biographical development.

7. New biographical action scheme: restarting an institutional pattern

Mary stayed in Vitoria with her grandmother, who became a significant other in her biographical development. Mary's grandmother offered her help and began paying for a German course for her. She also obtained employment for the incumbent as a secretary in a healthcare facility, where she knew the doctors. The biography incumbent continued to experience social degradation and suddenly had to work in a profession considered of low prestige within her social world. The informant's grandmother also influenced her orientation. There seems to be a connection between her grandmother's attitude of being rather sparing and the later attitudes of the incumbent regarding financial matters. Naturally, Mary was also severely influence by a fear of reoccurrence of a trajectory she had already experienced in her biographical development.

Despite this entire dominant trajectory, the incumbent embarked on a new biographical action scheme and was willing to re-establish an institutional expectation pattern. She wanted to return to resume her post-high school vertical educational advancement as to obtain a higher education degree. Hence, Mary began trying to find alternatives that could enable her to further develop educationally and professionally. She was convinced she had to continue searching for a possibility to obtain a college degree and access the labor market. It was also the beginning of a creative metamorphosis of biographical identity for the biography incumbent, who had to begin dealing with outer changes and its inner impact on her development. Mary suddenly realized she would need to take back control of her life and would need to act on her own, without parental assistance, to reach her educational goals which would definitely steer her professional development away from undesired, low prestige occupations. Thus, Mary began working as a secretary in a clinic near where she resided with her grandmother. It represented a temporary measure, which entailed a very clear functional mechanism, namely to begin working in order to provide for her own existence, and also as a way of saving the necessary money that could enable her to pursue her primary post-high school aspirations of obtaining a higher education degree. This was the first work experience of the incumbent, and above all a positive one. Conceivably, given that she enjoyed doing her tasks in this job, she could have been unconsciously influenced in her decision to access the office clerk apprenticeship at IFPA later on.

8. Second biographical scheme intermingling with an institutional expectation pattern

After working as a secretary for eight months, Mary remembered the presentation she once had in the third year of high school. She decided to consider IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship as a feasible second order option, which could represent the mechanism that would eventually lead her to her primary post-high school educational goal. The informant perceived herself out of options and needed to seek qualification as to enter the labor market without a higher education degree. Therefore, she opted to make a post-high school horizontal educational advancement. In actuality, Mary was making a negative vertical advancement, going from an already achieved vertical advancement achievement back to secondary level VET in the subsequent modality. Yet IFPA was the opportunity she was looking for that could provide a pathway leading back to her primary post-secondary level educational intentions. In other words, it had a clear bridging functional mechanism. The dual system would

provide her with a qualification and a high chance of obtaining permanent employment upon graduation, which could enable Mary to continue in the labor market. It would also provide her with sufficient financial resources so as to continue a normal-life cycle development and also resume her post-high school vertical educational advancement by returning to a private university as to obtain a higher education degree. The following further aspects were also fundamental in the pathway leading the biography incumbent to decide in favor of a horizontal advancement: (a) Tuition fee paid by the company. (b) Access to the labor market during the acquisition of further qualification. (c) Receive an apprentice's salary that would be the provision necessary for her self-existence in Sao Paulo, and also a financial relief for her parents who couldn't support her financially any longer. (d) Being able to learn more German for the reason that the course it taught in the German language, a highly appreciated idiom by the informant, and which had also become part of her identity development, which was also related to the German culture. This seems to be a more subjective condition mentioned by the informant in relation to her choice to undergo IFPA's dual system apprenticeship.

Before embarking on her action scheme, the informant sought parental approval. However, they were against it, especially due to the location of the school in a more working class neighborhood. Moreover, her father was skeptical about IFPA and feared it would generate further costs. Yet, after long-winded explanations, she obtained their approval to return to Sao Paulo and there she began preparing for a fifth confrontation with potential superimposed structural impediments. Mary needed to prepare for the school's admission test. During the one year she had worked as a secretary at her father's business, she began studying and preparing for the test alone. Once again in her life, she was confronted with impediments that could inhibit her from carrying on with her educational aspirations within her biographical development. The informant was really determined and she saw IFPA as an opportunity as a bridge mechanism that would eventually assist her biographical development to normalize and re-initiate a dominant institutional expectation pattern.

9. Reestablishing an institutional expectation pattern: seeking professional qualification

Mary passed the admission test and began IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. She finally managed to find a way to continue searching for qualification, enter the labor market and impose no further expenses on her family. She was accepted by a multinational company and

started the block system in the office clerk apprenticeship and had two months of class at school and another three months of work at the company. It should be noted that she decided to undergo her dual system apprenticeship in a course that was completely unrelated to previous developed occupational orientations. It is plausible to assume that this choice was related to a fear of not overcoming the structural impediment represented by the admission test, given that IFPA and its dual system appeared to be an apparent last resort school track option, which could indeed entail a functional mechanism, while facilitating rationalization processes due to its distinctive structure.

The description of social frame within IFPA entails different apprentices belonging to the same social frame in which she was also inserted, composed by many apprentices from other German schools in Sao Paulo, some from the Southern regions of Brazil and also one girl from Paraguay. She perceived her development at work positively, demonstrating herself to be dedicated, committed and hard-working. Hence she was offered her permanent employment after she finished the dual system apprenticeship. However, the informant once again had problems regarding social contacts within IFPA. It can be observed that the perception she had of her own personality was crucial for her integration within different social frames. In addition, her rendering demonstrates a determined social segregation within the school which was divided into outsiders from the south and insiders from the private German schools of Sao Paulo.

As for the perception of others regarding IFPA as an educational pathway, the informant was also constantly asked about her educational pathway by other social actors. These contacts could also have perceived it as a non-natural educational pathway considering the biographical milieu of the incumbent, especially concerning her decision to undergo secondary level VET in the field of office clerk, which would essentially lead to a profession of low prestige among the social arenas that were part of her biographical development at the time. These circumstances have demanded constant need for a post-hoc rationalization process, even a mechanism used to protect her identity development. Not only was the entire family experiencing social and financial degradation, but the biography incumbent had made a negative vertical educational advancement and was undergoing an apprenticeship leading to an occupational orientation that other individuals in her social world couldn't comprehend.

10. First employment post-IFPA apprenticeship: resuming a biographical process

Mary began working in the financial planning department at a rather low salary, which she never complained about, due to a trait of her personality, being shy and reserved. It is also very likely due to the fear of reoccurrence that had been developed from the barely credible changes the financial constraint brought upon her family. This first employment enabled the incumbent to reestablish and resume her primary educational objective of making and concluding a vertical educational advancement. Mary was finally financially able to afford a private university, which she believed was needed in case she would like to climb the career ladder and develop professionally within the company. Moreover, her desire to access to university is also related to the meaning IFPA School had for the informant. Mary feared the school and its apprenticeship were not sufficiently well-known by other non-German companies that would possibly not recognize it later. It also draws one attention to the fact that she perceived it as obligation, unrelated to a subjective assessment associated to a personal self-fulfilling desire. She simply had to comply with determined societal and labor market expectations which played a crucial non-human event carrier role in this decision. Nevertheless, this first paid job led the incumbent to begin preparing for the sixth confrontation with a superimposed structural impediment in her biographical development. The informant embarked on an institutional expectation pattern and, after passing the entrance examination at PUC where she once had begun majoring in architecture, she began majoring in business administration, a new occupational orientation change in her biographical development. Her choice is clearly related to objective aspects such as her career at the company and to comply with expectations coming from the labor market. It appears to be unrelated to subjective aspects, and is absolutely dissimilar to the first orientation she had when she attempted to pass the entrance examination to major in food engineering at a public university. However, it must be said that this could have been influenced by her father, who majored in the exact same area and same university, and who had always been a helpful vocational-biographical identity model for the biography incumbent.

11. Dominant institution institutional expectation pattern after college

Mary graduated from college and began climbing the career ladder in the company. She firstly became a junior and later senior analyst in her field of expertise at the company. She also had

the opportunity to work abroad, something the informant had always desired and waited for, given that she had always enjoyed travelling and learning languages - aspects that were strengthened through her exchange program to Germany and also by her father who decided to enroll Mary in a bilingual school. She was offered a position in the USA, which she accepted. She even broke up with the boyfriend she was in a relationship with at the time to go to the USA, where she once again demonstrated some of her basic biographical orientations. In the USA she was dedicated, committed and “didn’t want to disappoint”. This dedication appears to be related to previous biographical difficulties, fear of reoccurrence and also her individuality. However, the experience of working abroad backfired due to the main traits of her personality, being shy and reserved. The informant began developing a sense of social loneliness, which immediately led to an action scheme. Mary focused and worked hard in the USA, but couldn’t establish social contacts. This was the second time she couldn’t find her place within a social frame, as it had already happened when the family returned from Lisbon and she began attending Porto Seguro once again. This social loneliness made her give up her dream of working abroad and she decided she had to return to Brazil. She contacted HR at Krupp in Brazil and eventually they found a position for her there. Upon returning, the informant began having difficulties to adapt in Brazil again, and although at this point in her biography, she had the social contacts needed, but the professional aspect had substantially deteriorated. Hence, she decided to leave Krupp to begin working with her father in this new construction business, which is where she still works today. Again she believes she has been acting very responsibly, being very committed and dedicated at work.

In a reflective manner, it is possible to observe the discrepancy between the perception of the story carrier in the strict sense and narrator. Mary’s perception of IFPA is very positive and associated to potential students who will be successful in their professional career. The informant also compares IFPA and other regular secondary level VET schools in Brazil by clearly attempting to point out their difference, a rationalization that indicates a determined level of cognitive dissonance in her development as well. Her perception of general secondary level VET is negative and associated to SENAI and socioeconomically unprivileged individuals who don’t speak foreign languages and attended public elementary and high schools and will do the manual work. Whereas IFPA is associated to apprentices who will become managers or directors and they will do the non-manual work. However, IFPA also belongs to secondary level VET (subsequent modality), a fact which is not directly acknowledged by the informant

so as to avoid any incongruity in her decision. All in all, the informant is currently in a moratorium, evaluating whether her current professional situation is adequate and if she will succeed in this challenge. Otherwise she may go back to working at a multinational company. Hence, it can be observed that the dominant biographical process in her current biographical development is the institutional expectation pattern. IFPA School and its dual system have considerably altered the biographical development of the biography incumbent, professionally and educationally. Mary was able to accomplish and use the functional mechanism she associated IFPA School to obtain permanent employment, even abroad, and was able to further develop within a multinational company. In addition, she is fully aware that she possesses the necessary requirements to promptly change the course of her professional development, in case her current enterprise does not work out. As a result, IFPA was not only a bridging mechanism, but it also can be seen as a crucial event carrier in her post-VET developments.

6.6 The reconstructed “gestalt” of the overall biographical structuring of Jessica Mai

IFPA’s dual system training as a second order educational pathway due to a lack of offer regarding primary post-high school educational aspiration, loss of occupational orientation, and educational margin reduction through financial constraint

1. Preliminary aspects of the informant’s biography

Jessica was born in a small German colony in the south of Brazil. The informant has two siblings and her family comes from a socio-economically underprivileged background. The informant’s mother tongue is Portuguese, but she has learned the German Swabia dialect at home as well, given that her grandparents are German immigrants from the Swabian region in Germany. Jessica attended elementary and high school at a private school located in her hometown, which she could only attend due to a scholarship she received from the local agricultural co-operative that owned the school.

Upon graduating from high school, Jessica underwent IFPA’s office clerk dual system apprenticeship in the block system modality, in which she attended the school for two months and the company for three months in cycles during a period of two years. The practical part of her apprenticeship was done at a leading German auto and truck parts manufacturing compa-

ny in Sao Paolo, too. After concluding IFPA's apprenticeship, Jessica accessed a private university in Sao Paolo where she majored in marketing. At present, she has been waiting for a position at the agricultural co-operative in the German colony where she was born and raised.

2. The incumbent's family milieu and her childhood developments

Regarding the informant's family milieu, it should be pointed out that Jessica has close ties with German culture. The informant's maternal and paternal grandparents came from the Swabia region, located in southwestern Germany, after the Second World War in 1951. They came to the state of Parana, to a location named Bom Principio, where they helped in founding a Germany colony in the region which until the present day still hasn't emancipated from the municipal district.

Upon arrival in Brazil, Jessica's grandparents received a piece of land where they could begin working in agriculture for their self-existence and also for commercialization because they had to pay a small amount of money for these properties. It was during this time that her grandfather along with other farmers decided to create an agricultural co-operative within their German colony so that all farmers could pool their resources and sell their produce in the market. This co-operative had an enormous impact on the informant's biography as an important non-human event carrier. Moreover, the culture brought by the grandparents to Brazil played a fundamental role in the identity development of the biography incumbent, who strongly associates with the German culture which is widespread in the colony where she was born and raised.

All in all, the informant's grandparents are vital significant others in her biography and have always had an intense proximity to Jessica. The informant's parents met in the German colony as they belonged to the same group of friends, and both have a very low level of education. Her mother finished elementary school and her father only attended elementary school until the fourth grade. He dropped out of school because he had to help providing for the family through his work on the family farm and also worked with the agricultural co-operative. A few years after her parents married, Jessica was born in Bom Principio, where her family still resides, at the only hospital in the German colony.

During the first years of her childhood, Jessica lived in a one-dormitory house with her parents and two siblings. The family could only move to a bigger house with direct financial assistance from her grandfather. Despite the constant financial constraints, the informant's childhood can be described as a joyful period in her biographical development. Jessica was immersed in the German culture of her colony, and she had several friends and family members at the same location. Her mother was a homemaker and her father worked as a farmer, which was the family's main source of income. The family has always experienced financial constraints and constantly had struggled and depended on the informant's grandparents for financial assistance. This serious lack of money was the main reason for recurrent arguments in the home concerning daily expenses.

The informant began attending the only kindergarten of the German colony at the age of four and later attended a private elementary and high school located inside their colony. As mentioned above, the interviewee and her two sisters studied at this school on a scholarship that was granted to them by the agricultural co-operative that owned the school, given that her father also worked for the co-operative. In school, Jessica had the opportunity to learn *Hochdeutsch*, for at home she learned the Swabia dialect. The school had an important representative role for the parents. They wanted the children to learn the grammatically correct language of the culture they belonged to, and which should be passed on to their children in the next generation. It should be noticed that Jessica's parents developed an educational action scheme for the incumbent based rather on the further development of her identity in relation to the German culture. The informant's experience of attending a private school in the German colony was very positively assessed due to different aspects: (a) It offered several extracurricular activities, which only helped in fostering a sense of social integration for the incumbent; (b) The school has a curriculum aimed at the inhabitants of the German colony which is focused on reinforcing its local culture, which intensively assisted the incumbent in shaping her identity; (c) The educational institution had German teachers who helped with the students' German language command, and which also fostered the incumbent's sense of cultural identification; (d) The informant appeared to be intrinsically motivated to attend school, demonstrating a satisfactory achievement and also being a dedicated, committed student.

The preservation of the culture within the colony is very important for the biography incumbent and the other actors of this social arena. Therefore, the informant was exposed to several

customs and cultural aspects that she intends to pass on to her children, including the Swabia dialect. Jessica openly identifies with the culture of her German colony, which served as the basis for her identity and for the overall shaping of her biographical development. Jessica has always demonstrated having difficulties in detaching herself from this German colony, and even being away for a few weeks was already challenging. All in all, she appeared to have had a childhood of intense social integration with friends and classmates, filled with various activities and contentment. The only downside was a constant financial constraint that considerably affected this period of her biography.

3. Following an institutional expectation pattern upon high school graduation

The informant had the dream of entering university to major in journalism, which was a clear occupational orientation she wished to follow based on a personal choice focused on a self-fulfilling vocation. Jessica refers to constant scenes of biographical importance during her childhood, including seeing journalists on television and playing with friends, which increased her desire to develop a career in this area. Nonetheless, a concatenation of circumstances eliminated any chance of following her primary occupational orientation: (a) there was a limited higher education offer within her residential location. There was only one public university located near the German colony and it didn't offer the course of journalism; (b) the constant financial constraint of the family impeded opting for a private university and also accessing another public university located further away from the German colony. She would have to attend university on a full-time schedule which would prevent her from working and her parents weren't financially capable of financing her studies elsewhere.

Nonetheless, Jessica's primary post-high school educational aspiration was rather clear. She wished to make a vertical educational advancement by accessing a public university. The only downside was that she would have to opt for another occupational orientation, given that she was impeded to major in journalism due to the abovementioned hindrances. Hence, the informant was compelled to intentionally establish an alternative educational plan in her biography at the time, but equally aimed at making a vertical educational advancement.

There was no apparent trait indicating that Jessica wished to make a prompt post-high school horizontal educational advancement by undergoing secondary level VET in the subsequent

modality. Jessica did the entrance examination at the public university located near the German colony. The informant overcame a potential superimposed structural impediment by passing the entrance examination. However, this higher education institution offered a very limited range of courses and the informant was admitted to study languages, which she considered to be somewhat related to journalism since it involved language, reading and writing. Despite being admitted, the biography incumbent wasn't openly willing to act upon this second order occupational orientation. It wasn't her vocational objective for she would like to become a journalist and not a language teacher. Therefore, the meaning of this action scheme concerning her educational pathway had a clear meaning for the incumbent. It only served as a last resort alternative that could provide her with an apparent necessary higher education degree, in case she couldn't find another route to major in journalism as she desired. In other words, she would at least be able to accomplish her primary post-high school aspiration of making a prompt vertical educational advancement.

4. A biographical action scheme leading to a desired educational pathway

Given that the informant wasn't willing to major in languages, and the option of undergoing another regular vocational course at secondary level wasn't even considered for the reason that the incumbent believed it wouldn't provide her with any kind of distinctiveness and that she would only have a short trade course qualification that wouldn't help her later professionally, she kept trying to find an alternative for the development of her educational pathway that would lead to a determined occupation. The biography incumbent experienced a loss of occupational orientation and was undergoing a process of indecision regarding a determined orientation. At this point in Jessica's biography, an institutional expectation pattern was eclipsed with a biographical action scheme. During the last year of high school, a scene of biographical importance presented an alternative that appeared to be feasible and depended exclusively on her effort. The informant overheard a teacher providing another student with information about IFPA. This scene is still vivid in the memory of the informant as it represented the beginning of a considerable turn in her biographical development. IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship, within a post-high school horizontal educational advancement, presented itself as a potential alternative for the biography incumbent due to different motives: (a) The lack of an offer regarding her primary post-high school educational aspiration near the informant's place of residence; (b) Financial independence through an apprentice's salary; (c)

The possibility of studying elsewhere, far from the German colony with the assistance of a source of income provided by the company; (d) A financial relief for the parents who wouldn't need to disburse the tuition fees which were paid by the company, and also they would have one less person at home generating further expenses; (e) Further acquiring German language command. The informant wished to use her German skills in a profession she would have one day in life. In addition, it was a way to continue developing her identity in close relation to German culture; (f) IPFA School and its dual system apprenticeship represented a functional mechanism providing the biography incumbent with a bridging mechanism enabling her to accomplish her primary post-high school educational aspiration of accessing higher education so as to major in an area related to an adequate assessment of a determined occupational orientation leading to a self-fulfilling vocation.

It can be observed that undergoing secondary level VET in the subsequent modality was rather a second order option for the biography incumbent, and Jessica never assumed the dual system wouldn't have to be compulsorily followed by a vertical educational advancement. Yet, making a decision in relation to IPFA would involve accepting postponing and temporarily suppressing a primary post-high school aspiration, and it would also mean leaving significant others behind and terminating important relationships.

The informant met her boyfriend in the German colony in the last year of high school, and attending IPFA meant abruptly ending this relationship which had been going on for only six months. In addition, she would leave the culture she so strongly associated herself with, and would have to face the unknown in a huge metropolis, far away from parental care. Nevertheless, this appeared to be an educational pathway offering the conditions she wanted and also needed due to a concatenation of circumstances. The informant was also encouraged by another significant other in her biography, her sister, who had also left their German colony to attend university in Germany, where she lives and works today. The informant's sibling served as a biographical identity model, demonstrating that it was feasible to leave the German colony, but that individual effort was necessary to achieve it. She was also responsible for a direct influence on the biography incumbent considering that it was expected of her to make a post-high school vertical educational advancement, referring to it as the "natural" pathway to be pursued. Thus, it is important to bear in mind that IPFA's dual system apprenticeship had only a temporary functional mechanism representation for Jessica, who would in

due course access higher education and follow a determined occupational orientation, and it would by no means be focused on becoming a secretary.

Accordingly, Jessica decided to embark on an intermingled biographical process and established an action scheme as part of an institutional expectation pattern. She enrolled, prepared for and passed IFPA's admission test, and was accepted by a company in Sao Paulo. Jessica sought and was admitted to undergo the office clerk dual system apprenticeship due to two different reasons: (a) a more subjective one focused on the desire to improve her German language command, which she identified with and which was part of her identity development. In addition, it would be useful in her profession later; (b) another motive related to a fear of not being admitted at IFPA which, as a result, could culminate in a very restricted educational pathway margin. Therefore, Jessica opted for a course that had fewer candidates than vacancies available. The informant made the decision to access a VET course in an area she wasn't personally interested in for the reason that she openly conveys - she wasn't interested in obtaining qualification in order to pursue a career as a secretary. Jessica's action scheme is based on anticipation of a threatening outcome, rather than as a consistent part of a vocational biographical plan. This attitude has also had significant impact on her biographical development. Due to a fear of failure and also a concatenation of impediments (financial constraint and a restricted offer), the informant chose an apprenticeship course leading to a profession she did not identify herself with, and which did not foster a vocational orientation.

Jessica had solid parental support regarding her decision to move to Sao Paulo to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship. She was supported by her parents and could always return to her colony if she didn't adapt to life in Sao Paulo. However, the beginning was very overwhelming for the incumbent. Jessica had to move to a huge metropolis and this created a very difficult transition in her biography. The informant's lack of financial resources helped in deteriorating this initial situation as well. She couldn't go back to visit her family due to a very tight budget and the absence of parental financial help. The informant began developing a sense of social loneliness which could only be resolved by finding an appropriate residential condition in Sao Paulo. Two other former classmates from Bom Principio came to Sao Paulo and they all moved in together to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship there. The experience of living in the dormitories during the apprenticeship fostered social companionship and avoided any intensification of a sense of social loneliness. It was a period of emotional difficulty, however, and

Jessica considered dropping out of IFPA and returning to Bom Princípio several times. Thus, this period initiated a creative metamorphosis of biographical identity. Jessica relates this period to personal changes that came through a variety of commitments she began having while living in São Paulo, such as dealing with her own finances, taking care of her daily routine, being away from parental care and being responsible for her own decisions.

The meaning associated by the informant to the apprenticeship she underwent at this educational institution is a mechanism used to achieve further educational and professional objectives, a transitional educational stage in her biography that didn't mean the acquisition of an occupation and that wouldn't turn into a life-long profession. Jessica perceives IFPA as a demanding trade course that provides a comprehensive knowledge and preparation for the labor market. However, she also sees it as insufficient qualification in a Brazilian context, as a mere complement to a mandatory, alternative-less higher education degree. The informant assumes the school has a good reputation in the labor market and that it has also assisted her to succeed in her professional development. However, it is limited to a trade course that only served as the initial step in her educational pathway that could eventually lead to upward mobility. Furthermore, more specifically about the course itself, the informant evaluates positively the job rotation characteristic of the dual system apprenticeship. It served as an important instrument providing the opportunity to obtain a systemic view of the company, an enhanced understanding of the entire production process and also the development of several social contacts within different departments, which strengthened the bond between the apprentice and the company. On the other hand, the informant also evaluates different points rather negatively: (1) a clear social segregation observed in the educational institution. The more socio-economically privileged apprentices didn't appear to mingle with the more underprivileged ones coming from German colonies. Jessica felt awkward because it didn't seem to be a social arena where she should be, which also made adaptation difficult; (2) the relationship with the teachers at IFPA is perceived ambivalently by the informant. Some teachers' lack of cultural awareness and an apparent self-imposed barrier that inhibited them from learning about the Brazilian culture could be observed by the incumbent, who saw an enormous clash of cultures between Brazilian apprentices and German teachers, and which made daily routine difficult at times; (3) A criticism and fear regarding future employability. The informant feared her future employability for the reason that the trade course was very focused on the German labor market. When she would have to search for employment in Brazil after finishing IFPA, in case the company

didn't hire her upon graduation from her dual system apprenticeship, she feared not being prepared for the Brazilian labor market. This was another motive that accumulated to the biography incumbent's desire to make a subsequent vertical educational advancement in Brazil.

Interestingly, despite the informant's socio-economic background, she was also constantly asked by other social actors about her decision to undergo a vocational course at secondary level. In a reflective manner, it is possible to observe through a comparison made by the informant and a constant attempt to rationalize her educational choice that a determined level of cognitive dissonance occurred in her development as well, and it can be noticed in the informant's confrontation with her social world regarding IFPA. Jessica had to use a set of arguments that could convince them it was an appropriate educational decision. It becomes clear that these individuals perceived it as an incongruent action and they expected the incumbent to make a post-high school vertical educational advancement. Actually, the informant also had the same perception, which can be observed in her rendering and self-theoretical commentaries regarding general secondary level VET in Brazil. Jessica considers entering university an alternative-less educational pathway in the Brazilian context and that without it one may incredibly limit a successful career in the labor market. In addition, and this is perhaps the most out of the ordinary aspect of all, the informant perceived that VET is aimed at the more socio-economically unprivileged individuals who don't have a high income and seek this type of secondary level VET so as to be able to enter the labor market and provide for their families. She also assumes that individuals avoid this educational pathway in Brazil and that trade courses have a negative reputation, being essentially aimed at individuals who already have a family and do not have the opportunity to attend college and therefore seek a more propaedeutic educational pathway.

Jessica also sees trade courses as a very poorly recognized qualification that does not lead to a solid professional development. The consonant components presented by the informant as arguments defending her educational choice were: IFPA can offer you a qualification in another language, which turns it into an exclusory educational program; (b) One can receive an apprentice's salary, which represents financial independence and relief for the parents; One has direct and immediate access to the labor market, which can enable one to acquire a profession and potentially permanent employment upon graduation, which may enable one to

obtain the necessary financial means to be able to afford a vertical educational advancement within a private higher education institution.

Moreover, Jessica uses post-hoc rationalizations to justify that IFPA has a positive image and its apprentices usually obtain positions in the labor market. However, it is important to bear in mind that IFPA also belongs to secondary level VET (subsequent modality), a fact which is not directly acknowledged by the informant so as to avoid any incongruity in her decision.

5. Accessing higher education and encountering an occupational orientation:

The biography incumbent finished IPFA's apprenticeship and continued a normal life cycle pattern. The informant was hired to work as secretary for the director of the company in Sao Paulo, who later became the president of the company and offered Jessica the possibility to keep on working for him. The informant went on growing professionally in the company where she did the practical part of her dual system apprenticeship. This ascension enabled the informant to obtain the necessary financial means to access and finance higher education. IFPA played its functional mechanism role and she could finally make the already aspired alternative-less post-high school vertical educational advancement, especially due to the fact that the financial constraint aspect was no longer an issue. As Jessica was then able to pay for a private college, she began majoring in marketing in Sao Paulo.

It can be observed that her primary occupational orientation of becoming a journalist was no longer an objective within Jessica's biographical development. The informant, based on an objective assessment of the labor market, no longer wanted to major in this due to a fear of future employability, for she assumed that there was a saturation of these professionals in the labor market and job offers were limited. As for the motives leading the informant to seek the marketing course, the following aspects can be pointed out: the influence of the dual system apprenticeship, which provided the informant with work orientation. During her apprenticeship, Jessica began perceiving the possibility of working for multinationals; She didn't want to follow a career as a secretary, a profession of low prestige that wouldn't lead to an upward mobility, and instead wanted to follow an occupational orientation that could be considered and regarded as distinctive; (c) The informant participated in many marketing events while attending IFPA's apprenticeship and they triggered her interest in the area. The exposure to

the marketing area in these events led her to seek a private university in Sao Paulo and begin majoring in the area, which also demonstrates and confirms that Jessica never underwent IFPA's apprenticeship to make a professional career as a secretary. It was an important mechanism leading to further educational opportunities that could then aid her to follow a vocation more oriented on a balance between subjective and objective considerations.

Jessica sought a private university for the reason that many public universities in Brazil offer full-time higher education courses that can't be attended by those individuals who need to work as to provide for their self-existence. As for the motives that led her to access higher education, it can be mentioned that: (a) the informant defends it is an alternative-less educational pathway for those who want to grow professionally, which demonstrates the influence of the labor market as a crucial non-human event carrier; (b) Due to a fear regarding future employability. The informant was concerned about leaving the company where she did her dual system apprenticeship. It would mean applying at other companies that perhaps wouldn't recognize or accept her IFPA certificate; (c) Due to the influence of other actors within her social arenas at the time, given that the vast majority of her classmates at work had or was obtaining a college degree; (d) Because of the image trade courses have in Brazil, according to the informant. She feared it wouldn't be sufficient in the labor market and that she was compelled to enter university.

As it can be observed, IFPA played a key role in the informant's educational development, professionally and educationally. It served as a crucial source of income that could enable her to finance a private university and make a subsequent vertical educational advancement. In addition, it provided her with work orientation and relevant professional experiences that assisted her in developing a new occupational orientation that in due time replace her desire to become a journalist.

6. Matrimonial union and its impact on biographical development of the incumbent

Jessica continued following an institutional expectation pattern within a normal cycle life. She married her then boyfriend, which generated further changes in the development of her biography. The informant left the company where she underwent her apprenticeship. After working for this company for four years, her husband, who had also undergone IFPA's apprentice-

ship, was offered a job in Germany and they left together and went to Hamburg. The informant worked for another company in Germany too, an opportunity which she associates with IFPA as the genesis for her professional achievement and development.

While in Germany, Jessica also began perceiving VET differently. The German context and the socialization processes experienced in Germany made the incumbent develop a basic knowledge that enabled her to establish a comparison between vocational training in Brazil and Germany. In several self-theoretical commentaries the informant assumes that in Germany trade courses are well received and even seen as worthy as a college degree, whereas in Brazil it is seen as an inferior educational modality aimed at those who won't access higher education. This also developed another fear regarding future employability. The informant is skeptical about individuals having the same qualification in Brazil, which is forcing her to follow this societal pressure and will eventually lead her to seek further educational levels. The interviewee also began noticing that the confrontation with her social world was rather different. She no longer had to rationalize to explicate her educational pathway choice, which she perceived as fully accepted and valid. It undoubtedly demonstrates that the cognitive dissonance process undergone by the informant depends on a cultural, socio-economic context and also the educational system of the country. The informant lived for five years in Germany and assesses this period very positively. One of the most important events related to her grandparents. Jessica visited the region where they came from in Germany. She could see the town where they were born, and the house they lived in before going to Brazil. It made the informant even more aware that she wished to maintain the values of the culture that was brought to Brazil by her grandparents. This event helped to reinforce the identity developed by the incumbent in her biographical development. Jessica returned to Brazil and continued following an already dominant normal cycle life pattern in the colony. Jessica's wish to preserve the culture that shaped her identity resulted in a decision: The informant and her husband decided to leave Germany and return to Brazil. Jessica returned to her place of origin to work there and found a family. After returning to Brazil, Jessica also transferred her major to a university in the state where she currently resides and where the German colony is located. She is currently attending the last necessary courses to graduate.

7. Dominant biographical process in the biography of the incumbent

The key condition for the informant to return to her German colony in the south of Brazil was that she could obtain employment there, but not on an agricultural basis. Thus, they only returned after her husband was offered a position to work at the agricultural co-operative, the same one her grandfather had helped founding several years ago. Currently, Jessica is also waiting for a position there. It can be observed the importance of this non-human event carrier in the biographical development of the incumbent. This institution provided financially for her grandparents and parents' existence, provided her with the possibility to attend a private school where she learned German, (an essential pre-requisite to accessing IFPA), and it was also where she was exposed to information about the vocational school. Later, it played another key role in her life, given that it enabled her return to the Germany colony as to continue with the culture upon which she developed her identity.

The informant is currently following an already dominant institutional expectation pattern in her biography. She is going to re-start college for she still needs to finish a few courses before graduating and she intends to have a child soon as well. The overall development of the incumbent's biography is heavily related to her identity development, which was in turn heavily influenced by the socialization processes lived in the German colony where she was born and raised. IFPA was a fundamental mechanism used by the informant to achieve an educational level that would not only resolve any dissonance, but also comply with societal expectations and resolve her fear regarding future employability. In other words, her vocational education was used as an elevator scheme providing a bridging mechanism to her primary post-high school educational aspiration of making a prompt vertical educational advancement within an occupational orientation based on a self-fulfilling assessment.

6.7 The reconstructed “gestalt” of the overall biographical structuring of John Taylor

IFPA’s dual system training as educational pathway as a second order horizontal educational advancement to not overcome superimposed structural impediments and influence of significant others

1. Preliminary aspects of the informant’s biography

John was born in Sao Paulo, Brazil, and has one younger sibling. He attended a small private elementary school for four years, and then he entered a private German school in Sao Paulo, where he finished elementary and also graduated from high school. John underwent IFPA’s logistics dual system apprenticeship in the block system modality; two weeks at school and three weeks at work. The practical part of his apprenticeship was done at HS (a leader in container shipping lines) in Sao Paulo. After concluding IFPA’s apprenticeship, John accessed tertiary education. He is currently doing a master’s degree in political sciences in Germany.

2. The incumbent’s family milieu and his childhood developments

John comes from a middle class family background. However, one of the central issues in his biography is a clash of socioeconomic classes within his family, which essentially constituted two distinct social arenas in his biography. The incumbent’s father is from Sao Paulo and is a descent of Italian immigrants, coming from a wealthy and traditional family. His mother’s family, on the other hand, is from the northeast part of Bahia, one of the poorest regions of Brazil, and she has nine siblings. She came to Sao Paulo with her parents and siblings, initially due to her father’s trajectory of illness. Nevertheless, the family remained in the huge metropolis in an attempt to achieve upward mobility. The informant’s parents play different roles in their relationship with John. His mother is a clear life-counseling role-model, whereas his father is the provider who supports John’s objectives, but who is also more distant and not open to discuss determined issues, and is a teacher-role reference for the informant. The informant’s parents have an academic history; they met during a preparatory course for the higher education entrance examination. His father majored in economy, and his mother began majoring in mathematics but dropped out. The informant’s mother worked for a popular airline in Brazil for 28 years, and his father has worked for a chemical company for 32 years where

nowadays he is a consultant. John was born eight years after his parents married and his brother two years after his birth.

The incumbent's first elementary school was a small private one located near the family's residence in Sao Paolo. John attended this school from pre-school until the 4th grade of elementary school. Even though the informant depicts a harmonious atmosphere at the educational establishment, it was also a source for irritation for the incumbent. John was constantly enquired after by his wealthy cousins, some whose parents were millionaires, the reasons that led him to attend that small and unpopular school. This led John to constantly having to rationalize and explain the educational choice made by his family. It was certainly a source for frustration, given that his cousins attended the most expensive private schools in Sao Paolo. It is to be noticed that there is an apparent social segregation within the family and the informant felt awkward and ashamed when confronting other social actors of this privileged socioeconomic background. The biography incumbent had to permanently confront and deal with two social worlds in his biographical development, respectively, a more socioeconomically unprivileged context related to his mother's family and a more privileged to his father's. Basically, John had difficulties moving between these two social arenas. It might have been challenging for the identity development of the incumbent who seemed to be confused and irritated about this segregation within his family. John ended up developing a sense of unfairness and frustration because he had to constantly explain an educational decision he didn't make. In addition, the informant might also have questioned himself about the need for his rationalizations on the decision essentially made by his parents. He had to cope with social segregation within his own family. The informant's father didn't accept his mother's family origin and social class, which also triggered the development of a sense of unfairness and irritation in the incumbent. In all probability, the informant's father had the same difficulties confronting his own social world in relation to his wife's social origin and other people's lack of acceptance or perception of social class incongruence.

Nevertheless, after fourth grade, the informant's family's educational scheme became even more evident. John's parents wished to send him to another school that could provide him with a wider range of educational pathways post-secondary level which could be potentially restricted by superimposed structural impediments or even self-imposed ones. This meant he would have, for the first time, to confront potential superimposed structural impediments in

his biography. The incumbent, at age ten, was forced to begin a battery of admission tests to enter a private German school in Sao Paulo (these schools usually select their students through admission tests and many have waiting lists). The informant passed the admission test and was admitted at Humboldt School, a private German elementary and high school. This educational institution was part of the informant's parents' educational action scheme for they were aware it essentially offered the informant with three different post-high school educational pathway possibilities: he could undergo IFPA's dual system apprenticeship, he could do his *Abitur* (which is offered by the private German school in the same curriculum and structure offered in Germany) in order to access a university in Germany, or he could do the higher education entrance examination as to access universities in Brazil.

The informant was against studying at this school, because he was concerned about the neighborhood and the appearance of the school buildings, which could also be associated to a panic syndrome the informant developed in his biography during this time. Yet, John's parents saw it as a chance to widen post-high school possibilities, and also provide the informant with a high quality high school that could prepare him for a more propaedeutic pathway. At first, the investment would generate high costs, which could later be compensated by entering a public university. The informant's family's educational scheme is an evident repetition of his parent's educational pathway development; they also attended high school, did a preparatory course and then accessed higher education. IFPA School and its dual apprenticeship remained as a last resort option, in case a prompt post-high school vertical educational advancement became unfeasible or temporarily unachievable.

In the new private German school, a new social arena began making part of John's biography. It became a source for confusion for the informant as well for two different reasons: (a) The location of the school, in a poorer neighborhood of Sao Paulo, created an initial fear due to an apparent clash of social classes. The informant even began developing a level of fear and anxiety that became a serious problem later. A brief trajectory arose in the informant's development. The informant's fear of this location among others as well, a fear of being robbed, and a fear of the urban violence surrounding him, grew considerably in intensity and John began suffering from panic attacks. (b) A clear socioeconomic difference between the incumbent and the other social actors of this social world became a source for irritation and confusion regarding his identity development. John began perceiving himself in a social arena he was

unsuited to. Despite the family's financial situation, the informant couldn't keep pace with the majority in terms of ostentation because his parents simply couldn't afford it. Moreover, the incumbent suffered prejudice in school due to his mother's origin. His classmates questioned and commented on the origins of his mother, a significant other of very close proximity and importance for the informant, and John became very defensive and confused whenever having to deal with it. John felt guilty because he couldn't defend his counselor and, at the same time, it helped foster a perception of being unsuited to that social arena, thereby impacting his social identity as well. This had an impact on the informant's social acceptance and integration in school, which can be depicted as a social loneliness. This was also reinforced through the informant's residential location and parental protection. The family lived in a small residence in a huge district of Sao Paulo where John didn't actually have the opportunity to make new friends in all probability due to parental protection. This combination of factors inhibited socialization and the construction of relationships to significant others such as friends, peers and classmates, which led the informant to develop a sense of social loneliness. The informant could socially integrate on weekends, though. His parents owned a little house in a countryside town of Sao Paulo, where John was allowed to be outside and socialize. This countryside town became John's social loneliness island, where he could without any fear or inhibition integrate and establish the social contacts he lacked in his neighborhood and at school in Sao Paulo. In addition to the confrontation with other students at school, John also had to constantly rationalize with his cousins, who didn't perceive him as a socioeconomically congruent individual within the family. It can be clearly observed that John permanently had to justify choices and motives to explicate his family's socioeconomic status as well as origin.

3. Important event carriers in the biography of the incumbent

Towards the end of high school, John met Max in school, who became a crucial event carrier in his biographical development. Max, who is depicted by the informant as a rather rebellious individual who didn't care for material things, suffered a lot of prejudice at school because he identified himself with the punk subculture, and whose self-theoretical commentaries were closely related to humanistic views. He entered the private German school and couldn't integrate and the informant was the one who decided to help and become friends with him. This individual appears to have mirrored the development of the informant in his life history, which could help determining the motive John felt that he should help solve this individual's

social segregation problem. It can be seen that John borrowed self-theoretical approaches from Max and also sympathized with the exclusion he was undergoing at school, which John had also experienced. This seems to have been a very relevant peak of concatenations in John biography. He began undergoing a metamorphosis of biographical identity. The informant began clearly realizing the social segregation within his family, the prejudice of his cousins, and the lack of acceptance regarding his mother's origin at school, his social loneliness and, as a mechanism, he also began focusing on a negative perception associated to the other actors of this social arena. This was a turning point in John biographical development. He began associating his identity development to a socialist, humanistic perception. It wasn't only a friendship. It was also a social relationship that mirrored the biographical developments of the incumbent who felt connected and associated to Martin. Another non-human event carrier also influenced the informant's attitude during this period of time. A crisis between his parents, an event which nearly led to divorce, marked the end of a determined attitude and led to subsequent changes. The informant's mother demanded better treatment from her family, regardless of their class and origin. This was an important episode opening the possibility for the incumbent to establish a closer relationship to his mother's family. Moreover, John began working as a volunteer in an association, an NGO. It might also have been an influence for the need the incumbent had to care for equality and the elimination of any segregation. The idea to work for this institution came from a vital significant other influence in John's biography, an individual named Rob. He was the president of the institution, and an individual that had always worked with politics and social projects. Rob's self-theoretical approaches were borrowed by the informant who let it influence his identity development as well.

4. The transition between educational levels and its super-imposed impediments

John finished high school and he was confronted with the decision of which pathway to follow thereafter. John began pondering the extension of his educational pathway margin. As he hadn't attended a German high school, he couldn't enter university in Germany. Nonetheless, he was sure he wished to make a prompt vertical educational advancement by accessing higher education after high school. Even though the informant demonstrated traits of indecision, he had a determined occupational orientation at this time. John wished to major in journalism at a public university, which was also in line with his parents' educational action scheme. The

informant demonstrated interest in writing and international reportage, which was added to his interest in geography at school.

This combination of factors led John to seek work orientation in journalism as to attest whether it would be an appropriate occupational orientation. Thus, John did a one week internship at a famous TV channel in Sao Paulo, which only served to confirm his intentions should become an objective. The incumbent established a plan to achieve his educational goal. He signed up for the entrance examination to major in the area. However, the informant didn't overcome this superimposed structural impediment, which impeded him from following this intentionally desired educational pathway. The informant was very disappointed and was compelled to immediately reestablish his subsequent alternatives.

5. IFPA's dual system apprenticeship as an alternative pathway

John's mother's influential role became evident during this transition. She encouraged John to seek more information about IFPA School, which was from the very beginning an alternative pathway his private German school offered and his parents were aware of. In other words, John didn't have to seek parental approval. These are identifiable conditions that have led the informant to seek this apprenticeship modality: (a) John didn't overcome superimposed structural impediments to access a public university within a vertical educational advancement, which restricted his post-high school educational pathway margin. It also inhibited him from accomplishing his first order educational objective of accessing higher educational to major in journalism, an occupational orientation he had already developed based on subjective assessment of his interests. Undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship was a clear second order choice. (b) It was an alternative within his parents' educational action scheme for the incumbent. His mother's influence became very clear during this period of time and she was in favor of undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship. Very likely her previous biographical processes were also considered, even if unconsciously, when influencing John to seek this educational modality that leads one to an immediate access to the labor market. (c) The informant would receive an apprentice's salary that would help in providing a financial independence. This was also very likely influenced by a constant financial educational taught by his mother, who also in all probability reinforced to John the difficulties she underwent as a child in the northeast of Brazil. (d) Due to a basic biographical orientation of the incumbent. John defines himself as a

pragmatic person. He is keen on solving problems and challenges in an agile way, and is always searching for alternative pathways. In addition, he appears to be an individual that is more direct in dealing with real things. John only superficially sought information about IFPA prior to the decision to sign up for the admission test. It appears that his choice was a very quickly made second-order alternative, which occurred under pressure and heavily influenced by significant others. (e) The influence of Rob as a significant other. Rob was the personal assistant of a very famous politician in Sao Paulo, who became close friends with the informant's family. John depicts him as a person with a lot of work experience and involved in social projects. This individual helped the informant during the decision making process concerning IFPA. Interestingly, he was also dedicated to writing, something the informant was really fond of and was also influenced by him. In addition, Rob also came from the same state the informant's mother came from, he didn't care about material things, and was as intelligent as the informant's father. John immediately identified with Rob who began playing a sort of parental role in his life and always demonstrated interest in John's development. Rob directly influenced John's decision to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship as well as the company he should choose for the practical part of his internship. Very likely, this individual also influenced John based on his previous biographical processes. Coincidentally, he also comes from a less privileged socioeconomic background, and one of his arguments in favor of a determined company was that the informant could almost certainly obtain permanent employment upon graduation.

The next decision in John's process to access IFPA would be to choose one of the school's apprenticeships. He opted for the trade course of logistics. This decision was to a certain extent also made on one subjective aspect, namely, John's interest in international trade, which is associated by the informant with his interest in travelling that has been present in his life through his mother's occupation. As his mother worked for a Brazilian airline, the family travelled a lot during his childhood, which has always encouraged him to travel, visit new places and discover new cultures.

6. Embarking on an institutional expectation pattern

John signed up for the admission test at IFPA to undergo the logistics trade course. The informant has heavily influenced by his mother, Rob and also the limited margin of educational

possibilities. The practical part of the apprenticeship is positively evaluated by the informant who felt accepted and integrated in every department he could work at. In addition, he gained work orientation and experiences, which culminated in permanent employment and subsequent considerable professional development in the company. John seems to have had a harmonious relationship in school with teachers and classmates. It was also the first educational institution where the informant could observe a clearer social class difference and ethnic origin difference within one single social arena in his biographical development. As for the negative aspects John argues the trade courses and its contents were weak and used outdated material that was not related to Brazilian context. It created a sense of insecurity in the apprentice regarding future employability. John feared other companies, especially Brazilians, wouldn't know or recognize his IFPA certificate, and he also feared that she wouldn't be able to apply his knowledge in a Brazilian context.

As for the meaning associated by John to IFPA, it can be argued that it is very lucid. The informant perceives it as a transitional educational level, between high school and higher education. John does not see IFPA as a possibility to obtain a VET qualification to enter the labor market and pursue a career in a determined trade area. He assumes IFPA is a mechanism that can provide and construct the pathway leading to higher education and a successful professional career. IFPA is one of the initial steps taken in one's educational pathway, according to John who also perceives higher education as an obligation, imposed by the labor market and societal conditions.

7. The confrontation of the incumbent with his social world regarding IFPA

John was constantly asked about his educational choice. He appears to have used a set of arguments in attempts of rationalization justifying his educational choice. John argues that educational choices are related to what society and significant others expect of you. This is a clear reference to socialization processes and its influence on one's educational decisions. John demonstrates a clear cognitive dissonance in his rendering. This is an important indicator of how an individual deals with any occurrence of cognitive dissonance regarding his or her educational choice. In addition, his own self-theoretical commentaries regarding VET in Brazil are very clear and reinforce the idea of a dissonant perception-behavior regarding secondary level VET. The informant assumes regular secondary level VET in Brazil is aimed at lower

class individuals that do not have direct access to university after high school and want to acquire a qualification to enter the labor market. Another interesting aspect is a commentary regarding the less socioeconomically privileged individuals that usually come from the German colonies to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship. John mentions he didn't have a lot of contact with these individuals, which also reinforces the assumption of a social segregation within school, which is essentially the same the informant also experienced in elementary and high school. John intensively rationalizes about his perception of a division within the Brazilian context, in which one's socioeconomic background dictates whether one will enroll a regular trade school and do the manual work, and those who will follow a more propaedeutic higher education track and will do the non-manual work. The informant's view of general secondary level VET in Brazil is closely associated with courses that are aimed at the socioeconomically underprivileged individuals who are seeking short courses leading to a qualification at schools like SENAI and SENAC. Whereas IFPA is a selective vocational school, it is only for those who can speak German which offers exclusory apprenticeships due to the fact that one needs to master the German language in which its VET courses are taught. Yet IFPA, despite its singular VET structure, belongs to regular secondary level VET in Brazil, and is recognized by the Brazilian government as a regular secondary level VET in the subsequent modality. John also makes one objective assessment stating that IFPA's apprenticeship offers one the possibility to begin an internship and receive an apprentice's salary, as opposed to other regular trade courses in Brazil.

8. John's following attempts to overcome superimposed structural impediments

During the second year of his dual system apprenticeship at IFPA, John began preparing once again to enter a public university and accomplish his primary post-high school educational objective. IFPA was only a transitional first educational step, which was in actuality a second order choice. His occupational orientation was still very vivid and IFPA didn't change it. In addition, the metamorphosis of biographical identity undergone by the informant was also slightly before beginning IFPA's apprenticeship. Thus, the incumbent was once again preoccupied with his dominant biographical process and wish to continue obtaining qualification to climb the career ladder, but he wanted to focus on his primary educational objective. John attended a one year preparatory course, just like his parents did in the past, as to prepare for the higher education entrance examination. At this point in his biography, though, the incum-

bent seemed to have adjusted even more his higher education intentions to an even more subjective assessment of a major that would be based on personal cultivation, he experienced self-realization regarding his desired occupational orientation. John wished to major in international relations, a course that involved international affairs, writing and a more humanistic approach. Moreover, majoring in international relations is also clearly an influence of previous biographical processes lived by the incumbent in his biography. John had always been possessed by a sense of social discrimination, isolation and unfairness, be it at school or within his family. Nonetheless, once again John didn't pass the higher education entrance examination, and once again his educational intentions were hindered by an obstacle. The informant rationalized that it occurred due to personal motives, given that he had just begun dating and very often didn't go to his classes in the preparatory course.

The informant finished IFPA, and immediately began attending a second preparatory course for another year. It becomes clear at this point in time that the informant's educational pathway margin attending a more subjective assessment of an occupational orientation based on personal cultivation, and self-realization became rather endangered. A restricted educational pathway margin arose from a recurrent, not overcome super-imposed structural impediment that led John to assess his primary educational intention very objectively, to the point where he decided to completely alter his occupational orientation and give up pursuing a vocational area that was of interest and personally adequate. The informant decided to do the entrance examination to major in business administration, a clearly personal unrelated occupational area. A fear of failure based on previous attempts had seriously contributed to the abandonment of his personal orientation in search of self-fulfillment. This turn of events has also blurred John's perception of higher education and its finality. It became an act of alienation clearly based on others' expectations, including his parents', his father's family and society in general. Once again the incumbent attempted to overcome a super-imposed structural impediment. Despite having completely changed his major option and adjusted it to a course with an inferior number of candidates, once again John couldn't overcome super-imposed structural impediments that stopped him achieving his biographical intentions. It led him to an apparent alternative-less route. John decided to access a private university.

9. An institutional expectation pattern based on personal cultivation and self-fulfillment

The informant sought a private university and signed up for the entrance examination. This time John passed it and began majoring in international relations. But it would be very costly, given he passed at a very expensive private university in Sao Paolo. However, he was once again following on occupational orientation he personally wished to do and had always aimed at. This event marked the division in the biography of the incumbent who could at last re-steer his biographical development at an occupational orientation closely related to personal cultivation and self-fulfillment. The informant assesses this period as when he became socially integrated and accepted. There, he met people from all origins and social classes. The informant felt, for the first time, not judged but accepted at an educational institution. He didn't have to deal with explanations nor with justifications about himself or his family. In addition, it might have been a period of relief, given that he wouldn't have to study business administration and consequently pursue a career in an occupational area he didn't identify himself with. Attending this private university represented the establishment of new friendships and the identification with his major. The incumbent was permanently involved with people from different origins in productive discussions, and had a fruitful relationship with the teachers. It can be observed that this educational institution didn't merely serve as an instrument in an institutional expectation pattern in the biography of the incumbent. It began playing the role of a vital non-human event carrier influencing his identity development and attitude towards conflicting issues in his life.

10. A non-human event carrier in the informant's biography

It was also during John's university period that he discovered music as a means for social integration. The informant's experiences with music began in his early childhood when his mother played classic music at bedtime. Later John was forced to learn how to play the keyboard, which he absolutely hated. This parental influence comes from his mother's and father's interests. The informant's mother sang in choir and his father organized singing contests in the countryside. Yet, it was only in college that he discovered his true passion in music. John helped in founding the percussion group of the faculty in his university, and became the leader of this project. This percussion group also helped shape the identity of the incumbent, and he began working in different social projects and became even more interest in is-

sues related to social inequalities. Furthermore, John began feeling accepted and popular in college, which was again a contrast to what he didn't have in other social arenas, such as his family, neighborhood and previous schools.

11. A biographical action scheme to re-steer occupational orientation:

After graduating from university in international trade, John no longer wanted to continue working in the area of his dual system apprenticeship. It was used to afford a private university in an area of personal interest and self-fulfillment. Hence, it was time to abandon this occupational direction and re-steer his occupational development of his personal interests within an institutional expectation pattern. Yet, John was still working at Hamburg Süd at this time, the company where he underwent his dual system apprenticeship and was offered permanent employment upon graduation. He decided to leave the company and search for a path that could lead him to begin working in what he considered then "his" occupational area. It was during this period of the informant's biography that an opportunity to participate in an exchange program in college arose. John could study for one semester abroad in Germany. Yet, due to the limited offer, he was compelled to apply for political sciences. This action scheme of the incumbent is closely related to a personal desire to be involved in an occupation and also educational objectives that had international affairs as its focus. Once he was accepted in the exchange program, he then had an excuse to once and for all leave his job and re-steer his occupational orientation. After one semester, the incumbent returned to Brazil and finished the last semester of university and graduated from international relations, which he paid with the savings he had made working in his previous job in the area of his dual system apprenticeship.

12. The self-existence provision necessity and an occupational orientation rebound

After returning to Brazil, John continued focused on an already dominant biographical process in his biographical development. He began searching for employment in the area of international affairs. Yet he couldn't find feasible alternatives and was once again compelled to accept a job offer in the area of logistics, the area of his apprenticeship. Once he depended on his own labor to provide for his self-existence at this time, John couldn't refuse the job, which he accepted against his will. John worked for Suzanno, a private company he didn't like to

work for, for one year only. In the meantime he always kept focused on finding alternatives that could steer his occupational development away from this area. After only one year, John left the company for he was accepted to undergo a master's degree program in Germany. It only serves to demonstrate that IFPA didn't provide the informant with any vocational orientation and actually became a problem within his biographical development causing the informant to constantly seek alternatives to steer away from this apprenticeship area. However, it was an important mechanism used by the informant to achieve his primary educational objectives, which were established based on personal, subjective assessment.

13. Current developments and dominant institution institutional expectation pattern

The informant left his job in the logistics area again, as a clear repetition of what happened before, and began a new search for a professional career in his area of interest. John is currently studying and living in Germany with his wife, once the informant has recently got married and his wife accompanied him to Germany. John is currently under a considerable amount of stress due to university work load and also being homesick due to the distance from friends and family. However, he is once again following a pathway leading to a desired professional occupation area in the field of humanities. The informant is doing a master's degree in political sciences, which can also be plainly associated with his primary occupational orientation, from when he tried to access a public university for the first time. It is still related to writing, studying inequalities, geography and humanities.

All in all, John's biographical development is constantly filled with situations of confrontation with his social world, which led the informant on a permanent search for post-hoc rationalizations. In addition, it also calls attention to the fact that the informant has essentially lived in polarized social arenas, such as his father's versus his mother's family, life in the countryside versus life in Sao Paolo, his elementary school versus cousins' schools, his mother as counselor versus father as encourager, his expensive private school versus poor neighborhood surrounding it, having friends at PUC versus not having them in school. John has a biographical development that entails permanent contrast. Nonetheless, it can be observed that the dominant biographical process in his current biographical development is the institutional expectation pattern.

6.8 The reconstructed “gestalt” of the overall biographical structuring of Nicole Bush

IFPA’s dual system training as an educational pathway emerging as a byproduct of superimposed self-chosen impediments, circumventing potential structural hindrances, parental impediments and restricted pathway margin regarding primary post-high school intentions

1. Preliminary aspects of the informant’s biography

Nicole was born in Sao Paolo, Brazil, and is an only child. She first attended a smaller private elementary school for six years, and then she entered a private German school in Sao Paolo where she finished elementary and also graduated from high school. Nicole underwent IFPA’s foreign trade dual system apprenticeship in the block system modality; two weeks at school and three weeks in the company. The practical part of her apprenticeship was done at HS (a leader in container shipping lines), in Sao Paolo. After finishing IFPA’s apprenticeship, Nicole accessed tertiary education, and continued to pursue further educational achievements. She is currently a PhD candidate at a public university in Brazil, and is devoted to conducting research in the area of energy production.

2. The incumbent’s family milieu and her childhood developments

Nicole comes from a middle class family background. Her father, who works as a professor nowadays, is from Sao Paolo and holds two university degrees, one in engineering and a second in business administration. In addition, her father has two secondary level vocational school certificates which he obtained by attending SENAI, which is a very popular private vocational school in Brazil. His basic biographical orientation seems to have been related to commitment and dedication in any given activity. Nicole’s mother, on the other hand, is from the northeast of Brazil, one of the poorest regions, and she moved to Sao Paolo to attend college. She holds a degree in business administration and has worked for the same office for several years in Sao Paolo.

The informant’s childhood developments took place in Sao Paolo within two essential social arenas, the private school(s) she attended and the condominium where she resided with her parents. The family has always lived in a closed condominium in Sao Paolo, a social arena

which made up part of her early as well as later childhood development. This was a very heterogeneous social arena, containing individuals from all ages. It was the first experience with diversity the biography incumbent had, and which is equally responsible for her tendency to enjoy new experiences and establish new social contacts, an activity which is done with the purpose of becoming acquainted with the “new”. The informant lived in this location until she was fourteen years old, which is roughly until the end of elementary school. Nicole appears to have had a harmonious childhood, and living in a closed condominium also enabled her to constantly socialize with other children. The informant has memories of a childhood full of contact and interaction with other individuals within this social frame, where she felt accepted. She perceived this as a very pleasant biographical period.

3. The incumbent’s elementary schooling

Firstly, Nicole attended a small private located near the family’s residence in Sao Paulo for six years. Nicole attended this school from pre-school until the 6th grade of elementary school. It was a constructivist school where she had to engage in several tasks and activities throughout the day. Nicole enjoyed the same social acceptance and intense socialization in this private educational institution that she had within her condominium, two very protective social arenas. It is also necessary to state that this first private constructive school has clearly influenced the identity development of the incumbent biography, especially due to two different aspects: (a) In a constructivist school the teacher normally addresses individually one’s learning needs; (b) Children experience democracy because the rules are established through conversations and agreements between teachers and students.

Nicole attended school within this social arena, where its individuals are conditioned to hearing, respecting the rights and duties of all and understanding them. These were certainly aspects that influence basic biographical positions of the incumbent, such as the constant desire to discover the new, the need for acceptance and the strangeness to intolerance, for instance that coming from her mother or supervisors throughout her professional development.

Yet, due to a financial constraint undergone by the educational institution and characterized by an external event, the school went bankrupt and her parents had to consider other educational institutions. It essentially ended up influencing the pathway followed by the incumbent

within her basic schooling in Brazil, as well as her identity development. Nicole and her family were compelled to search for an alternative. Nonetheless, the family continued investing in a private basic schooling within Nicole's educational action scheme. The family opted to send the incumbent to Porto Seguro School, a German school. Even though the informant is not a descendent of Germans citizens, Porto Seguro was chosen because it was a school located near her parents' home, which also indicates a purchase/offer opportunity; see Brennan & Marriott (1996). The incumbent also perceived it as an aspect of distinctiveness of the school, for she would learn two foreign languages, English and German, respectively. Attending Porto Seguro School marked Nicole's first contact with the German language and culture. Initially, there wasn't any clear and direct interest in German culture per se. The interest in attending a Porto Seguro was rather its proximity, the benefit of learning a second foreign language and the continuation of the parents' educational action scheme for the biography incumbent which was essentially aimed at a more propaedeutic educational within high quality private schools and which could enable the informant to make a prompt post-high school vertical educational advancement, especially by accessing a high quality public university. In any case, Nicole was rather unconcerned with the process of changing schools because she entered a completely new group, and friendships were beginning to appear naturally for everyone involved in that new social frame where she was essentially a newcomer.

4. The loss of significant others and the first biographical action scheme

The informant's family moved to a new condominium so as to begin living in a house they had been building for a long time in this new location, and which was very close to her new school, Porto Seguro. The new condominium lacked a recreational area that fostered socialization between the children. During this period, the incumbent's school began playing a central role in terms of socialization, whereas the new condominium became a source of incongruity compared to her early childhood in the other one. The loss of significant others and irritation in the new social arena marked this process. However, it was considerably ameliorated by the new social arena in the new school. Nicole stayed in the first elementary school she would probably have perceived more the contrast of both condominiums and their potential for socialization.

The second loss of significant others occurred in the first year of high school. The groups from the last year of elementary school were changed in high school, and the informant was involuntarily separated from her classmates. Without being asked and intentionally choosing to distance herself from significant others, the incumbent was forced to separate from her peers. The incumbent's social integration became endangered, and it could be characterized as a minor trajectory in her still early biographical development.

The change in the new high school groups and the loss of significant others led the incumbent to embark on her first action scheme so as to re-steer developments within her biography at the time. Nicole actively asked for a solution to the undesired turn of events. She asked her parents to intervene and they managed to transfer her to another class in the afternoon, and her classmates changed to this same group as well in order to re-establish the contact with these significant others. The harmony in the socialization within the groups of peers was restored. This change would have determined side effects in the informant's development, though, given that the new group she began had a much lower German language command which jeopardized the biography incumbent's language command development.

5. The transition from elementary to high school

During the last year of elementary school at the private German school in Sao Paolo, the incumbent's father wanted her to follow the same educational pathway he did, as if in a reproduction scheme. Nicole was forced, against her own will, to begin attending a prep course during this period of time in the afternoons so as to prepare for the admission test to enter a public vocational school as to undergo secondary level VET in the integrated modality (VET and high school under the same curriculum). As it could be observed in the initial chapters, it is a secondary level VET modality more socioeconomic privileged parents tend to seek out, given that the schools offer high quality education at no cost. However, the offer is extremely limited and competition to access these schools is fierce. In addition, as observed by other studies already, these individuals are more concerned with high school education and will very likely access higher education. The vocational qualification is regarded as an additional skill, but it won't serve as the basis to immediately enter the labor market and not to continue a vertical educational advancement.

However, Nicole didn't want to lose her friends and peers from school to begin studying in a completely different school, where she would have to establish an entirely new social world. In other words, she wanted to avoid another loss of significant others and the emotional and physical burden of attending a school located far from her parents' home, where she would have to begin developing new social contacts from scratch. She was essentially thrown by her father in a prep course to change her school pathway within a private institution without her consent. Nicole simply had to comply with her father's action scheme, which became a source of both outer and inner conflict for the biography incumbent. Nicole couldn't comprehend the reason for following another "unusual" educational pathway, whereas she realized that other actors of her social world usually followed a vertical educational advancement right after high school graduation; even due to the fact that she had to undergo processes of rationalization within her social arena in school, given that peers couldn't comprehend the need for such an educational decision. In the end, Nicole didn't pass the admission test, thereby failing to overcome the first superimposed structural impediment in her biographical development; a potential process that could influence risk taking in her subsequent educational decisions within the Brazilian educational system. As a result, the informant ended up not complying with her father's desire at this point, which was also a source for inner conflict for Nicole who never liked disappointing her father, despite the fact that she absolutely didn't wish to attend a vocational school at the time.

6. First experience abroad

When the incumbent turned fifteen she received as a sweet-fifteen gift from her parents - an opportunity to travel abroad for the first time. Nicole wanted to travel alone, which was a first clear demonstration of a search for independence. The informant went to Germany alone with the help of an external exchange program. It had a tremendous impact on the incumbent's biographical development. This trip to Germany represented being momentarily independent, dealing with the absence of parental supervision and also with a new social arena, which entailed unknown aspects and potential new experiences. Travelling alone to Germany was an opportunity to expose herself to the opposite of the super-controlled social environments in which she had spent her childhood and schooling. In addition, it was an opportunity to develop a sense of identification with the German culture, by experiencing it on a daily basis through socialization and language acquisition. It shows that the informant was already think-

ing of experiencing new processes outside of the comfort zone and parental protection she had always experienced. Travelling alone somewhere for the first time was the representation of experiencing the unknown and the possibility to steer events which she had never had before.

7. Transition from high school to subsequent educational level

This characterized a period of time in the incumbent's biographical development in which she underwent a decision making process regarding a post-high school track choice. Nicole was attending the last year of high school and her primary post-high school educational aspiration was to make a vertical advancement by accessing higher education to major in architecture. It was an occupational orientation the informant had already biographically developed because it had the support and approval of a very important significant other, namely, her father who was a civil engineer. The informant's father played the influential role of a vocational-identity model. The informant experienced different events regarding this occupational orientation and was seriously considering studying in Germany, more precisely in Cologne, a city she had already been to as an exchange student and wished to return to one day. This country and city became part of the incumbent's educational aspirations. There is very little doubt that Nicole indeed had an occupational orientation and wished to make a vertical educational advancement. However, a concatenation of superimposed impediments prevented the incumbent from accomplishing this primary educational aspiration. Firstly, she couldn't overcome a superimposed structural impediment. She applied to attend university in Germany but wasn't accepted. Moreover, it also accumulated to a determined financial constraint, given that her parents wouldn't be able to finance her studies abroad. These aspects were added to a self-chosen superimposed impediment regarding her educational intentions. Nicole was reluctant to attend a preparatory course as to pass the higher entrance examination at a public university which her parents approved of and had always wanted her to do, especially considering their entire educational action scheme for the biography incumbent, which entailed sponsoring very costly tuition fees at high-quality private German schools in Sao Paulo. It also ended up restricting her post-high school educational pathway margin leading to an already aspired vertical educational advancement. This self-chosen impediment is also related to a self-imposed barrier, given that there was also a fear of failure involved in the process. This concatenation of impediments became a source of bother for Nicole due to three aspects: (a) The self-chosen and the self-erected impediments were restricting the pathway leading to the vertical educa-

tional advancement she had developed and aimed at; (b) These impediments were leaving room for an identity development hesitation as it was difficult to perceive that other actors of her social arena were attending preparatory courses so as to follow a “normal” vertical advancement by accessing higher education, whereas she wasn’t making any progress due to a concatenation of impediments. (c) Her parents demanded a decision concerning a “normal” educational advancement by entering tertiary education, even ‘though they wished her to follow a propaedeutic educational pathway leading to a non-manual occupational orientation which had always been part of their educational action scheme for the incumbent. (d) The self-chosen impediment established by the biography incumbent so as to circumvent the need to face potential superimposed structural impediments have also triggered a hindrance imposed by the parents who became reluctant in investing in a private university, given the huge disbursement they had already made during the informant’s basic schooling and her unwillingness to attempt accessing a public university within a vertical educational advancement, which was expected of her.

These factors built up an enormous pressure on the incumbent during this biographical process of transition after high school graduation. These concerns were also added to the role of a human event carrier during the last year of high school. A new German teacher at Nicole’s school discouraged her from changing to a more advanced class that could guarantee a better success during higher education in Germany. However, this individual assumed she wouldn’t adapt in the new group and also became a source of negative influence concerning her primary post-high school educational aspirations.

8. IFPA’s dual system apprenticeship as an alternative pathway

It was during this period that, coincidentally, the informant obtained by chance information about IFPA School during a trade fair at the private German language school she used to attend. Nicole didn’t know IFPA School existed, which demonstrates that access to information was vital in the process of finding an alternative to her not-achieved primary post-high school educational aspiration of accessing tertiary education. This horizontal second order educational advancement didn’t offer any courses related to her occupational orientation of becoming an architect. Thus, she was forced to choose an alternative, namely the logistics trade course. In all probability it was likened to the possibility of working internationally and dealing with

international transportation of goods, an aspect that could be associated with the fruitful experience the informant underwent during her first trip abroad to Germany. This would also be the first time that her school change during high school would affect her biographical intentions. She would have to pass the admission test at IFPA first, which demanded a determined level of language command. It can be observed that the decision to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship came from the incumbent who only later sought parental approval. It was an alternative educational pathway which enabled Nicole to continue an educational pathway after high school, circumvented her self-chosen impediment concerning public universities and helped alleviate the pressure imposed on her by her parents. However, she would need to persuade them about this horizontal educational advancement. Further motives leading to IFPA were also: (a) Gaining work orientation and possibly developing an alternative occupational orientation, given that her primary one couldn't be accomplished; (b) Access the labor market so as to become gradually financially independent. This was also motivated by Nicole's parents' attitude towards financial education. They didn't give the incumbent more than what was necessary, and didn't disburse money to satisfy every desire she had. Obtaining a source of income would represent the beginning of a period in which she would be able to make her own decisions. In addition, she could also expand her vertical educational pathway margin for she would be able to finance a private university or perhaps the company would continue investing in her development and would cover these costs; (c) The course was paid for by the company and would generate no further costs for the family. It was in all probability a solution associated to Nicole's parents' incapability of financing her studies in Germany, which also added to an unwillingness of disbursing costly tuition fees at a private university without even attempting to access a public one first. Conceivably, the informant assumed this financial relief would also be an argument convincing her parents that this horizontal educational advancement was worthy, especially due to the fact that they were against it at first; (d) The fact that IFPA has, in its structure, distinctive characteristics to those of regular secondary level VET courses, it would make it easier to formulate and engage in post-hoc rationalizations to justify a horizontal advancement instead of following a "normal" educational pathway by accessing higher education upon high school graduation. It would make it easier for the incumbent to confront other actors of her social world concerning this decision, especially the friends and peers who she could see were pursuing a "normal" school track choice.

9. Embarking on an institutional expectation pattern unrelated to personal cultivation

The informant passed the test and began interviewing at different companies. Nicole was eventually accepted by HS and began her dual system apprenticeship in the cluster modality. IFPA had become a potential resolution to the problems she was undergoing at the time concerning a possible post-high school track choice. Not passing the admission phase would mean being compelled to accept her parents' pressure and begin a prep course as to prepare to access a public university, process which the informant wanted to steer away from at all costs.

Nicole felt accepted and integrated rapidly at work. Moreover, even though she had no experience, her new colleagues were very understanding and engaging. However, she had problems dealing with significant others, given that her parents didn't expect this turn of events, and the incumbent could also perceive that her parents didn't approve of a horizontal advancement and had invested in an entire basic schooling aiming at higher education access. The incumbent's parents were against IFPA at first, and wanted her to focus on a prep course so as to follow a pathway leading to higher education at a public university. The informant's parents were very skeptical and could only comprehend and accept the educational advancement a while later. Undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship was also rather irritating at times for the incumbent who tended to make a comparison between two educational arenas - her previous private German elementary and high school and IFPA as a trade school, which began to expose the incumbent to situations and she was unaccustomed to or tasks she didn't have to perform before.

Discipline and involvement began developing a sense of responsibility in Nicole which didn't occur in school. The informant began noticing that she would have to adjust to determined aspects of this new working, adult life to which she had never been exposed before in her biographical development. These new responsibilities and involvement have seriously contributed to shape and strengthen one the informant's most relevant basic biographical orientations, more specifically to be correct, orderly, systematic and responsible. However, this was also a condition for inner conflict. The incumbent had always had problems with authority and compliance, which can also be related to the role her mother has in the perception of the informant in her biographical development.

Nicole's decision to make this horizontal advancement was also a source for cognitive dissonance and confusion. The informant began perceiving that other actors of her social frame, more specifically friends and peers, were attending prep courses or already attending college, and didn't consider a post-high school horizontal educational advancement or entering the labor market. This was a source of bother for the informant, who realized this wasn't a "normal" pathway followed by the other actors of her social world. Nicole suddenly saw her pathway detached from what was expected and perceived as normal by her peers. She couldn't keep pace with social activities planned by these individuals and socialization decreased. In addition, she had to constantly rationalize her option and also struggled to comprehend and convince herself that it was an appropriate educational advancement. Other actors of her social world also felt confused for the reason that they didn't see the need to enter the labor market at such an early age. Thus, Nicole began developing new friendships and social contacts at IFPA. It was certainly useful and alleviating during this time, given that her high school peers were living a different rhythm and following a different educational pathway.

Moreover, the informant felt overwhelmed at the beginning of her apprenticeship due to the fact that classes were taught in German. The complexity of the German language in the course of logistics became a temporary language barrier for the incumbent. Yet, Nicole also began becoming interested in the area of logistics. The informant was gaining work and a potential occupational orientation. Nevertheless, she was equally and concomitantly going through a process of postponing the inevitable post-high school vertical educational advancement she would necessarily have to make, and she was also going through a determined level of confusion, given she needed to abandon her primary occupational orientation after a concatenation of super-imposed impediments.

10. Daily routine at IFPA and the relationship in school with teachers and classmates

The informant perceived the school as a clear maximal contrast to the previous educational establishments and modalities she had undergone so far. It was the first time she had to attend school in the morning and in the afternoon; it was a clear contrast to elementary and high school which takes place in only one shift. This was also added to a determined level of strangeness within this new social arena that demanded commitment and responsibility from

Nicole. As for the relationship in school with teachers, Nicole never had any problems, despite the fact that she assumed teachers were very strict. These teachers and the commitment that the school demanded have intensively shaped one of the most important basic biographical orientations of the incumbent, namely being committed, dedicated and strict. It had already begun through the influence of her father who had had the same orientation, and in all probability through her mother who also demanded dedication through her authoritarian role. As for colleagues, Nicole had a harmonious relationship with them, and these individuals were basically from Sao Paulo. It once again demonstrates that it is not very simple for individuals coming from German colonies located in the South of Brazil to integrate in school, which can end up in hybridity and cultural marginality.

11. Planning post-IFPA developments

In the second year of IFPA, Nicole took the DSD test, a language proficiency test. It was also part of her educational aspiration of making a vertical advancement within the German educational system. There was a desire to perhaps go to Germany after high school to attend a university there. However, she didn't pass the test and once again restricted her vertical educational advancement intentions. Parental pressure regarding a vertical educational advancement also began to increase for only a horizontal educational advancement wasn't satisfactory. Another problem arose during this period of time. Towards the end of her apprenticeship she couldn't identify with her trade course anymore and wasn't enjoying working in the field. A new loss of occupational orientation occurred. However, Nicole wanted to obtain permanent employment in this area so as to be able to finance higher education and continue the process of financial independence that she had embarked on.

Then Nicole was permanently hired by the company where she had done the practical part of her dual system apprenticeship, and began following an institutional expectation pattern. However, this turn of events which could represent the necessary financial income so as to make a vertical educational advancement at a private university turned out to trigger a trajectory in the biographical development of the incumbent. As a permanent employee stress and pressure coming from management increased considerably as well as the workload. A great deal of responsibility and an organized boss, whose orientation clearly conflicted with that of the incumbent, led Nicole into an enormous dissatisfaction and state of distress. In addition, it

also became a period of irritation for the incumbent who couldn't really comprehend the need to be in the labor market at such an early age without a higher education degree. She could perceive that her peers and friends were following a different pathway and that her new work commitments had seriously changed her social integration with significant others within her social world. It marked the beginning of a trajectory. The informant was very dissatisfied with developments within her still early professional career.

12. Vertical educational advancement and a new occupational orientation

After a few months, the informant sat the entrance examination at a private university and was admitted to major in international relations. The informant didn't fear not overcoming potential superimposed structural impediments and didn't establish any self-chosen or self-erected impediments regarding this private university. The access was easier, given that the number of vacancies was higher than the number of candidates. The motives leading to higher education were: (a) Complying with societal expectations, including that of significant others and the labor market as a non-human event carrier; (b) A fear of future employability regarding IFPA's apprenticeship and the fact that it is not well-known by Brazilian companies; (c) Following a "natural" post-high school educational pathway, which is perceived as compulsory by the informant and that cannot be replaced by a horizontal advancement.

The reasons for choosing this specific private college were: (d) Entrance was rather easier and could circumvent an already recurrent self-chosen impediment of not having to go through the physical and emotional efforts that would be demanded in a prep course so as to attempt to access a public university; (e) To avoid losing significant others as two of her best friends were also attending the same private university. As for the reasons leading the incumbent to choose the course of international relations, it can be stated that she was looking for a new occupational orientation, in an area unrelated to foreign trade which she couldn't identify with anymore, especially after the negative experience during her first post-IFPA permanent employment. In addition, she was interested in pursuing her studies in the area of human sciences, which she associated with personal cultivation. It also serves to demonstrate that this horizontal advancement was a second order choice, and the incumbent simply couldn't overcome a concatenation of impediments which were self-imposed, structural and hindrances imposed

by her parents due to a determined financial constraint and also unwillingness to disburse costly tuition fees at a private university.

During college the incumbent began developing a completely new occupational orientation which arose from her major in international relations. She aimed at becoming a diplomat. It came through the influence of the course and the human event carriers involved in that social frame. Nicole wanted to pursue a career in a profession that represented distinctiveness, high income, and financial stability, and she would be able to travel the world. However, she also knew she would have to face another structural impediment of passing the admission test to enter diplomat school, which she wasn't prone to do. She was managing to establish an action scheme to steer her educational pathway away from the occupational orientation she gained at IFPA and that led to her first disappointing permanent employment. Nonetheless, this first employment enabled the informant to achieve her primary post-high school educational aspiration. She had finally obtained financial independence and could make a vertical educational advancement by bypassing all the superimposed structural impediments she would have to overcome had she followed the pathway her parents wanted her to. More specifically, attending a prep course in order to do the higher education entrance examination and enter a public university in Brazil.

The informant committed a lot in college, something which is related to two different aspects: (a) The pressure from her parents: she was showing results to her father and especially to her mother who couldn't fully comprehend her decision of quitting her job; (b) It was part of a basic biographical orientation of the incumbent. Nicole is committed, dedicated and above all does not want to disappoint her father. Furthermore, the incumbent felt socially accepted at university. However, she was still undergoing a trajectory and the university as an educational commitment and her new permanent employment were consuming a considerable amount of psychological and physical effort.

13. A biographical action scheme

After only three months of permanent employment, Nicole began to realize it was extremely difficult to integrate a working life and academic commitments concomitantly. In addition, the distress at work also contributed to the beginning of contours of events within a period of

distress and annoyance. In search of relief considering this trajectory and an apparent inadequate occupational orientation, the informant left her first permanent employment. In all probability, the influence of friends was equally relevant. The informant was undergoing a trajectory for she couldn't identify with her occupation. She had a very stressful routine and couldn't commit in college, which was an outcome contradicting one of her basic biographical orientations. In addition, she still had to deal with her friends and peers who couldn't comprehend the need to work before finishing higher education at such an early age. Hence, Nicole decided to take control of her biographical development and within a biographical action scheme decided to change the course of her biography once again. She quit her first permanent employment to dedicate herself to university within a "normal" pathway.

However, firstly she had to convince her parents who would have to sponsor a private university after all, and which wasn't part of their educational action scheme. It was clear that they wished her to access a public university. The informant's mother was very reluctant with the informant's action scheme, yet her father demonstrated more comprehension. Nicole assumed that her mother's biographical and career development was also an impediment as her mother clearly perceived the trajectory she was undergoing. Yet it appears that the informant's father interceded and after some time she was finally able to quit her job and abandon the trajectory she was undergoing. Nicole has always experienced this polarized relationship between her father and her mother in relation to understanding her educational and professional decisions; seeing her father as someone who values a vocational identity and an occupational orientation development based on the assessment of the subjectivity aspects regarding one's interests, and her mother, on the other hand, as someone rather focused on the objective assessment of an occupational orientation based on a fear of recurrence of a financial difficulty which could be related to her own biographical developments in her place of origin, one of the poorest regions in Brazil.

Nonetheless, quitting her employment came with negative outcomes as well. She wound up losing financial independency and once again depended on her parents to make just about any decision involving financial matters. It was also during this period of time that the informant began becoming even more interested in travelling and getting acquainted with new cultures and places, a desire that had already began in high school with her first trip to Germany. However, she no longer had the financial income to enable her to make such a decision with-

out her parents' assistance. As Nicole still wanted to travel, but didn't have sufficient capital to accomplish her intentions, she decided to embark on a biographical action scheme that could help in promoting these aspirations.

14. A further biographical actions scheme and biographical intentions

The incumbent decided to actively change the current state of affairs and within a biographical action scheme decided to search for new employment, which she easily obtained. Nicole began working as a receptionist at a bank. It was a part time, temporary job which wouldn't interfere with college and that had as a goal to provide the incumbent with enough financial means to travel to a different country to explore the local culture. However this social arena constituted a source of conflict for the incumbent, as a matter of fact. She couldn't understand and deal with a demeaning supervisor, which went totally against her basic biographical orientations. This process enabled her to achieve the goal of travelling and getting to know the "new" in terms of locations and cultures, however it cost her in ignoring some of her basic orientations during this period. Orientations that had been developed through the influence of her father as a significant other and also through the constructivist school she attended. This temporary job became a wake-up call for the incumbent who decided she would never have to experience this again. This episode also helped her establishing how she would dedicate and commit to higher education so as to avoid any situation like that in her professional development later.

After obtaining sufficient financial means to travel, the incumbent left her job at the bank and began travelling. Nicole went on a one month trip to South America with her then current, boyfriend. This trip also helped the informant shaping an occupational orientation focused on developing studies regarding Latin America. It was the first trip financed by her own effort. Nicole had to work and plan it essentially alone, thereby discovering an independence that she no longer wanted to abandon. After this one month of travelling, Nicole returned to Brazil and lost a significant other. Her boyfriend left for Canada and the relationship was abruptly ended. Yet it didn't trigger a serious trajectory, given that the informant already perceived the relationship was going badly and this was the point culminating and its termination.

15. A new job within an institutional expectation pattern

In the middle of her college education, Nicole was determined to complete the change in her occupational orientation that had already been initiated with a major event unrelated to IFPA's apprenticeship. She wanted to find employment in the area of international relations and dedicate to the area of human sciences. This would be the first time the informant would gain work orientation within the area of her vertical educational advancement. Nicole began working at FIESP in the area of international relations, which seemed to have been a fruitful experience, even though she had difficulties adjusting with her new supervisor again. It was the third supervisor she had problems with. It was also during this period of time that Nicole began another relationship, living with a colleague she met at work. As a result, the informant began sharing the same friends as her new boyfriend within a single social arena which made the relationship easier.

This new employment enabled the informant to travel alone for the first time since her experience of going to Germany as an exchange student during high school. This was a crucial event in the process of independence the informant was undergoing. It was a considerable transition from a protective atmosphere in the condominiums where she was raised and the private school where she felt protected and safe. Nicole decided to go to India, a decision which her mother strongly disapproved of. This authoritarian attitude against her desires helped the informant to develop an image of a lack of support coming from her mother who couldn't understand her point of view. This trip to India served as an event carrier that helped shape Nicole's identity as well as the affirmation of the informant's independence. This trip and also the previous ones served as a stimulus to continue travelling. Thus, in 2008, Nicole went to Peru. She was interested in countries with peculiar cultures, and she was still developing a sense of discovering the new as opposed to the obvious that she had always been exposed to during her childhood, when she lived in more limited social arenas controlled by her parents.

16. The orientation based on trips within South America and event carriers

In 2009 Nicole joined a study group at university that was focused on studying Latin America. It was a group composed of individuals from two different colleges who met on a regular basis to discuss topics related to Latin America. This group became a vital event carrier in the

informant's occupational orientation as well as her identity development. With this group the incumbent traveled to Bolivia with the purpose of carrying out research there. It would be the first direct trip aimed at an area which would later become her main occupational orientation of becoming a professor and working in the field of research. These constant trips and the research group also gained the stimulus of a human event carrier during the informant's higher education. Nicole met a professor who triggered her interest in economy and above all becoming a professor one day. This professor played two crucial roles in her biographical development, namely a father figure role and a vocational-identity model. This professor also studied Latin America and, by playing a nearly parental role, influenced the informant to pursue an academic career. Nicole suddenly lost the orientation and intention of becoming a diplomat and began developing a pathway leading to a teaching career which was heavily influenced by this professor and by her father as well. The process experienced by the informant helps determining the influence of significant others and human event carriers in her life history. They had a tremendous influence on her occupational orientation and, as a result, had an impact on the school track and educational choices made by the informant. Firstly, she aimed at making a vertical advancement to major in architecture. Later she wished to become a diplomat, and after that a professor. Being exposed to socialization processes, different social arenas, and individuals' self-theoretical commentaries impinged her occupational orientation. This influence motivated Nicole to actively seek a research program in college, in an attempt to gain work orientation and a better clarity of a vocational identity.

As she no longer wished to become a diplomat, the informant could no longer see her connection with FIESP. Thus, she quit her job and began steering her professional development at becoming a professor which characterized a new occupational orientation in her biographical development. Today it is her occupational orientation. The informant wished to follow an academic pathway and then teach in the college where she studied and met her professor due to the fact that she also wished to inspire the biographical development of others, the way that professor did to hers. She defines and associates teaching with social work, based on the aspect that one is helping others to develop personally and in terms of occupational orientation. This has become an important part of her identity development, which started to develop during her trips. In India she also had a moment of metamorphosis in which she began noticing how the perception of others may color your own attitude.

17. Continuing to follow an institutional expectation pattern

After identifying a new occupational orientation, the informant set in motion her aspirations and began applying for master's degree programs in Brazil. She was clearly following an institutional expectation pattern, and above all was pursuing an educational pathway leading to a professional development based on personal cultivation and self-fulfillment. The informant applied for a master's program focused on integration within Latin America and another one related to energy production at the public university of Sao Paolo. Once again her father played the role of significant other and also of a vocational-identity model. He was the person who influenced the incumbent to follow an academic pathway in the area of energy production, which involved a completely different field of study than the one in the area of human sciences that Nicole had already developed.

Despite the fact that the informant criticized the lack of human contact in this faculty of engineering, which belonged to the exact sciences (an area she had already done a VET course and couldn't identify with and had already gone through a trajectory before), the influence of her father was very intense. The influence of her father was also very courageous for it completely changed an orientation Nicole had so far developed. It was heavily driven by the fact that she does not want to disappoint her father. However, it cost her the abandonment of an orientation that had been carefully developed through previous biographical processes, which included the heavy influence of her trips in South America and the study group she belonged to. Nicole felt at first a strangeness regarding this new orientation, being in contact with a completely new area within the exact sciences and how irritating it was to deal with a new social arena and its actors. It was a difficult yet intriguing beginning, in which the informant struggled to change her identity development alongside a new occupational orientation. Her father simply couldn't perceive it and ignored what had been so far developed, and the influence of FIESP which had also equally contributed. In addition, this parental influence was heavily influenced in turn by her father's previous biographical processes and the impediments that inhibited him from making this advancement within the academic area of research. The informant's father convinced her to follow his previous biographical intentions, and Nicole abandoned an identity development that was constructed on a human science orientation.

18. Belatedly vertical educational advancement

As time went by, Nicole began associating and identifying with the area of exact sciences and decided to make the vertical educational advancement her parents wanted her to make upon high school graduation, namely to access a public university so as to obtain a high education degree. Nicole did and passed the higher education entrance examination without the need to do a prep course. It also helps demonstrating that there was an evident self-erected impediment that hindered her from making this advancement right after high school. She began attending this course and once again it demanded internal and external adjustment for the reason that other actors of this social arena couldn't understand what someone with her profile related to social sciences was doing in that faculty. The influence of her father, and the desire of the incumbent not to "disappoint her father" led her to experience situations of confrontation with other individuals within that social arena that certainly caused a determined inner conflict regarding a change that was rather made based on compliance. However, after some time the informant was then able to establish new relationships in this new social arena.

A new human event carrier arose during this time as well. The informant's master's thesis supervisor became a great source of influence. This cooperation led to the development of a friendship with this professor who also became an event carrier in her biographical development playing a parental role and a vocational identity model. As this professor is a descent of Germans, it enabled both to establish a connection through the German language that they both could speak. This was the third professor to influence the informant's development, namely her father, Hugo and Nilson.

Immediately after finishing her master's program, Nicole was accepted in the PhD program of the same public university, at the same faculty. It was also during this period that she received the opportunity to study one semester abroad within her PhD program, an offer which she accepted. Nicole was clearly following an institutional expectation pattern and pursuing an academic career so as to become a professor, which was part of her new occupational orientation. She received the opportunity to study for one semester in Frankfurt. This was also an opportunity to resolve the distance from a significant other, given that at the time her fiancée was studying in Germany. However, this semester abroad was difficult, and turned out to be a moratorium in her biographical development. She had to rethink her relationship and her edu-

cational development in Brazil. The decision to end this relationship was difficult for the incumbent for she lost a significant other, disappointed other individuals in Brazil and also disappointed her family.

19. Current developments and dominant institution institutional expectation pattern

Nicole is currently following a clear institutional expectation pattern in her biographical development, which had already become a dominant biographical process in her life. She is still pursuing her PhD title and has, through her academic work and projects, already managed to buy her first apartment in Sao Paolo. Reflectively, she acknowledges that IFPA assisted her to establish an occupational orientation. It also helped through work orientation to demonstrate that she didn't wish to work for the industry. In addition, IFPA served its purpose, given that it assisted the biography incumbent to circumvent the need to attempt accessing a public university. It also represented the solution to not overcoming the superimposed structural impediment in Germany and a resolution to her parents' unwillingness to invest in a private university at the time. All in all, Nicole is highly motivated to become a professor and is still under the influence of the aforementioned three most important significant others in her biographical development. The informant wishes to continue studying after her PhD and does not intend to go back to the industry. Nicole is currently in another relationship living with a new colleague. It is, however, rather interesting to note how the patterns tend to repeat in her biographical development.

6.9 The reconstructed “gestalt” of the overall biographical structuring of C. Hoffmann

IFPA's dual system training as a second order horizontal educational advancement resolution to not overcome superimposed structural impediments, micro financial constraints, and a functional mechanism leading to upward mobility

1. Preliminary aspects of the informant's biography

Christopher was born in a countryside town in the state of Goias, Brazil. The informant has two siblings, and he attended a public elementary school for two years. Afterwards, his parents moved to the capital of the state in search for better living conditions. There, the incum-

bent attended elementary and high school at the same public school. Christopher underwent IFPA's industrial clerk dual system apprenticeship in the block system modality. The practical part of his apprenticeship was done at one of the largest chemical companies in the world in Sao Paolo. After concluding IFPA's apprenticeship, the informant accessed tertiary education and is currently majoring in business administration. Christopher is still working at the company where he did his dual system apprenticeship and is focused on a dominant institutional expectation pattern in his biographical development.

2. The incumbent's family milieu and his childhood developments

Christopher comes from a more socioeconomically underprivileged family background. His grandfather is the son of Portuguese immigrants, and he married an Indian from a tribe in one of the Brazilian states. The informant's mother had many siblings and they came from an agricultural background in the countryside. Christopher's mother was raised by an adoptive family that could afford to raise her, given that the family was extremely poor and had too many children. Christopher's parents met because his father served in the army and was transferred to the state where his mother was born and raised. They married after one year, and the incumbent was born soon after that in the countryside, and his two siblings were born in subsequent years. The informant's father earned a minimum wage working as a repairman at a shop and his mother was a housewife. In the countryside, Christopher's routine was rather monotonous, essentially attending a public school, working with his parents and visiting relatives on weekends. The informant was socially isolated due to the very remote location where the family lived. Hence, mobility was difficult. This was the initial trigger that motivated Christopher to seek out other social arenas where he could develop and experience socialization more intensively and diversely. The informant began developing a strong desire to eventually leave for a life in a metropolis which would constitute a contrast to his early childhood development in the little town where he was born and raised.

At the age of nine, the biography incumbent moved to the capital with his family in search of better chances that could provide the family with an enhanced source of income leading to a more solid self-existence. The family opened their own business in the capital, which should provide for the family. The informant's family could barely make ends meet in the capital and didn't have TV, radio or internet. Christopher's life was essentially helping his parents with

intensive labor in the family's small business and attending a public school, which he criticized and perceived as a low-quality institution that didn't even offer foreign languages and a high quality level of education. It is an open criticism of the informant in relation to public schools that, to a certain extent, have influenced his biographical development. Christopher wasn't sufficiently prepared to overcome super-imposed structural impediments that inhibited him from achieving his primary post-high school educational objectives of making a prompt vertical educational advancement. Christopher had to attend two higher education entrance examination preparatory courses for a period of two years after high school so as to prepare for the examinations. It demonstrates the fierce competition to access public universities and also the biography incumbent's lack of previous solid preparation to pass the higher education entrance examination.

Even though he had already attended three years of high school, it was still necessary to attend two additional years of preparatory course, where, essentially, all contents taught in high school were reviewed in preparation for the examination. Yet, by attending such courses, Christopher also clearly demonstrated that there weren't any self-chosen or self-erected impediments in his specific process. The informant was willing to additionally prepare and face potential superimposed structural impediments so as to access a public university and accomplish his primary post-high school educational aspiration.

3. A trajectory for the entire family during the informant's youth

During high school, the informant's biographical development continued with financial constraints and intense labor, as he had to assist his family in earning a minimum income that could provide for the family's self-existence in a much more costly location. It was during this period of time that the small business the family opened in the capital burned down and the family lost everything. It represented a non-human event carrier influencing the already difficult financial and emotional period for the family, who had to start rebuilding their small business that didn't have any insurance coverage. The incumbent began to experience a very high level of distress at home and his desire to leave for a metropolis once and for all intensified even more. It would be the representation of leaving behind these constraints and the suffering his family was undergoing. The informant became even more focused on initiating a

biographical actions scheme that could steer his biographical development in a direction that didn't involve intensive labor and emotional suffering.

4. Human event carriers and their influence leading to a biographical action scheme

The public school that was heavily criticized by the informant also played a crucial role in his biographical development, for this educational institution began receiving international students who came to this Brazilian capital to work in Au Pair⁴² exchange programs. It was an opportunity for the informant's first contact with a foreign culture. The incumbent came in contact with a German student who was working as an Au Pair in the city where the informant resided, and she was also attending the same school that Christopher attended. He established a close friendship with this individual who began to play the important role of an event carrier in his biography. The informant began developing an interest in German culture, history, and language, and Christopher immediately perceived it as a pathway that could represent the opportunity to escape the trajectory his entire family was undergoing at the time. However, he couldn't go abroad because his parents didn't have the minimum financial condition to assist him. As the family couldn't afford it, Christopher convinced them to host an exchange student from Germany. This individual stayed at the informant's parents' house for one year, and helped to reinforce the incumbent's yearning to have the same experience abroad. This desire was also, of course, a contrast to the social arenas where the informant lived in his childhood. He lived in a very small, isolated town with his parents and had the desire to leave for other bigger cities, where he could free himself from that "little world" as he describes in his rendering. These two event carriers strengthened Christopher's interest in becoming an exchange student as well. The main motives that led the informant to search for the Au Pair program were: The influence of two event carriers, namely, the first German exchange student in his school, and later the one who stayed at his parents' residence; The informant's interest in freeing himself from that "little world" he lived with his family, and where his social arena didn't entail any foreigners or individuals from different origins; It was an opportunity to establish a biographical action scheme that would cease a trajectory leaving behind financial and emotional constraints; (d) The absence of any costly financial disbursement. (e) The possibility to

⁴² A domestic assistant from a foreign country working for, and living as part of, a host family.

stay in a family's house and take care of their children in exchange for shelter and pocket money that could help him to provide for his living abroad.

5. Attempting to follow an institutional expectation pattern

The first step taken by Christopher within his biographical action scheme that could assist him steering his biographical development on a pathway diverging from financial constraint and the suffering the family was undergoing at the time, was to convince his father to pay for a language course, which the family did with a lot of financial effort. The informant began learning English on a private course. This interest in languages formed part of his intention to go abroad on a possible exchange program. It can also be inferred that this decision was heavily influenced by the event carrier role played by the German exchange student the informant had met at school. Christopher wished to go abroad as soon as he could. However, the serious financial difficulty the family was in was still a huge impediment.

Then Christopher finished high school. At this point in time, the informant was going through a transition between secondary level and further educational attainments. Even though he wished to travel abroad, he firstly aimed at accessing higher education in Brazil upon high school graduation, and only travelling abroad later, because his parents couldn't afford a plane ticket or his basic expenses abroad. It becomes clear that Christopher's primary post-high school educational objective was to enter tertiary level education, even with the two years of prep course he attended. Thus, the family set a plan in motion. The informant's father did some repair work for a higher education preparatory course institution and in exchange the informant could attend the course free of charge, given that the family didn't have the money to afford such a private course. The informant wished to enter higher education to major in tourism and the motive, which can be inferred from his rendering, is its relation to travelling and language, subjective aspects considered by the informant prior to his higher education access. This primary post-high school educational objective, as well as the informant's occupational orientation, clearly arose from a socialization process with the event carriers that changed the course of his biographical development. Therefore, the informant embarked on an institutional expectation pattern by signing up for the higher educational entrance examination so as to major in tourism at a public university. It can also be noticed that it was never

the biography incumbent's aspiration to make a prompt post-high school horizontal educational advancement by accessing secondary level VET in the subsequent modality.

However, Christopher couldn't overcome this superimposed structural impediment, which ended up inhibiting him from accomplishing his primary educational objective. Attending a private university couldn't even be considered because his parents couldn't afford it and he didn't have any qualifications to enter the labor market in order to provide for his self-existence, which would possibly have enabled him to afford attending a private university.

6. The genesis of a biographical action scheme in the biography of the incumbent

The above mentioned circumstances led the informant to an alternative biographical action scheme which culminated with two important biographical processes, namely the difficulties his family was undergoing after a trajectory and also the structural impediments he couldn't overcome that restricted his biographical development pathway margin. After not having passed the higher education entrance examination, the incumbent worked with his parents in their small business for another year and focused on finding an alternative to change the pathway his biographical development was following. After a long search and a process of application, he was finally allowed to go to Germany as an Au Pair to assist a German family with two children. The informant chose Germany as a destination because he wished to learn the language of a country he was already related to, to a certain extent, using a process which initiated with the influence of the two aforementioned human event carriers in school. This was the informant's first experience abroad. Christopher was embarking on this biographical process that in fact was intermingled with other processes at this time in his biography.

This was an action scheme developed by the informant to escape from a line of poverty and intensive work he had to perform to help his parents with their small business. This represented an opportunity to begin steering his biographical development away from the process he had experienced with his parents during his childhood in the countryside, and later in the capital. Christopher finally realized his dream that had begun with the event carrier in school. However, after one year it was time to return and it was again time to seek possible pathway alternatives that could steer his biographical development away from returning home.

7. A transitional biographical period in Brazil

The informant returned to Brazil and was under constant pressure to embark on a new biographical action scheme. Once again Christopher returned to his parents' residence and their small business, a biographical development he persistently wished to keep away from. Without any clear possibility of a return to Europe, the informant decided to sign up for the higher education entrance examination once again so as to accomplish his primary post-high school educational aspiration. However, this time he didn't even try to access a public university, given that he wasn't prepared for the exam and that it would demand attending a second private preparatory course. The previous (and not overcome) superimposed structural impediment, and the very restricted pathway margin, led the biography incumbent to a self-erected impediment. Christopher was certain he wouldn't be able to overcome the higher education entrance examination so as to access a public university. It also led the informant to completely abandon a more subjective assessment of an occupational orientation, and he was influenced by his parents to change his major for the reason that tourism wouldn't offer him many labor market opportunities where the family resided. With a great effort the family managed to afford a few courses and Christopher began studying after passing the higher education entrance examination. He began majoring in economical sciences at a private university. Apart from parental influence, there were also subjective arguments related to the informant's choice, however. Christopher believed it would be related to the economy and the political system of other countries, which can be associated to his interest in international affairs and international cultures, aspects which were intensively strengthened by the two aforementioned human event carriers in school, more specifically the German exchange students. By majoring in economical sciences Christopher was following an institutional expectation pattern at this time of his biographical development.

8. A new biographical action scheme and the informant's return to Europe

Nevertheless, Christopher was once again intensively laboring with his parents and the informant began perceiving that his university major wasn't sufficiently based on personal cultivation, and he experienced self-realization regarding a desired occupational orientation. It led the informant to a new biographical action scheme, despite his parents' constant request for him to remain living with them. Christopher once again changed the course of his bio-

graphical development. He decided to seek out an opportunity to do another Au Pair program in Europe, preferably where he could enhance his German language command. Thus, Christopher applied for a second Au Pair program in Austria. It would be the second biographical action scheme in his biography as an attempt to avoid any contour of events related to labor and financial difficulties in Brazil where his family resided. These two Au Pair programs have certainly played an important role in his biographical and identity development. The informant began relating a lot to German culture and wished to continue a development that could align with this interest and identification.

In order to avoid repetition of the events that followed his return from Germany to Brazil, and again face an undesired biographical development, Christopher is active and intentionally attempts to stay in Europe. A third biographical action scheme overlapping with a potential institutional expectation pattern initiated. The informant applied for a place at a university of applied sciences where he would like to study. However, just as had already happened in Brazil, once again he didn't overcome a superimposed structural impediment and couldn't carry on with educational intention. It meant he was compelled to return to Brazil and would have to continue searching for alternatives, but it would have to be an alternative related to tertiary level education given that Christopher never even considered undergoing secondary level vocational training in the subsequent modality.

The incumbent returned to Brazil and decided he would once again focus on an occupational orientation that he had already previously developed; he wished to major in tourism and would establish a plan to accomplish this objective. Christopher embarked on an institutional expectation pattern and began working for a hotel in order to gain work orientation as to make a more biographically appropriate occupational choice orientation. Christopher did the higher education entrance examination once again and this time he overcame this structural impediment and could begin majoring in tourism at a public university. After a number of attempts he was finally going to put his educational intentions in motion and would follow a more biographically appropriate occupational choice orientation. However, during this very same period he encountered some information online about IFPA School in Sao Paulo. Christopher decided to apply for the institution admission test as well, which he also passed. After seeing more employment possibilities in Sao Paulo, a huge metropolis that could offer him more chances than the city where he resided with his parents, Christopher didn't ponder the issue a

lot. He decided to leave for Sao Paolo, which was also an option that would enable him to reside far away from the financial difficulties of the family. It was an opportunity to achieve upward mobility far from the turbulent context in which he lived with his family.

Christopher began working at a large chemical company and, as a result, managed to find an alternative pathway leading him to steer his biographical development away from a very limited range of possibilities where he would have to be where his parents lived, and which also would keep him away from the trajectory of poverty which he had been exposed to for several years. The motives which led him to consider IFPA as a possible educational pathway are multiple: (a) As an alternative option to not being able to stay in Austria and attend college there; (b) It is a German school, which is related to a culture the informant is fond of and feels associated with due to the previous biographical process; (c) IFPA represented a potential educational pathway through its dual system aspect which offered the incumbent the possibility for employment at an apprentice's salary that would enable him to have a financial source for his self-existence in Sao Paolo, therefore representing financial independence; (d) Leaving for Sao Paolo was already a representation of distinctiveness for the informant who would move to a huge metropolis in search of upward mobility. Coincidentally it was the same pathway followed by his parents when they moved to the capital; (e) IFPA. Its VET system and Sao Paolo offered more potential employment opportunities than the location where he resided with his parents; (f) It was a financial relief for his parents who wouldn't need to further disburse any funds to help to keep the informant living with them at their home.

The informant's first choice was to undergo the international trade course at IFPA which can be associated to international matters, a point of interest of the informant. However, the company where he was admitted for the dual system apprenticeship could only offer him a vacancy to undergo the industrial clerk course, which the informant was compelled to accept. Interestingly, Christopher was willing to abandon his previous occupational orientation and be forced to accept a completely different orientation. However, he was fully aware that IFPA could be used as a mechanism promoting upward mobility and it could potentially represent the end of financial and emotional problems in his biographical development. Moving to Sao Paolo was overwhelming for the informant. It was very difficult for Christopher to adjust to a huge metropolis, especially given that he was born and lived for many years in the countryside. This had made the beginning arduous, and it also created moments of hesitation when

the informant wondered whether his decision to undergo a VET program was more appropriate than having begun to attend higher education to major in tourism.

The routine of the incumbent at IFPA School was conducted on the basis of one of his basic biographical orientations of being a sociable and extroverted person when confronted with different social worlds. Christopher can easily adapt to different groups, and it facilitated circulating among different groups within the school, given that there were two distinct groups. Specifically, the wealthy one composed of individuals from Sao Paolo and the ones coming from the German colonies who were more socio-economically underprivileged. The informant considered himself to be an exception in this social arena. Christopher wasn't one of the wealthy individuals coming from private German schools in Sao Paolo, nor was he from the German colonies in the south of Brazil. The informant was an apprentice from a completely different state and wasn't related to any German schools. The informant only had problems with one individual from the wealthy group at the time because he was very committed and interested in acquiring a profession for his self-existence. Therefore he was undergoing the apprenticeship in a different intensity and with another purpose than others who lived with their parents in Sao Paolo and were doing it merely due to an indecision regarding tertiary level education.

Christopher makes a general positive evaluation of IFPA as an educational institution, with only the teachers as a target for heavy criticism. The informant considers these individuals as arrogant because they lived a luxurious life in Brazil, despite the fact that they were teaching at a vocational school. It calls attention to the fact that the informant implicitly associates a lower status and worth to vocational schools, as if he were stating that this attitude would be more suitable in a tertiary level course or institution. The informant's experience at the company, however, is extremely positive. Christopher demonstrated dedication, where once he depended on that dual system to obtain future employment that would serve as a financial source for his self-existence and also as a mechanism to continue following his still primary educational objective of accessing tertiary education. In addition, the job rotation system could provide him with work orientation, given that he had the opportunity to work in different departments, and after all identify with the ones he had most affinity with.

The meaning of IFPA for the informant is of an educational institution that provides one with a useful, immediate entry into the labor market, but that doesn't eliminate the need for a higher education degree. Christopher assumes that it would only be regarded differently if it were a higher education course for the reasons that secondary level VET courses have a very low reputation in the country. This is, of course, another motive that led the informant to seek higher education upon graduation from IFPA, and it also helps to comprehend the establishment of his primary post-high school educational objectives and why they didn't entail the alternative of other vocational schools. The informant's perception of general secondary level VET in Brazil and his decision to undergo a trade course in this educational level and modality was certainly a difficult decision to make, given that he had to confront his social world so as to explicate his decision, especially after having passed the higher education entrance examination at a public university to major in tourism, an objective he had always had. In addition, it might have been a source of conflict for the informant as well, for he was aware it wasn't a university degree and a desirable educational pathway.

Christopher's perception of secondary level VET in Brazil is very negative. He considers it as a not well seen educational level by companies, and that, as there are many small private colleges in Brazil offering low quality courses at a questionable price, everybody wants to attend college given that it became affordable through very low-quality private colleges. The informant justifies the point that secondary level VET courses should have a better reputation before companies can start hiring individuals that don't have a higher education degree.

9. Post IFPA developments in the biography of the incumbent

IFPA provided Christopher with the opportunity to obtain work orientation and could assist identifying a more appropriate occupational orientation. However, an interlink of biographical importance nearly changed the entire course of its subsequent development. In 2008, during the financial crisis, the informant was just about to finish his dual system apprenticeship and feared not receiving any permanent employment opportunity. Despite this, he was initially employed to replace one employee who was going on maternity leave. The informant worked in this position for six months and was afterwards hired to work permanently at the same

company. There, Christopher began developing professionally, and nowadays is even leading projects within the company that include a need to travel to Germany.

Christopher finally managed to access university, and entered to major in business administration. This re-orientation of his occupation objectives are related by the informant in the contents that were taught at IFPA, given they were essentially equal in this tertiary level course. The motives leading the informant to higher education and to major in business administration are the following: (a) This course had a similar curriculum to the industrial clerk apprenticeship he underwent at IFPA, which would ease the learning process, especially due to the fact that working and studying concomitantly would demand a high amount of energy and dedication and, therefore, studying a course that entailed subjects that were known to him and would make it easier to power through university. In other words, Christopher argues it was the easiest strategy to obtain a higher education degree; (b) It would provide him with further qualifications that could enable him to grow professionally and also to afford the tuition fees of his higher education course; (c) A third motive presented by the informant related to a fear regarding future employability. Christopher feared other companies, especially Brazilian ones, wouldn't know or recognize his IFPA certificate.

One last motive leading the informant to seek this specific major was that the company also helped with paying the tuition fee by providing a partial scholarship to Christopher. It can be seen that the company continued to invest in the informant's education, but demanded a specific major from him.

10. Dominant institution institutional expectation pattern in the life of the informant

Currently, the informant is following an institutional expectation pattern in his biographical development. Christopher bought an apartment in Sao Paulo, and keeps growing professionally in the company where he did the practical part of his dual system apprenticeship. All in all, the informant is currently considering further educational objectives after graduating from university. He wishes to work abroad and is professionally ambitious and driven. The informant finally managed to accomplish one of his main biographical intentions, steering his bio-

graphical development away from the suffering and financial constraint he had so intensively experienced while residing with his parents in the countryside and also later in the capital.

6.10 The reconstructed “gestalt” of the overall biographical structuring of Lauren Klein

IFPA’s dual system within a negative vertical educational in a search for occupational orientation

1. Preliminary aspects of the informant’s biography

Lauren was born in Sao Paolo, Brazil, and has two siblings, being one older and the other one younger than her. Lauren’s grandparents come from the countryside of Sao Paolo, where they lived in the smallest town of Brazil. After moving to Sao Paolo, the informant’s mother and aunt were born. The incumbent’s father was born in Sao Paolo as well and has four siblings. Lauren is very close to my father’s family, significant others to whom she is in constant contact, especially with her cousins, who are the children of her father’s sister, who is also the incumbent’s godmother. They all are the same age and attended the same constructivist school, and also attended piano lessons together. They are all married and have many work commitments nowadays, which impedes them from maintaining a close relationship. Lauren’s parents met in Sao Paolo, where Lauren was also born and raised. Her father is an engineer and still works in the field nowadays, whereas her mother has a degree in biology and has worked as a school teacher, also having become a principal later on in her professional career within the school. Lauren firstly attended a smaller private elementary school for five years, and then she entered a private German school in Sao Paolo, where he finished elementary and also graduated from high school. Lauren underwent IFPA’s logistics dual system apprenticeship in the block system modality; two weeks at school and three weeks at work. The practical part of her apprenticeship was done at Hamburg Süd (a leader in container shipping lines), in Sao Paolo. IFPA’s apprenticeship was undergone by Lauren after graduating from higher education; she already had a degree in law, when she decided to undergo secondary level VET. She is currently working for the same company where she did the practical part of her dual system apprenticeship.

2. The incumbent's childhood developments

Lauren comes from a middle class family background, and was born and raised in a very prestigious neighborhood of Sao Paolo, which indicates she comes from a more socioeconomically privileged family. She had a pleasant and harmonious childhood with intense social contact to other children. Lauren had, in addition to her cousins, to close friends during childhood developments. Lauren always spent time together with both, but that she identified more with Pamela, due to the reason that Mary was older and also more responsible. She probably played a more caring and conscious role among all the three of them. Mary represented more the role of an authority, whereas Pamela was more supportive and outgoing. The informant had a close and intense relationship to these two girls until they all accessed college. A while later, during her teenage years the Lauren met Mark, and began her first relationship in her biographical development. She met her first boyfriend where I lived with my parents. She dated Mark for seven years, and he would have a great influence on her occupational orientation and educational aspirations later on in her biographical development.

The biography incumbent's first elementary school was a small private one located near the family's residence in Sao Paolo. Lauren attended the same school her cousins, from preschool until the 1th grade of elementary school. It was a private constructive school that has certainly influenced the identity development of the incumbent biography, despite the fact that she didn't attend this institution for many years, due to two different aspects: (a) In a constructivist school the teacher normally addresses individually one's learning needs. (b) Children experience democracy, because the rules are established through conversations and agreements between teachers and students. In is a social arena where its individuals are conditioned to hearing, respecting the rights and duties of all and understand them. These were certainly aspects that influence basic biographical positions of the incumbent, such as the constant desire to discover the new, the need for acceptance and the strangeness to intolerance, for instance that coming from her mother or supervisors throughout her professional development. After leaving the constructive school, Lauren entered Porto Seguro⁴³ School, where she studied until she graduated from high school. The informant appears to have integrated

⁴³ It is a private German school located in Sao Paolo; a prestigious educational institution where tuition fees are exceedingly costly.

easily and rapidly, and still has friends from this school. As for the transition from the constructivist school to Porto Seguro School, four different aspects can be cited: (a) the incumbent's older sister, who is five years older than her, was already attending Porto Seguro School. It would facilitate the parents' logistic system regarding both children. (b) It was a purchase opportunity, given the proximity of the educational institution the family's residence. (c) Search for positive distinctiveness through the acquisition of a third foreign language. Porto Seguro offers English, Spanish and German as foreign languages, which would enhance the incumbent's language skills; even though the family doesn't have any relation to Germany and nor are they descendents of German individuals. (d) it was clear part of her parents' educational action scheme leading to a more propaedeutic educational pathway that would result in higher education access so as to obtain a degree that could enable the incumbent to develop an occupational orientation related to non-manual work.

3. An exchange program to Germany and the incumbent's identity development

During the second year of high school two events followed the flux of events in the biographical development of the incumbent. Firstly, she received the opportunity to go to curriculum B in high school, which meant she would have classes entirely in German which would lead her to *Abitur* level. As a result, she would be able to access university in Germany; an option that she even considered during a certain time. However, the incumbent also had participated in an exchange program to Germany, an option that is offered by Porto Seguro School to all high school students who have the language proficiency. It was a very positive process for the incumbent, given that she could see and live the culture as well as improved language by living with a host family. This program was also a characterization of the incumbent's search for identity development confirmation. It was the incumbent's first trip abroad and also served as an important determiner in her biographical development. Despite enjoying the trip and feeling she identified with the culture, she realized she didn't want to attend college in Germany. The incumbent's intention was to stay in Brazil and pass the entrance examination there.

4. A primary occupational orientation and superimposed impediments

The incumbent has always been prone to follow a professional development in the field of human sciences, an orientation that began during the early years of her childhood. As a matter

of fact, Lauren's primary post-high school educational pathway aspiration was to access higher education to become a physician. Her intention of entering medical school, a clearer occupational orientation arose from different motives: (a) her basic schooling: Lauren was always intrinsically motivated to learn more about biology and chemistry. (b) The influence of her mother as a vocational identity model. Her mother, who is a biologist, has always had a strong tendency to care for people and help them. It appears that her mother was always interested in the medical area, and would also like to have become a doctor. (c) A basic orientation of the incumbent who enjoys helping and dedicating to solving or assisting others to circumvent problems. She enjoys playing a positive influential role and seeing the outcomes of this personal investment.

In the end the incumbent didn't follow through with her occupational orientation of becoming a doctor and didn't go to medical school. A concatenation of superimposed impediments hindered Lauren from accomplishing her primary occupational orientation intention, namely: (a) A self-chosen and also self-erected impediment. Entering medical school in a public university would demand intensive preparation to overcome fierce competition regarding the entrance examination. However, the incumbent didn't want to do it. On the contrary, she wanted to avoid the entire physical and emotional burden it would cause. She chose not to expose herself to this distress; decision that she regrets nowadays. It was also a self-erected impediment for she feared not to have and be competent enough to pass the entrance examination at a public university, especially for the most difficult admission test; (b) A financial constraint. Even though it wasn't directly mentioned by the incumbent, attending a private medical school would represent an enormous financial disbursement, way above any other major. Conceivably, her parents were not ready or willing to disburse such an amount of money. (c) Another self-imposed impediment came through the incumbent's perception that she didn't like seeing wounds and blood, which made her feel sick and scared; even though it could be an argumentation used by the informant to resolve the internal conflict of not overcoming the other self-erected and chosen impediments. (d) Another hindrance came through a human event carrier within a non-human one. Lauren had the opportunity to attend an orientation course that lasted one year long. During the tests she had talks with a psychologist, and was discouraged from going to medical school through the perceptions this professional had and also through the questionings posed by her. The informant was convinced she didn't need to become a

physician to help others, and encounter an occupational orientation that could fulfill her basic biographical orientation and need to assist others.

5. The influence of three different vocational-identity models

After having discarded entering medical school due to the concatenation of impediments mentioned above, Lauren began considering majoring either in psychology or law. At this point of her biographical development, her mother was apparently no longer playing the role of a vocational-identity role model, given that medical school was no longer an option. However two other significant others began playing a major role through the representation of a vocational-identity role model in her biographical development, namely, her older sister and her at the time boyfriend Mark. This seems to have brought a determined level of confusion.

The influence coming from her older sister was rather intense, given that she was attending law school at the time. Lauren was taken by her sister to college and was also exposed to explanations and examples of how profitable the field of law could be, representing financial security and stability. The influence coming from her boyfriend was also intense. However, two main motives prevented her from majoring in business administration at the time: (a) the incumbent's perception that there was a negative societal discernment regarding, which was considered to be superficial and with many individuals opting for this area. In order to comply with societal expectations and probably the discouragement coming from significant others, parents and her sister, regarding this specific area, the incumbent decided to forget about studying business administration. Then, it didn't take a long time for Lauren to realize this profession could be very profitable and she was convinced of her sister's arguments. She decided she wanted to become a lawyer. This influence was driven by two aspects: (a) the influence of her sister who played the role of a vocational identity model; (b) the outcomes of the incumbent's basic biographical orientation of assisting others, which she could accomplish within this occupation.

6. A first loss of a significant other and a trajectory in the family

In 2006, the incumbent's sister got married and moved out of her parents' residence. It was followed by a flux of events that culminated in a trajectory within the family. Firstly, the fam-

ily decided to move to a new bigger home because her grandparents were becoming senile and needed to move in with them. The family was then able to accommodate the grandparents under the same shelter. The incumbent was already experiencing a creative metamorphosis of biographical identity, given that she realized she was becoming more responsible and caring for the whole family after her sister moved out. She certainly helped the family in this transitional period, in which they had to experience the distancing from a significant other. Lauren was certainly using one of her most notorious basic biographical orientations of helping others to overcome their problems by offering comfort and solution. However, as soon as her grandparents move in with the family, her grandfather was hit by a car and didn't survive. It was a difficult period for the entire family, which changed her parents' home and routine since then. Her grandmother became very ill and the informant even mentions that the house resembles a hospital. It was also during this time that the incumbent lost a second significant other. One of Lauren's best friends, Pamela, passed away. She had a heart condition and she died during a heart surgery, before spending one year in a persistent vegetative state. It brought her closer to Mary and the family, which helped support and console them all. This was a clear opportunity for the incumbent to set in motion one of her basic biographical orientations that also served for the alignment of her occupational orientation, more specifically, being in contact and helping others to avoid or circumvent suffering.

Yet, it has a period of emotional distress for the incumbent, and these events also had an influence of her orientation of pursuing an occupational orientation in which she could help others. In addition, these events accumulated with a very delicate phase of her teenage years, namely, the transition from high school to further educational levels, a period in which one needs to make an important school track choice that will lead to a determined occupation.

7. Embarking on an institutional expectation pattern

Upon high school graduation, the incumbent opted for making a vertical educational advancement by accessing higher education. The informant did the entrance examination at three different universities, two private and one public university, all located in Sao Paulo. Lauren couldn't overcome superimposed structural impediments at one private and also at the public university. She only passed at Mackenzie, a private law school located in Sao Paulo. The self-chosen impediments of not attending a preparatory course and dedicate to accessing

a public university have nearly forced to begin attending a private university, which would have to be sponsored by her parents. It was already a detachment from her parents' educational action scheme. They made costly investments during her basic schooling so that she would be sufficiently prepared to overcome superimposed structural impediments and access a public university, where further disbursement would cease, and she would receive a high-quality education leading to a higher education degree, and as a result to a non-manual occupation. As she wasn't sufficiently prepared to overcome a fierce competition at a public university, it was easier to circumvent the physical and emotional efforts, which would be needed for a pre course in order to attempt accessing a public university, by entering a private university that her parents were able to afford.

Then, within a clear marked of a dominant institutional expectation pattern in the biography of the incumbent, Lauren began majoring in law at a private college. She immediately engaged in an action scheme that was aimed at providing her with enough work orientation to indentify a field within law she would like to develop a professional career. Lauren began doing apprenticeships in the field of law from the first term of college. She strongly desired to pursue a career in the field of law that was based on personal cultivation and self-realization; it can be already observed that the informant did not have a clear occupational orientation when she made a vertical educational advancement after high school. In other words, she accessed university within a determined level of indecision; which was not related to the type of post-high school educational advancement, but rather to a more appropriate occupational field within law at tertiary level. In addition, she was still certainly thinking about the options she didn't take within her choice, namely, medical school and business administration.

The first apprenticeship in the field of law was done on a voluntary basis working for the public legal bureau of Sao Paolo. It was the incumbent's first work orientation experience. After that she continued to seek work orientation in various areas including family, civil, and business law, until she realized she wanted to work in the intellectual property rights area. It led her to obtaining one last apprenticeship in this field before graduating. However, Lauren realized this field wasn't a desirable work field either. Although she liked the course itself, it was also a period characterized by a great amount of preoccupation. She couldn't perceive that any of those areas triggered her interest so as to be willing to pursue a professional career in that area. She began worrying about these developments due to the fact that she was one semester

away from graduating and needed to find an occupational orientation to initiate her career in law. At this point in her biographical development, she was under the influence of different motives that only helped confirming she hadn't yet found an occupational orientation based on personal cultivation and self-realization. It was based on two different motives: (a) Her boyfriend gained in influence and was intensively influencing the incumbent through his major and work in the field of business administration. (b) The work orientation in the field of property rights proved to be a field that she couldn't identify with. In addition it was not related to her basic biographical orientation of helping other anymore, it was rather focus on a corporative level.

8. IFPA's dual system apprenticeship as an alternative pathway

Still in the midst of a occupational disorientation, Lauren was already writing her final paper and preparing for the state examination to become an official lawyer, given she was attending the last semester of law school. She was also doing an apprenticeship in the field of property rights, a specific field of law she would like to professional develop a career. Yet, she was discontent with her apprenticeship and it had only demonstrated it was not a vocation based on self-realization. It was exactly during this period of time that her sister attended a presentation of IFPA School at her private high school. Interestingly, the incumbent herself had already attended the same presentation during high school, but it didn't become an option because she always had a very clear primary post-high school educational aspiration of accessing higher education. It can be observed that she perceived IFPA as an inferior educational modality and that her primary post-high school educational intention didn't entail undergoing secondary level VET, at any given modality. In addition, she never even sought out other vocational schools or additional alternatives. In any case, through this intrapersonal information about IFPA School, the incumbent became interested and began considering it as an alternative to her not yet encountered occupational orientation. In addition to her sister's informative talk, the incumbent could recall that some of her classmates had decided to access this school upon high school graduation. It can be observed that intrapersonal information was important in her pathway leading to IFPA and also the perception that it was an acceptable educational pathway within her social world, given that other actors have also followed this pathway, which would mean acceptance and comprehension. Then, she decided to ask for parental approval and they accompanied her to a second on-site presentation about IFPA and its dual

system apprenticeship. The incumbent, firstly, sought parental approval, especially because they would have to continue assisting her financially during IFPA's apprenticeship, and they also had to agree to this educational decision that would essentially override their entire investment made in the private law school. The presentation led Lauren to decide in favor of undergoing the industrial clerk trade course for it appeared to be the most appropriate one. The motives leading to IFPA and to this specific course choice were: (a) It was closely related to business administration, which she had once already considered to study in college. The incumbent had already thought about the area, but had already been discouraged from doing so. (b) It would be a way to comply with her boyfriend, who played a fundamental influential role, had already majored in business administration and was also working in the area. He had become an important vocational-identity model for Lauren, who perceived it would be the possibility to experience a course related to that area, which was also accompanied by direct in-company work orientation. (c) It was paid by the company, a characteristic that represented financial relief for her parents who had already paid her entire basic schooling and the private law school for five years. (d) The incumbent could perceive that this decision had a determined social acceptance within her social world, given that other former classmates had also decided to follow this horizontal educational pathway post-high school instead of making a direct vertical advancement. (e) It could lead to a more appropriate occupational orientation based on personal cultivation and self-realization, rather than forcing the development of a professional career within a field she perceived as inappropriate and self-alienating. (f) IFPA was the opportunity to be in contact with the German language again. It presented itself as an opportunity to keep this second language alive, which was also part of the identity development of the incumbent, who at a certain level felt related and connected to the German culture she had been exposed during her nearly entirely basic schooling and that was reinforced through her exchange program to Germany during high school.

It was an eclipse of processes in her biographical development, for she decided to intentionally change the course of her professional development so as to encounter a more personal-cultivation appropriate occupational orientation, and she was also concomitantly following an institutional expectation pattern. However, Lauren needed to firstly pass the admission test and begin IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. She was about to face the second set of superimposed structural impediments in her biography. Thus, before the admission test, Lauren readjusted her option once again. She wound up opting for the logistics trade course and give

up the idea of attending the industrial clerk course, on the basis that there were very few vacancies in the industrial clerk course and it was difficult to get a position at a company. It was a clear fear of a recurrent superimposed structural impediment she had already experienced before, which essentially altered her risk taking attitude. Once again she made a more objective assessment of what was easier, rather than what was more appropriate; just like when she decided not to attend the prep course in order to access a public university.

In the following, Lauren was accepted by a company she had already applied for an apprenticeship position during college. She was particularly interested in this company because it was a German multinational that would enable her to continue using the language she had learned for many years in school, and also due to the fact that they also had a legal department, which could be used in her benefit. She overcame the admission test, and could finally begin her dual system apprenticeship. Yet, this time marked a very difficult transitional period of intense distress and dissonance for the incumbent. Lauren began undergoing a difficult period of transition due to the following motives: (a) she had finally graduated from college and also passed the final state exam to become an attorney. She had a profession already and could immediately begin seeking for employment so as to enter the labor market and follow an institutional expectation pattern and develop a professional career in the field of law. In addition, she had overcome the state examination, which is a difficult exam. She could perceive that many of her classmates struggled and couldn't pass. (b) She had to experience intense dissonance and had to undergo constant post-hoc rationalization process that could convince herself, peers, friends, and significant others. She could see friends that had finished college with her growing professionally in the labor market, passing exams to become judges or prosecutors. In addition, it had become very difficult to deal with processes of rationalization whenever she was confronted by classmates and colleagues at work about her educational choice. (c) She was preoccupied that the field of her VET would not bring the aspired financial development within that occupational orientation. (d) She could see that her sister, who had influenced her to go to law school, was growing professionally and achieving successful outcomes in terms of income. (e) she was still experience doubt and guilt in relation to the entire investment made by her parents in a private law school, which led to a professional she didn't not intend to develop a professional career upon. Her parents didn't expect her to undergo secondary level VET at any given time of her biography, especially after already holding a higher education degree. It simply wasn't part of the educational action scheme estab-

lished by the parents for the incumbent. Not only was she deciding to make an “atypical” educational choice, but she was in her and her parents’ perception moving downward in terms of education. (f) She was contacted by a famous law office in Sao Paolo, and was offered a position with a very attractive compensation. It would be the opportunity to cease with the entire distress, assume the occupation she had acquired through higher education and begin a career. Nonetheless, she ended up not accepting the job offer, due to the fact that she’d have to work in an field of law that she disliked. (g) she was older than the others and felt she was an exception within that social arena, in which others couldn’t understand her school track choice.

Nevertheless, she decided to continue attending IFPA in the hope of developing the occupational orientation she hadn’t yet achieved. As time went by, Lauren indeed began developing a sense of identification with the company, which came from aspects: (a) the occupational orientation per se, which was related to the dual system apprenticeship and also a sense of identification and comprehension of the company, which arose from the job rotation⁴⁴ aspect that enabled her to have a systemic view of the entire company as well as to socialize with various other colleagues from different departments. (b) The fact that she was working for a German company she already wanted to. It was a representation of a continuation of the identity development she had constructed on the basis of the German culture through its language in school.

9. The confrontation of the incumbent with his social world regarding IFPA

Lauren was constantly enquired about her educational action scheme of undergoing secondary level VET to gain work orientation. She appears to have used a set of arguments in attempts of rationalization justifying his educational choice. Lauren argues that this educational choice was permanently questioned by others and also by herself and significant others, who had a determined expectation of her regarding educational pathway choice. This is a clear reference to socialization processes and its influence on one’s educational decisions. Lauren demonstrates a clear cognitive dissonance in her rendering. This is an important indicator of how the

⁴⁴ The incumbent also perceived it negatively due to the fact that the dual system course lacked routine and consistency, compelling one to move to another department without sufficient time to adjust.

individual dealt with any occurrence of cognitive dissonance regarding his or her educational choice. In addition, her own self-theoretical commentaries regarding VET in relation to higher education are very clear and reinforce the idea of a dissonant perception-behavior regarding secondary level VET. The informant openly assumes she doesn't know any other vocational school and has never even considered undergoing VET. These are clear attempts to detach her from a group of individuals that undergo apprenticeship in Brazil. The informant associates undergoing a secondary level apprenticeship post-higher education as a clear step backwards in terms of educational level. It is very interesting that she already regards it an inferior from the very beginning. In her case it wasn't a horizontal educational advancement anymore, it was a negative vertical educational recede. In other words, after having finished higher education, she decided to enroll secondary level VET, which is an educational level below tertiary education. She perceived that undergoing secondary level VET was making a step backwards in two areas: (1) educationally: in terms of secondary and tertiary level and (2) within her parents' educational action scheme: She would go down a level lower in the educational system and it would mean the great amount of financial disbursement made by her parents was in vain. In addition, the informant assumes that it doesn't matter how positive IFPA School's reputation is or the type of apprenticeship structure it entails, at some point one will have to have a college degree. She regards it as a compulsory educational level that is taken for granted, one simply must obtain a higher education degree. Hence IFPA is also considered a second order choice in terms of school track choice, which represents very specific functional mechanisms; in her case gaining work orientation in a different field of work in an attempt to develop an occupational orientation based on personal cultivation and self-realization.

Moreover, Lauren doesn't even know other vocational schools and their respective trade courses. She never intentionally searched for information about any of them. She only focuses on argumentative narrative detailing used to highlight the distinction related to IFPA and other general secondary level vocational schools. In all probability these were also arguments used by the incumbent in post-hoc rationalization processes. The informant focuses essentially on two aspects when rationalizing her school track decision: (a) IFPA offers trade course in German, which makes it exclusory, (b) it also enables one to access the labor market to work in a multinational company. However, it remains very clear that, despite the fact that IFPA offers the advantages named by the incumbent, she still perceives it as insufficient, especially due to the discernment that the labor market, as a vital event carrier, demands such a vertical

educational advancement, in addition to being a compliance with societal expectations. Post-hoc rationalizations only seem to have ended when Lauren and other began realizing that she could have the same financial and professional success in the field of her dual system apprenticeship when she became a manager in the company where she did the practical part of her dual system apprenticeship. It was a relief and also an argument that could be used in further post-hoc rationalizations justifying her decision to abandon the field of law in order to undergo a lower level educational modality and pursue a career in the field of sales. It helped solidifying the occupational orientation the incumbent developed during IFPA's apprenticeship.

Despite the constant questioning and the need for rationalization processes, Lauren adapted to the school and developed friendship within the educational establishing. It was also during this period that met Mike with whom she began a new relationship. He became an important significant other during this turbulent period, and the incumbent could also related and identify better to him, once he was also undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship.

10. Further post-IFPA professional developments and dominant biographical process

Upon graduation from IFPA's apprenticeship, the incumbent was immediately employed to work at the commercial department, more specifically, in the field of sales. As time went by, Lauren began identifying even more with the company and the department she worked for. It can be observed that the dual system apprenticeship was able to establish a strong connection between company and apprenticeship, despite the fact that one had already made and finished a considered "normal" vertical educational pathway. Lauren climbed the career ladder very rapidly at her department. After her supervisor resigned, she was hired to replace her, thus, becoming a supervisor in the field of sales. She currently leads a team of thirteen employees, who are all under her supervision. It is remarkable how quickly the incumbent developed professionally after her dual system apprenticeship in the company, in an field of work absolutely unrelated to her higher education degree. Lauren gained occupational orientation is nowadays very satisfied with her development, especially through the opportunity to become a team leader.

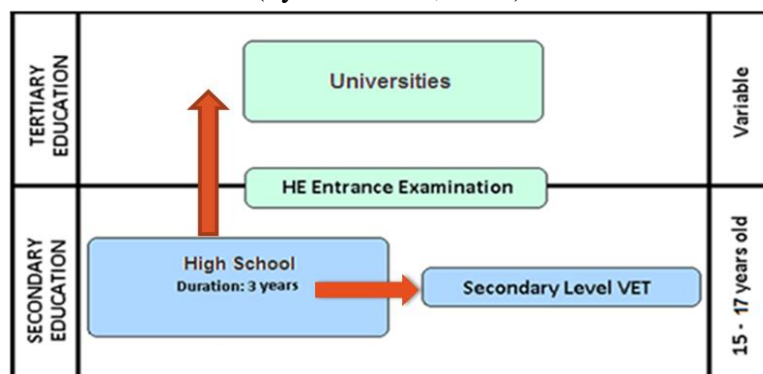
Lauren reflectively recognizes that IFPA changed her biographical development, especially professionally. She found the occupational orientation she could not find during college; and

that she does not intend to go back to the field of law. IFPA also brought the informant to a culmination of processes leading to a creative metamorphosis of biographical identity. The informant felt she should have more responsibility at that time, more dedicated and committed to work and to seeking for biographical intentions that suit her expectations and personal cultivation. There is still a clear regret regarding a wrong occupational orientation choice. It must be pointed out that she is still interested in the field of law. She still keeps in touch with a study group that she was in during college. It serves to demonstrate that this group was also an event carrier where she developed socialization processes. She still misses its representation. In addition, there is the influence of her sister as a significant other, who at times discusses with her about topics related to the field of law. The informant also mentions that she needs to be contact with the legal department at work sometimes, and that it also demands being up-to-date in certain issues. Moreover, it might be a need of the incumbent to maintain an already developed vocational identity, to which some social actors associated her to. There is an intrinsic interest, but that didn't suffice to be become an occupational orientation. However, the informant is still fighting against an internal conflict and also the external need regarding her current employment. Lauren still wishes and probably will obtain further qualification in the field of business administration, especially due to the fact that she occupies a managerial position nowadays at the same company where she did the practical part of her dual system apprenticeship. All in all, she is currently following an already dominant institutional expectation pattern and has also recently gotten married, thereby beginning to establish her own family.

7. Theoretical model

The first chapter of this theoretical model deals with the conditions and mechanisms that could be identified in the process that led former VET students to undergo the German dual system offered at IFPA in Sao Paolo. The second chapter is aimed at dealing with these individuals' discernment of the German VET dual training system they underwent as well as the experience made by these former apprentices during their VET training. The last main chapter focuses on the biographical impingements this educational modality had on one's post-VET biographical development. Only through a comprehensive understanding of a concatenation of manifold conditions, mechanisms and also biographical developments is it feasible to fully comprehend the process that led these individuals to seek and enroll at IFPA School in its secondary level dual system apprenticeship, which will also provide a concrete answer to the conditions that didn't lead them to opt for a prompt post-high school vertical educational advancement. In the following theoretical model the concept of choice is repeatedly used. Hence it is also necessary to delineate the meaning of this term. In the case of this dissertation, within the Brazilian educational system, it refers to favoring a determined educational pathway within a set of two main options concerning post-high school graduation within one's biographical development, either a vertical advancement by accessing higher education or a horizontal advancement by entering secondary level VET in the subsequent modality (see illustration below).

Illustration (1): Post-high school educational advancements in Brazil
(by the author, 2013)



A horizontal advancement is referred to secondary level VET in the subsequent modality and a vertical advancement is related to accessing university or tertiary level VET conducted by several regular universities (considered and described by the Brazilian government as tertiary

level VET, but comparable to courses offered by universities of applied sciences). There is, obviously, the option of not pursuing any of these educational pathways and access the labor market without any qualification. It is already perceptible that there isn't a broad range of educational choices individuals may opt for after high school education. Essentially, in broad terms, there are two main options, either a vertical or a horizontal educational advancement. It must also be understood that opting for one specific pathway means not choosing another one. Thus, it was not viable to fully comprehend one's post-high school educational choice regarding IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship without examining a process structure within one's biographical development and the previous choices made therein. This analysis has also led to the comprehension of the conditions that didn't lead the incumbent to opt for other educational pathways than IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship, which will also be fully explained in this theoretical model.

7.1 The biographical processes, conditions and mechanisms leading to IFPA

The biographical development of the biography incumbent leading to the German dual system apprenticeship offered by IFPA School in Brazil, within secondary level VET in the subsequent modality, is clearly not based on one sole condition and is equally not used as a single mechanism. The incumbent's decision to undergo IFPA's dual system apprenticeship, opt in favor of it as an educational pathway and decline a post-high school vertical educational advancement, emerged from an intermingled, multivariate set of processes, circumstances and mechanisms. In addition, only through the comprehension of an entire biographical process was it feasible to understand the process that led an individual to make this post-high school horizontal educational choice. The illustration (2) below assists demonstrating an entire initial process of decision, which is primordial to comprehend the development of the entire process that led individuals to seek IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. Firstly, data had clearly evidenced that each biography incumbent has a primary post-high school educational aspiration, which did not necessarily relate to a horizontal advancement choice. It can be argued that this primary aspiration is heavily influenced by one's perception of the general structural duality present within the Brazilian educational system. The origination of this discernment, however, is impacted by the family milieu of the incumbent, the parents' educational action scheme, significant other as agents of societal influence, as well as important non-human event carriers such as the labor market, a lacked occupational orientation prior to a horizontal advancement,

or even a set of superimposed impediments. The following section of this chapter deals with this important condition within the process that led one to opt for IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship.

Illustration (2): Process scheme leading to IFPA School and its VET system
(by the author, 2013)

Human event carriers	Non-human event carriers
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ parents and their educational action scheme ○ significant others and other social actors as agents of societal influence (teachers, peers and friends) ○ presence of a helpful vocational-biographical identity model 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ previous and dominant biographical processes during educational transition ○ perception of the duality structure VET x HE ○ incidence of occupational orientation (absence of indecision or indecisiveness) ○ labor market as an influential determiner



(1) First post-high school educational pathway reduction

Primary post-high school educational aspiration

(Vertical educational advancement)

Concatenation of hindrances impeding a prompt vertical educational

- superimposed structural impediments (even reoccurrence)
- self-imposed barriers (self-chosen or self-erected impediments)
- dominant biographical process during decision making process
- impingements of interlinks of biographical processes
- financial constrain through macro or micro-conditions
- impediments superimposed by significant others
- lack or loss of occupational orientation (traits of indecision)
- lack of HE offer leading to biographically adequate self-realization



(2) Second post-high school educational pathway reduction

Readjustment of primary educational objectives

Second order post-high school educational advancement choice

(Horizontal educational advancement)

7.1.1 The incumbent's primary post-high school educational aspirations

Schütze (2008) argues that it is vital for one's biographical development to understand the biographical sense of vocational training and doing one's occupational work as means for self-realization. Hence, it is necessary to examine the biographical process leading individuals to seek IFPA's dual system apprenticeship as to establish whether it was a first order choice within one's primary post-high school educational aspirations related to one's understanding of this biographical sense. This identification has made possible to identify whether this horizontal educational advancement was in fact a choice or a necessary alternative, and whether this choice was used as a functional mechanism aiming at further educational objectives.

Analyzing such a decision from a biographical perspective means assuming that IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship, as an educational pathway within one's post-high school track choice, is closely related to previous biographical process, conditions and mechanisms. Thus, undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship can be related to either an educational modality constituted as a self-alienating educational second order choice or a self-fulfilling first order educational choice leading to a determined occupational orientation. Hence, firstly, it is necessary to observe the primary post-high school educational objectives within the biographical intentions of the incumbent as well as basic positions of the biography incumbent concerning a horizontal educational advancement. The establishment of one's primary post-high school educational objectives within one's biographical intentions is interrelated with a set of previous processes and circumstances in the incumbent's life. It is related to the family milieu and the parents' educational action scheme involving the individual, the influence of significant other as agents of societal influence, one's general perception of the educational system and its choices, the presence or absence of an occupational orientation during decision making process, the role of other non-human event carriers in one's biographical development. Depending on the unfold of the flux of event's in one's biography, these conditions and mechanisms may overlap, be strengthened, worsened or relieved, and they are all part of a process that will lead to a choice within a determined educational pathway margin in one's biography. This set of multiple varietal conditions is essentially focused on the search for an educational pathway leading to desirable self-fulfilling occupational orientation. The next sections of this chapter will deal with each one of these conditions separately.

7.1.2 The parents' educational action scheme for the incumbent

There are a vast number of studies regarding parental influence on school track choice⁴⁵⁴⁶. Some studies even call more attention for they indicate an opposite trend of what could be identified in the case IFPA School. Just to name a few, the studies of Schindler and Reimer (2008) state that the salariat classes have the highest propensities to enter higher education. Van den Werfhorst and Andersen (2005) also established that in order to avoid decline in status, the children of both middle and upper-class origin tend to decide in favor of higher education, in contrast to working class children. Breen and Goldthorpe (1997) have also asserted that more working class students opt for the vocational alternative while children from more privileged background are likely to always prefer the highest educational alternative due to avoid social demotion. These studies are, firstly, not specifically aimed at a Brazilian context. In Brazil, as it could be observed in the different cases exposed in the portrait chapter, horizontal advancement and engagement in secondary level VET may occur regardless of the parents' previous influential role, being it a habitus or a rational school track choice, given that other conditions such as self-chosen impediments and superimposed structural hindrances can prevail over this influential role. These interpretations give only a limited understanding of one's primary post-high school educational track within one's aspirations in a Brazilian context. As it depends on a variety of other circumstances, it is rather a precarious argument to state that parental influence alone will determine or be the most influential conditions within one's school track choice, for one's school track option can be potentially diverged from its first desirable course due to an enormous set of potential superimposed impediments the incumbent needs to overcome as to accomplish his or her primary post-high school educational intentions, especially concerning a post-high school vertical advancement within the Brazilian educational system; it must be comprehended, though, that it is not being discussed here whether or not parents play an influential role, given it is dully verified in the empirical data available and also through other studies that this is a fact. The point being referred to in this chapter is that this parental influence begins very early in Brazil and: (1) It can heavily color

⁴⁵ The most influential are the cultural reproduction by Bourdieu's; see Bourdieu és Passeron (1977) and Bourdieu (1986), rational choice; see Boudon (1974) and Goldthorpe (1996), and also cultural explanations of schooling decisions and school choice; see Ball et al. (1995), Reay and Ball (1997). Yet, there are several other sutides in this area that could me mentioned as worth of attention, such as Schindler and Reimer (2008), Andersen (2005), Becker, R. and Hecken, A. E. (2009) among others.

⁴⁶ The aim of this dissertation is not to correct these theories. However, these theories may assist explicating the theoretical model here formulated.

the biography incumbent's attitude toward secondary level VET through self-theoretical commentaries of the parents regarding this educational modality. It is important to comprehend that these individuals' perception of vocational education and training in Brazil is especially blurred and biased due to the innumerable disastrous reform this educational modality has suffered since its establishment in Brazil. Hence, parents also have a determined discernment of the structural duality present in the Brazilian educational system; (2) The educational action scheme the parents establish for the biography incumbent since the very beginning of one's basic schooling conveys the expectation of the parents' regarding a prompt post-high school vertical educational advancement. Yet, it can also become a source of botheration and/or extreme pressure for the biography incumbent who is aware of the educational achievement which are expected of him or her; non-compliance or not being able to attain such an expectation can become a source of inner conflict for parents and biography incumbent. These two main conditions may appear separately or concomitantly and they determine one's first educational orientation through a potential widening or reduction of one's educational pathway margin concerning a post-high school track choice, and it can equally influence one's establishment of a primary post-high school aspiration.

Firstly, it was observed that the incumbent's post-high school primary educational pathway aspiration already initiates with a limited margin. The incumbent's choice depends on the perception one and his or her family has of the educational system and its possible pathways and whether this discernment entails a structural duality dividing educational pathways into the one leading to manual and the one leading to non-manual work. Queiroz *et al.* (2008, p.4) argue that secondary level has always been divided into two pathways in Brazil, one aimed at preparing for higher education entry through entrance examinations, and another one for the labor market. This perception may restrict one's educational pathway margin, in an already narrow range of choices. It could be observed that parents and incumbents generally don't even consider a horizontal advancement as a feasible, an acceptable first order post-high school educational advancement, unless superimposed impediments become hindrances on this process. In this scenario, one is influenced to follow the considered "natural" pathway by making a post-high school vertical educational advancement. According to the analysis of the empirical data, this discernment is not related to a specific socioeconomic profile, and it can also be clearly observed in the renderings of Eva (a), a socioeconomically privileged individuals who lived in one of the most prestigious neighborhoods of Sao Paulo and whose parents

have higher education degrees, in contrast with the ones of Jessica (b), an individual originating from a very socioeconomically underprivileged family milieu.

- (a) I don't know another trade course (,) (-) I don't know any other (') I never thought about it (,) For me (-) there was no such possibility (of making a post-high school horizontal educational advancement)
- (b) Jessica If I hadn't gone to IFPA (') I wouldn't have gone to another trade school (,) (-) I'd have gone to college then (,) [...] normal trade courses are not helpful (,) It wouldn't help me with my education (,) (-) Maybe it is good for other people (,) /ehm/ I wouldn't do it (,)"

As stated above, this perception of the incumbent is heavily shaped by the influence of the parents through the parent's educational action scheme established for the biography incumbent. It could be observed in the rendering of the informants that parents have a strong tendency to seek private elementary as well as high schools which can supposedly offer the biography incumbent with a higher quality of education. As mentioned in the initial chapters of this dissertation, only 16% of all Brazilian pupils are enrolled in private schools that provide basic education (elementary and high school); see Brazil (2012f). It is also necessary to bear in mind that the best-ranked schools in Brazil are private. However, it is an illusion to accept as true that all private schools offer high-quality education for there are certainly many exceptions to this assumption. It is also an illusion to assume that such an educational action scheme can guarantee one's post-high school vertical educational advancement leading to the access of a public university, which are equally the best-ranked ones and free of charge. Undergoing basic education in such private institutions, though, means great financial disbursement for these parents, including the parents' of the more socioeconomically underprivileged individuals, who also tend to establish such an educational action scheme for the biography incumbent. The renderings of Alice (1) a more socioeconomically privileged individual absolutely align with those of Virginia (2) a more socioeconomically underprivileged individual in terms of parental educational action scheme for the biography incumbent.

- (1) My mother always said /ehm/ I pay a private school for you (') (-) so that :you: can go to a university I don't have to pay for"

- (2) We went to a private school (,) Because my mother said that we had to :save: money (-) we couldn't watch much :TV: (-) and could only take a five minute or less shower (') we needed the money to pay for school (,)

The renderings of Jessica have also demonstrated that the more underprivileged parents equally make enormous efforts to enroll their children in private schools. Her father worked as a farmer for the local cooperative that owned a private school in the German colony where Jessica was born and raised. Her father's labor enabled her to attend this school, thereby establishing the same educational action scheme for the biography incumbent, who indeed ended up accessing a public university upon high school graduation. Parents tend to invest in private basic schools which can prepare the biography incumbent for a more propaedeutic educational pathway leading one to make a post-high school vertical educational advancement by entering a public university. Hence, parents also assist developing the perception of an alternative-less pathway through their educational action scheme, which the biography incumbent is expected to follow. There is an exacerbated overvalue associated to higher education, which hinders any possible assessment of other secondary level VET options within a potential horizontal advancement, regardless of socioeconomic background, unless it becomes a matter of necessity, which does not characterize free choice per se. Christopher Hoffmann's, an individual coming from a more socioeconomically disadvantage family milieu and that attended his entire basic schooling at public school, also clearly demonstrates in his rendering the veracity of this assumption:

“(I considered) only IFPA because of this dual system (,) I never thought of going to any trade schools (-) in Sao Paulo or /ehm/ where my parents live”.

Parents and incumbents nearly take for granted that one is expected to advance vertically within the Brazilian educational system and its context. A horizontal advancement may only become a temporary option within a second order choice, in case superimposed impediments couldn't be overcome. Parents tend to lay the foundation to establish a mechanism that could guarantee a pathway leading to non-manual work, societal compliance and in the hope of financial stability and prestige for the individual, and this financial investment made throughout basic schooling is immense. These families disburse costly tuition fees at private elementary and high school and even invest in private preparatory courses that can enable the incumbent to access a high-quality and prestigious public universities in Brazil. Thus, parents have a

strong tendency to construct a pathway steering away from a possible circumstantial educational limbo, which is caused when one is impeded by one or a diverse set of hindrances to access the alternative-less educational pathway of entering higher education. This circumstantial educational limbo refers to whenever accessing higher education becomes momentarily impossible or particularly complicated, which forces the individual to seek second order choice pathways leaving one with either the possibility of attempting to enter the labor market without a qualification or undergoing secondary level VET in the subsequent modality - an alternative that is also openly criticized by former apprentices, seemingly regardless of socioeconomic profile. As a result, it represents a second order choice that can potentially turn this educational alternative, undergoing secondary level VET, into a self-alienating educational pathway.

Thus, assuming that, through socialization processes⁴⁷, one tends to align his or her primary educational plans according to societal expectations, including the parents, the acceptable educational choice that entails a determined value within the Brazilian socio-cultural context has a strong tendency towards access to higher education upon graduation from high school. It aligns with the publications of Brazil (2010b) which states that following the “normal pathway to higher education” appears to be a general trend, given that in 2009 nearly 6 million students enrolled in universities throughout the country, whereas only 920 thousand enrolled in the subsequent modality of VET at secondary level. It also aligns with the last publications of SAE (2011) that argue even the more socioeconomically underprivileged individuals are heavily opting for this school track choice. Nearly 63% of all vacancies in universities throughout Brazil are occupied by individuals coming from social class C (used by the Brazilian government to refer to individuals whose income varies from approximately €110 to €450). In addition, to a certain extent, accessing higher education appears to be more important than the occupational orientation itself, and it is not only a perception related exclusively to the more socioeconomically privileged families and individuals. Even individuals coming from a more socioeconomically underprivileged background are heavily influenced by the perception that one can only achieve professional and financial prestige after obtaining

⁴⁷ Focusing on the life story involves an assumption that learning processes and participation in education are powerfully attached to the individual life story in which social conditions and prerequisites are subjectively integrated; see Larsen (2003, p.7).

a higher education degree. The renderings of John Taylor clearly exemplify this assumption and equally align with the ones of several other informants, as in:

In Brazil (-) it is like that (,) To be very clear (‘) if you don’t have a college degree in Brazil (‘) you are a nobody (.)

Indeed, parents do influence the incumbent’s primary post-high school educational aspiration and have a strong tendency to lay a foundation through their educational action scheme that begins at a very early stage of the incumbent’s biographical development. Therefore, a decision making process regarding one’s primary post-high school aspiration already starts restricted and, as a result, the family and the incumbent are already focused on a fixed track leading to an exclusive vertical advancement, pathway which entails a variety of impediments that need to firstly be overcome by the incumbent; the filter separating one’s primary educational intentions and its achievement is very dense in the Brazilian context; it will be addressed in this theoretical model in the subsequent sections.

Nevertheless, this heavy influence of the parents can be also turn into a source of distress for the biography incumbent. In case of a concatenation of constraint mechanisms represented by an accumulation of superimposed impediments, any attempt of social reproduction can be neutralized, and the parents’ influence may become a source of disturbance. Not being able to follow a “pre-established” educational aspiration within a vertical track can end up frustrating both parents and children, for such an educational advancement leading to a higher-quality public tertiary institution becomes impossible or distant. Parents can exert influence, but they may not be able to put down certain barriers that cannot be controlled by them, regardless on one’s family milieu. Not pursuing an educational pathway that is seen as a final result of a long investment in basic schooling already disbursed by the parents, constructs a potential difficulty for the incumbent to deal with his or her own social world. It can be a source of irritation to perceive that one is the exception within a social arena in terms of school track choice, which will certainly demand constant processes of rationalization as to explicate the motives that led him or her to undergo a considered “unusual” educational pathway. In addition, it can turn into an identity development problem for the incumbent, who also needs to comprehend the motives that led to such turn of events in his or her biographical develop-

ment. Lisa Steinway's rendering can perfectly illustrate this phenomenon in the following textual section:

So, I wanted to keep studying (.) (2) Everybody was going to college (-) everyone does it right after high school (.) (-) I was actually the exception (.) I didn't take the typical path Brazilian students usually take (°) going to college right after finishing high school (.) (-) I went to IFPA for two years before college (-) but IFPA is not college and isn't a college degree (.) it's a vocational certificate, which is just a plus (.) (-) but, it does not replace college (.) (-)

In the case of IFPA and its dual system apprenticeship, parents encouraged a primary post-high school educational aspiration aimed at a horizontal advancement in case of clear indecision process related to a lack of occupational orientation. In case the parents had to disburse costly tuition fees at private universities, these became reluctant to approve this advancement in the midst of an indecision process related to a lack of occupational orientation. Erikson and Jonsson (1996) and Breen and Goldthorpe (1997) have already discussed a similar issue, regarded in their model as 'risk aversion'. However, in a Brazilian context, this is only temporary. A horizontal advancement might be encouraged as to gain work and occupational orientation, which could minimize drop out and changes during higher education that could represent waste of capital and time. However, it doesn't mean that this individual will not access tertiary education; on the contrary, parents tend to encourage secondary level VET as a temporary functional mechanism that will provide one with work and/or occupational orientation, which will enable a more solid vertical advancement.

Parents equally encouraged a primary post-high school educational aspiration aimed at a horizontal advancement with the purpose of using it as a functional mechanism that could foster a subsequent vertical educational advancement that had to be initially postponed or suppressed due to an accumulation of impediments that hindered a prompt post-high school vertical educational advancement. In this case, IFPA became a temporary educational attainment, associated to a possible bridging mechanism. The cases of Virginia and Christopher also help comprehending that parents may encourage their children to make a post-high horizontal educational advancement by undergoing the dual system offered by IFPA School for the reason that it could provide one with a direct access to the labor market and also with a qualification, which could be used for further labor and source of income that, as a result, would enable one

to finally make a vertical educational advancement. It indeed ended up occurring, given that both individuals used IFPA School as a functional mechanism that later enabled both to access private universities, which they could then afford.

The parents' self-theoretical commentaries and perception of a structural duality and worth associated to vertical and horizontal post-high school educational advancement is also a source of influence on the biography incumbent's post-high school educational advancement. This perception is imposed on the biography incumbent by the parents who either use it to reinforce their action scheme or as a mechanism to encourage the biography incumbent to comply with what is seen as more acceptable by the labor market, as a significant non-human event carrier, and compliant with societal expectation. Other studies have also identified that the structural duality present in the Brazilian educational system makes a clear difference between the ones who are going to do the intellectual and the ones who are going to do the physical activities, and this historical structural duality is still vividly present in the perception of the individuals regarding the Brazilian educational system; see Ferreti (2002), Kuenzer (2002), Cunha (2000). Hence, the family's action scheme regarding the incumbent's educational pathway, since the beginning of elementary school, is heavily oriented on a general perception of the Brazilian educational system and its structural duality. In other words, VET is regarded as a second order choice or a transitional educational phase which is by no means addressed as a permanent qualification. The studies of Nogueira (2003) also argue that socioeconomically privileged individuals in Brazil see higher education as an inevitable, "natural educational" pathway, aspect which can also be clearly observed in the data analyzed in this dissertation. However, the cases of Virginia Müller, Christopher Hofmann and Jessica Mai help us comprehend that this perception is equally valid for individuals coming from more underprivileged socioeconomic backgrounds, who may also use secondary level VET as a functional mechanism to achieve the possibility to access higher education and likewise follow this "natural" school track constituted by a vertical advancement. At first, a vertical advancement might be more difficult due to a fierce competition in the public universities and its general accumulation with micro-level financial constrains, combination which is also pointed out by Mare (1993) who argues that children from lower social classes have more difficulties and impediments to access tertiary education. However, a post-high school VET in the subsequent modality has demonstrated to be crucial in providing one with a qualification which began being used to generate the necessary financial means as to finally access higher

education at a private institution that could eventually be self-financed. So, it does not mean these individuals and their parents do not aspire accessing higher education. This structural duality perception which leads to parental influence relating to a prompt post-high school vertical educational advancement also constructs an enormous pressure on the incumbent who perceives him- or herself trapped in a commitment they would not necessarily like to assume, but are essentially compelled to. Through parental direct influence and their perception of the educational pathway that should be followed as to achieve a non-manual profession, the biography incumbent is already aware of his or her parents' desires and intentions. The biography incumbent is conscious that not pursuing a vertical advancement is fundamentally the representation of dissatisfaction as well as concern to his or her parents. In other words, the parents and their educational action scheme as well as perception of a structural duality within the educational system are the first responsible conditions for enhancing one's possibility of accessing a desirable higher education, but they are equally responsible for the restriction of one's pathway margin, which initiates without consideration of secondary level VET qualifications within a post-high school horizontal advancement. In other words, the biography incumbent develops biographically being exposed to the discernment that making a prompt post-high school vertical educational advancement, especially by accessing a public university, is the optimal track choice, whereas secondary level in the subsequent modality remains ignored or as a transitional or last resort option. It can be observed that a post-high school educational pathway choice is, therefore, biased, and begins being influenced by the parents at a very early biographical stage.

Therefore, parental influence is crucial. However, choice is not completely under the control of parents. They can exert a determined influence, being it cultural or capital, but only the overcoming of a very dense mechanism of hindrance will determine whether one's primary post-high school educational intentions will be achieved, especially regarding a vertical advancement; these hindrances, such as self-chosen, self-imposed or structural impediments will be addressed in a separate chapter. In addition, as discussed above, such influence can also have a boomerang effect and turn into a source of disappointment and distress in case the incumbent is not able to make an expected post-high school vertical advancement. The case of Lisa Steinway, as extensively analyzed in the portrait chapter, is a clear example of how parental influence and their educational action scheme can become very limited. Even though they invested in her entire basic schooling, she could not overcome superimposed structural

impediments, which hindered her from accessing a public university. This condition ended up accumulating with a financial constraint that inhibited the access to a private university as well. As a result, parents and the incumbent became frustrated with their long term scheme and only then secondary level VET became a real option, thereby clearly characterizing it as a second order school track choice that was at first unrelated to the incumbent's primary post-high school educational aspiration. In addition, this frustration can seriously endanger one's assessment of further educational intentions, which could lead to opting for accessing the more probable or more related to parental desire rather than the more biographically adequate educational program related to self-realization. The informant actually had made a choice regarding higher education, but they were declined by her parents, who clearly heavily contributed to a development of a career path that didn't become a self-fulfilling occupational orientation for the biography incumbent, who wound up majoring in business administration, after having undergone her dual system apprenticeship as an insurance clerk, and nowadays finds herself within a rather self-alienating professional development. This can also be observed in the renderings of Alice:

“I wanted to go to college to major in a course related to biology (-) either oceanography or marine biology (,) but all the courses I said I wanted to study in college (‘) /ehm/ my father always said no=no=no=no [...] until today (-) I don't know what I want to be [...] what I do is not my passion”

Lastly, the parents' educational action scheme can lead to exaggerated pressure and fear of failure, which can lead to self-erected impediments. The biography incumbent may become reluctant to expose him- or herself to the endurance of attempting to pass the higher education entrance examination as to access a public university. Not only it demands physical and emotional effort, but it also becomes a source of fear for the individual dreads not overcoming this potential structural impediment, which would lead to disappointing parents and an endangering an entire educational action scheme that was implemented several years ago in one's biographical development. Such self-erected impediments may open the door to a possible horizontal educational advancement, as it could also be observed in the portrait chapter. The unwillingness to face potential superimposed structural impediments, and either parental inability or reluctance to opt for a private university, has opened one's post-high school educational pathway margin to undergoing the dual system offered by IFPA School in Sao Paolo.

7.1.3 The influence of significant others as agents of societal influence

Several theories acknowledge that vocational orientation arise from a combination of interactions between persons and their environments; see Osipow (1990). Theories concerning social learning to career decision making share a similar perception by arguing learning experience occur directly and indirectly and that these processes shape one's occupational orientation and also vocational identity. In the field of biographical research, life history is perceived as a series of conflicting interactions between an immediate environment, which in turn is also structured by societal contradictions, and a subject that in its own right is a conflicting product of socialization; see Larsen (2003). It means that significant others play a fundamental role as agents of societal influence in one's primary post-high school educational aspiration, and this influence can be direct or indirect. It could be observed in the empirical data that one's educational aspiration is influenced through socialization processes that occur directly through contact with a number of significant others within the incumbent's social arenas or indirectly by the perception of what constitutes a social fit and/or is regarded as a "normal" educational pathway. The incumbent is permanently in contact and exposed to the influence of significant others' self-theoretical commentaries about school track choice, being it peers, teachers and friends - including friends of the family. These social actors play a fundamental role in the incumbent's shaping of a perception and assessment of different school track options in a Brazilian perspective. The empirical data have demonstrated that the influence exerted by these actors has restricted one's educational pathway margin by excluding a horizontal advancement as an even worth of consideration primary post-high school educational advancement choice. These significant others assist shaping the perception that there is only one alternative-less pathway to be pursued within the Brazilian context, namely, accessing higher education. Any "unusual" educational pathway chosen by the incumbent could, therefore, turn into a source of doubt for the other actors of his or her social arena, which would demand various post-hoc rationalizations as to explain one's decision to opt for a non-natural post-high school educational pathway, or even to justify the motives that led one to opt for an educational advancement that was not congruent with his or her primary post-high school educational aspiration of accessing higher education. Interestingly, though, these rationalizations have demonstrated to be focused on an enhanced perception of IFPA and its apprenticeship modality. The incumbents are essentially compelled to strengthen the distinctive aspects of IFPA's apprenticeship modality as a main part of their rationalization processes justifying

such a school track decision; not overcome superimposed impediments are, at times, even completely ignored within one's rendering. Such a laconic rendering is the fruit of an inner conflict that can be generated in case such impediments hindered one from accomplishing his or her primary post-high school educational intentions. Significant others can equally restrict one's educational pathway margin by influencing a direct vertical advancement upon high school graduation as part of a natural process, which is simply taken for granted as the subsequent educational level to be achieved by these individuals. Larsen (2003) states that life history involves an assumption that learning processes and participation in education are powerfully attached to the individual life story, in which social conditions and prerequisites are subjectively integrated. This is specifically valid in the case of the influenced exerted by different social actors who have the role of significant other as agents of societal influence, within different social arenas, in the biographical development of the incumbent. Teachers, peers, friends and relatives have this capability, which can be expressed directly verbally or in a more indirect manner, through the example set by their own post-high school educational pathway choice that does not entail VET as an option.

Data analyzed in this dissertation have demonstrated that different significant others play an important role in the biography incumbent primary post-high school educational aspiration and school track choice: (a) The influence of peers in school: These perceive accessing higher education as a "normal" pathway to be followed within a Brazilian context. This appears to be mainly an indirect influential aspect, which helps restricting the educational pathway margin of the incumbent, who notices that only a vertical advancement is regarded as natural, and that a horizontal advancement could be a source of strangeness within his or her social arena. It could be observed in the data that the need for a post-hoc rationalization regarding a possible VET pathway within a horizontal advancement occurred regardless of the distinctive characteristics of the dual system offered by IFPA School. Thus, it can be affirmed that the structure of the VET program alone does not eliminate the need for process of argumentation as to convince oneself and others of this alternative school track choice, in case he or she decides to follow another pathway than a vertical advancement. (b) The influence of family members (relatives): these can equally have the same influential role. Family members can influence the incumbent educational pathway choice directly in moments of socialization by questioning future educational pathway choices or indirectly by demonstrating a determined uniformity in relation to a school track choice that is considered normal and expected by others to be

followed. This is especially valid in terms of social fit and may begin at very early stages of the incumbent's biographical development. There is no clear evidence in the data that family members have directly influenced individuals to seek secondary level VET in the subsequent modality in any educational institution as part of a primary post-high school educational aspiration, in the absence of any apparent potential superimposed impediments. On the contrary, the general influence is to establish that a post-high vertical educational advancement is expectable. (c) The influence of teachers: They are also of fundamental importance, given that they can convey the idea of a wider or narrower educational pathway margin considering school track choice post-high school directly within the educational institutions. Data have demonstrated that teachers can incite students and inquire them about higher education entrance examination preparatory courses, which can equally convey the perception that there's a very limited margin of choice including nearly exclusively a vertical advancement. This can also become a source of strangeness for the individual that decided in favor of IFPA School and its dual system, given that the entire emphasis was placed on a school track leading to higher education and not on a horizontal advancement. One is opting for an advancement that wasn't openly regarded as potential and worthy. This influence could be altered in case teachers work for institutions that possess some cooperation with IFPA School; it demonstrates that teachers and educational institutions would have to address horizontal educational advancement as possible and worthy, in case of a desire to expand access to such an educational modality. However, there is no evidence in the data analyzed that this school track option was considered as superior or even equal to higher education access. It is also an indication that, despite the distinctive characteristics of IFPA's dual system apprenticeship, it does not suffice to be regarded as a secondary level VET program that should be considered as one of equal worth within the two most logical post-high school educational pathways, vertical or horizontal. In the case of IFPA and its apprenticeship, being it part of a horizontal educational advancement, it was presented as a merely transitional educational level, which would have to be complemented with the already expected "natural" pathway by accessing higher education. (d) The influence of friends: These individuals can help strengthening the perception already conveyed in school and within the family that there is a more expectable pathway to be followed after high school, more precisely, to enter university as to obtain qualification in order to work in a non-manual job. The example of Nicole Bush explicates in an argumentative narrative detailing the motives for a higher predicate in her rendering:

It was also :kind: of different (to attend IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship) because all my=my friends didn't work (,) my friends and were attending prep courses (') or already attending college (,)

The individual may clearly perceive that his or her friends are following a post-high school track choice that he or she should also be pursuing, but for a determined reason was impeded to. It can become a source of inner conflict, for the incumbent needs to deal with the fact that he or she could not immediately pursue his or her primary post-high school educational aspiration of accessing university, and one also has to face rationalization processes justifying his or her decision to friends who cannot comprehend the need for such an alternative educational pathway. In addition, the structure of the dual system, despite its benefits that will be addressed later, can also contribute to a negative outcome in the Brazilian context, namely, social distancing. The apprentice needs to commit to work and school concomitantly, which generates a huge physical and mental effort, which can lead to distancing him- or herself from moments of socialization with friends who have different routine and also different educational goals during this determined biographical moment. (e) Relationship of the parents to other people: The friends of the family are also important and can likewise influence school track decision directly through their opinion and guidance, or indirectly through the example set by their children, for instance. Moreover, they can equally restrict one's educational pathway margin through their perception of the value different school track choices entail within a Brazilian context, which also relates to their perception of the structural duality present in the Brazilian educational system. Jessica Mai's rendering also grabs one attention, and can illustrate this matter as well. The informant comes from a more underprivileged socioeconomic background and the actors who belonged to her social arena also demonstrated the same perception regarding school track choice, and equally demonstrated strangeness regarding her post-high school educational pathway:

“but /ehm/ people asked me sometimes (') why did you go to a trade school and not to college (?) (-) It would take only two more years (,) Why (?)”

It helps demonstrating that the influence of significant others through their perception of what is regarded as a “natural” progression within the Brazilian educational system is not necessarily related to class or status. It is a widespread perception that a horizontal advancement is regarded as a second order choice or a mere transitional educational phase. This perception is

learned and perceived by the incumbent through direct or indirect influential behavior within socializations processes experienced with significant others within his or her social arenas. All in all, the biography incumbent and his or her primary post-high school educational intentions are generally influenced by one at least, but generally by a set of these significant others. Opting to undergo secondary level VET in the subsequent modality at IFPA School wasn't a trouble-free decision, concerning the influence of significant others, especially because the individuals had to justify their decision to these very same social actors. These rationalizations wouldn't be needed had one decided to follow and also achieved the considered "natural" pathway. In addition to convincing others, the incumbent also had to convince him- or herself that this option was the most appropriate at the time. These rationalization processes and the inner conflict they caused have also assisted comprehending one of the motives that led all informants to access higher education upon graduation from IFPA's dual system. Among other conditions, which will be addressed later, entering university was a manner to eliminate and cease the need for further post-hoc rationalizations.

7.1.4 The influence of an important non-human event carrier

The labor market is also a source of influence shaping the incumbent's primary post-high school educational aspirations⁴⁸. Data have evidenced that at times the incumbent didn't even desire to follow a post-high school vertical advancement, but it was perceived as an inevitable school track choice from which it was practically impossible to steer away from, in case one wished to progress and develop professionally. Thus, the labor market in Brazil has the power to foster the structural duality within the educational system and also influence one to establish a post-high school educational intention aiming at an immediate vertical advancement. It is perceptible that making such advancement is taken for granted in case one aims at developing professionally, above all in terms of income. In a Brazilian context, Barbosa and Pessôa (2009) have pointed out that there is an average 14% raise on the annual income of an individual for each additional year of education. Moreover, according to IBGE (2013) the average income of an individual who holds a higher education degree in Brazil can be 219% above the

⁴⁸ It is nearly impossible to ignore the confluence between educational organizations, businesses and community; see Dowbor (1996) - the author discusses about the Brazilian context.

average income of workers without it. Thus, accessing IFPA's dual system apprenticeship in a horizontal advancement was perceived as a transitional alternative that had to be complemented with a foreseeable vertical progression. It also helps explaining one of the conditions for a general post-high school educational aspiration oriented on a vertical advancement.

Furthermore, the influence of the labor market in school track choice and educational aspirations within one's biographical development is so relevant that can even cause high levels of distress for the incumbent. It could be observed that former IFPA apprentices even accessed university before finishing their apprenticeship or immediately upon graduation. The labor market, one's inability to make a primary post-high school vertical educational advancement, and the need to make a second order horizontal advancement creates a fear of future employability and latent financial constrain that becomes a source of distress and may even lead the incumbent to overlap educational programs as to avoid any restrictions regarding these two aspects. Therefore, as it could be observed through the analysis of the empirical data, the dual system offered by IFPA School is not perceived by the incumbents as sufficient in one's professional development in the labor market. A vertical educational advancement is regarded as compulsory and mainly dictated by this non-human event carrier, which essentially drives one's fear of future employability and source of income. Alice Bauer's rendering (a) illustrates it very appropriately. Eva's rendering (b) also helps comprehending the impact of the labor market in one's primary post-high school aspiration and the pressure it exerts on the individual, who becomes anxious towards a vertical advancement, despite having a positive assessment of his or her dual system apprenticeship.

- (a) "for you to have a good job in Brazil (') you need a college degree [...] it's mandatory to have a college degree (-) here [...] it is :necessary: in the labor market"
- (b) "I didn't want to waste time (!) because I had already decided (-) I wanted to stay in this area (-) [...] actually waste time /ehm/ is linked to :my: initial plan"

This nearly coercive influence played by the labor market can not only lead one to experience fear of future employability and the perception that one does need to make a "normal" post-high school vertical educational advancement, but also to potential objective assessments of one's occupational orientation, ignoring subjective estimations. In other words, the incumbent

may opt for a determined major only to comply with the necessity of obtaining a higher education degree, at times without any biographical work that could possibly lead to an occupation related to personal cultivation and self-realization. It could be observed in the data that the individual may even identify with his or her dual system VET area, but that the labor market demands a vertical advancement, which could later be made in an undesired field of work as to comply with such obligation. Thus, the labor market is a crucial external influential event carrier in the incumbent's educational pathway decision. However, it is part of an assessment that should also involve the subject and above all subjectivity. It seems that a consideration of other perhaps more appropriate occupational orientations unrelated to higher education are not regarded as valid and not perceived by the incumbent as a potential qualification leading to professional development. John Taylor's argumentative detailing concerning educational pathway and labor market in a Brazilian context, assist illustrating the influence it has as a non-human event carrier in the decision process of the incumbent regarding post-high school choices.

“In Brazil (-) it is like that (,) To be very clear (‘) if you don't have a college degree in Brazil (‘) you are a nobody (,) It never crossed my mind not to go to college”

It is rather remarkable that IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship provided an entry door to the labor market to the individuals here analyzed. Yet, one feared not to be able to progress within this very same labor market without a higher education degree. In other words, the dual system offered by IFPA was a solution to entering the labor market and also a source of concern as to remain therein. It demonstrates that one's compliance with labor market requirements in terms of education and its linkage to one's post-high school primary educational aspirations cannot be replaced or aimed at secondary level VET exclusively, regardless of its form, structure or modality. It becomes clear that in a Brazilian context one's post-high school primary educational aspiration is heavily oriented at a vertical educational advancement as to comply with labor market expectations, by raising future employability levels, which can in turn guarantee a higher source of income for one's self-existence within a normal cycle biographical development.

7.1.5 The incumbent's general perception of the educational system

The perception the incumbent has of the worth a determined post-high school educational pathway choice entails is a crucial influential condition within one's primary post-high school educational aspirations. As it could be observed above, this perception is heavily shaped through the influence of significant other as agents of societal influence, the labor market as non-human event carrier, the family milieu of the incumbent and the parents' education scheme involving the individual educational development and school track choice. In addition to these crucial conditions, data has also shown that the incumbent's general perception of the educational system also possess a level of compliance with societal expectations, and that this perception can considerably restrict one's educational pathway margin even before making a choice per se. The exacerbated value assigned to higher education by the informant is dictated by societal expectations, and it is vital to the determination of his or her primary educational objectives within one's biographical intentions. In other words, IFPA as a secondary level VET school may merely become an alternative or an additional educational pathway, given that it is not perceived as a necessary, natural course.

It appears that the great value assigned to higher education is a responsibility towards collectivities one belongs to, or as Schütze (2008) exemplifies, it seems to be aimed at obeying an institutional expectation pattern of society, since, in their perspective, the present society embodies higher education as an essential, virtually alternative-less educational pathway. Hence, accessing higher education becomes a primary, first order choice for individuals that perceive it as an obvious educational track. Individuals may establish educational orientations in their biography based on an apparent practically alternative-less route, superimposed by society and its cultural and socioeconomic context, given that there is a determined expectancy regarding educational pathways within the Brazilian socioeconomic and cultural context. One's educational decisions are grounded on what is an acceptable or entails a determined value within the Brazilian socio-cultural context. In addition, empirical data has demonstrated that the exacerbated value assigned to higher educational to these individuals within the Brazilian context is not unrelated necessarily to one's socioeconomic background, which surprisingly show a different result to those obtained by Nogueira (2003), who argues that socioeconomically intellectually privileged individuals in Brazil see higher education as an inevitable, "natural educational" pathway. Individuals from more privileged and also from less privileged

have a perception in common (within a maximal contrast comparison). Eva Schmidt's (a) and Virginia's (b) self-theoretical commentaries regarding post-high school educational advancement clearly demonstrates the above stated observation:

(a) (-) But the rule is :if: you did a trade course end of the story (') you are not well seen by companies (,) You must have :theoretically: a college degree in Brazil (,) (-)

(b) For you to continue in this labor market without a college degree (') is impossible (') (-) you have no future (,) (-) [...] You can't climb the career ladder without a college degree (,) (-) To be director (-) I need a college degree (') there's no other way (,)

It helps exemplifying that access to higher education can be equally desirable, regardless of one's socioeconomic background. It means that accessing higher education in a Brazilian context signifies obeying an institutional expectation pattern of society that is essentially part of an alternative-less educational route leading to enhanced qualifications able to offer a better provision for one's material subsistence. Thus, the perception individuals have and the value they assign to higher education is of vital importance in the determination of their primary post-high school educational objectives. However, the accomplishment of such an educational orientation is also conditioned on structural as well as biographical conditions, being it self- or superimposed by others, and these may hinder one's desire to access tertiary education and fulfill their educational orientation and, as a result, can compel one to search for alternative pathway within the educational system.

It is a clear example of how the decision making process already initiates with a reduction based on societal expectation shaped on the discernment of the educational system and its pathways. One's negative perception of general secondary level VET, which is heavily shaped by significant others and event carriers leave the incumbent with a compulsory pathway and not a real choice, given that "choice" means having at least two different alternatives from which the individual can choose from. The choice to undergo IFPA's dual system apprenticeship is not free, and it is heavily influenced by outer conditions, which can even end up hindering one's desire to follow a manual-work orientation due to the fact that they are convinced to believe this is not an option. It is, in a last resort case, a transitional orientation that will necessarily have to be complemented with a "real" educational advancement within

tertiary educational level. Accessing university becomes compulsory. It is not even discussed as option within a set of possible choices; it is only taken for granted. Alice Bauer's rendering helps determining the choice-less and alternative-less imposed educational pathway track within a Brazilian context:

“as much as I disliked studying (‘) I always had this notion that college was important (,) [...] a trade course /ehm/ I would say :that: (-) it is the first test (,) Well (‘) it is the first stage only (,) (-) [...] it is the obligation here (-) you have to have a college degree ”

Data has pointed out that by undergoing IFPA's dual system apprenticeship, the individual, as a rule, ended up not complying with societal expectations, which triggered post-hoc rationalization processes as to justify the motives that led one to opt for a “unusual” school track choice, unrelated to the majority's primary post-high school educational aspirations and above all within secondary level VET, which is also criticized by these vary same actors. It could be observed that it was only possible not to comply with societal expectations due to a twofold factor: (a) in the process of rationalization it was always made clear by the incumbent to him- or herself and other significant others and social actors within his or her social arenas that a post-VET vertical educational advancement was evident and would be pursued as soon as possible; (b) the distinctive characteristics of the dual system offered by IFPA, in comparison to regular secondary level VET courses in the subsequent modality in Brazil, have also facilitated rationalizations justifying this school track choice, namely, its possibility to access the labor market immediately, the German language factor and an apprentice's salary. Hadn't this secondary level VET these characteristics, rationalization processes would be more intrinsic and complex, given the absence of conditions that could persuade others and oneself that this decision entailed a determined worth.

7.1.6 Lack of occupational orientation prior to IFPA

Data has made clear that lack of occupational orientation can impinge one's primary post-high school educational aspirations. Its presence may hinder one from accomplishing the intention of making a prompt vertical educational advancement, and as a result find oneself in the need for an alternative pathway. A lack of occupational orientation itself can be associated to a number of conditions: (a) It can be part of an indecision process or an indecisiveness trait of

one's personality. It is, however, necessary to point out that it has been rather difficult to measure indecisiveness and analyze it separately; see Osipow (1999)⁴⁹. The definition of indecision generally used in this approach and the one proposed by this dissertation is as a temporary state which may arise in a decision making process. (b) Presence or absence of vocational guidance fostered by the role of significant others and/or event carriers, including the presence of a helpful vocational-biographical identity model. (c) Evidence of work orientation; see Rauner and Maclean (2008). In this case, work orientation is also described as general occupational orientation, in its widest sense. It was necessary to determine whether they had any work orientation prior to their decision to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship and if it had any impact on their decision making process. (d) Lack of vocational identity development related to the clarity of an individual's goals. It is related to the clarity of an individual's goals, interests, and talents can be identified; see Holland, Daiger, and Power (1980).

The analysis of the empirical data made known that there are different conditions leading lack of vocational orientation to a school track choice culminating with IFPA School dual system apprenticeship. Indecision which comes and goes over time and being unsure about a determined major in higher education are determinant in one's decision to make this horizontal advancement instead of a vertical one within the Brazilian educational system due to two different motives: (a) accessing a public university demands overcoming a fierce competition and a very limited number of vacancies, which can potentially become a superimposed structural impediment. A lack of vocational orientation may lead to a subsequent drop out, which would mean once again overcoming potential hindrances and undergoing a new process of physical and mental effort as to overcome it. (b) Accessing a private university and submitting oneself to later changes in terms of major or dropping out due to a lack of orientation can signify an immense waste of disbursement as well as time. In such scenario, incumbents and parents may be willing to accept a horizontal educational advancement, which gains a twofold functional objective, more specifically, a possibly of establishing a more concrete occupational orientation, while enabling the individual to cease an indecision process through a longer time span between high school graduation and a vertical educational advancement.

⁴⁹ The focus of this dissertation is not to measure these individuals' indecisiveness - nonetheless, it remains as a potential trait that can influence a lack of occupational orientation.

In addition to these two motives, it could be observed that the individual may feel overwhelmed with a decision regarding an educational objective within tertiary level that could lead to a professional occupation at an early stage of adult life. This attitude tends to be closely related to the perception that a determined occupational orientation will be pursued perpetually, without any possibility for change or different focus, which is also closely related to the motives (a) and (b) explained above. Furthermore, the pressure imposed by societal expectation and the parents' educational action scheme also end up accumulating and pose an enormous anxiety during this period that can create several doubts in the incumbent's assessment of his or her post-high school educational advancement. One may find it very difficult to find the "most appropriate" choice. This indecision may be attenuated by the absence or the ineffectiveness of a helpful vocational identity model, being it fostered by the role of significant others or other human event carriers. Parents' lack of engagement as a vocational identity model can also augment indecision. Such lack of occupational orientation can potentially lead one to postpone a primary post-high school vertical educational advancement and use a horizontal one as a functional mechanism. As previously stated, it has shown to be effective in terms of enabling one with sufficient time and work orientation as to make a more appropriate choice regarding tertiary level. It could also be observed in the data that individuals following this process have indeed accessed higher education either during their dual system apprenticeship or immediately after finishing it, and the larger time span was effective in either aligning a higher education major with one's vocational training area or with a completely different field of work, but closely related to one's assessment of a biographically appropriate occupational orientation leading to self-realization.

The absence of work orientation can also contribute to this lack of occupational orientation and can stimulate one's choice to make a post-high school horizontal educational advancement and enter IFPA, especially due to the fact that its educational modality offers the possibility to engage in in-company training, which may serve as guidance in one's occupational orientation development. Another key aspect is the development of one's vocational identity, for IFPA could enable one to identify and choose a more biographically adequate professional pathway. It is also observable from the empirically collected data that secondary level VET may become an opportunity to obtain a basic point of reference for occupational orientation that hasn't been developed prior to high school graduation. It must be pointed out, though, that these individuals always made clear they would access tertiary education, and IFPA

School was regarded as a transitional educational achievement. Yet, undergoing vocational training beforehand has demonstrated to be effective in providing them with a clearer occupational orientation, therefore enabling one to make more adequate future educational decisions that had an impact on future biographical development. In other words, one may access IFPA due to unresolved career indecision, in the hope of gaining time, work orientation and a solid basis for future decision making processes concerning educational intentions involving vertical advancement.

It was also verified that a lack of occupational orientation can trigger superimposed impediments established by significant others, more precisely the parents. It may inhibit parents from being willing to invest in a private university for the reason that they fear indecision or indecisiveness may lead to drop out or change, which could represent a waste of financial disbursement and time in the biographical development of the incumbent. In such case, parents may indeed encourage a post-high school horizontal advancement, but as a temporary measure and not as a final qualification. Interestingly, though, possessing an occupational orientation during post-high school establishment of a primary educational aspiration does not mean one can accomplish it. Individuals who possess a clearer vocational identity have to face a multivariate set of potential superimposed impediments that may hinder realizing a vertical advancement within the Brazilian educational system, which force them to find a second order alternative choice. Not being able to overcome these impediments may even become a source of irritation for the incumbent in situations of confrontation with other actors of his or her social world, and it can also potentially lead to suppression or abandonment of an already previously occupational orientation developed within previous processes in the biographical development of the incumbent. The case of Eva Schmidt demonstrates it very clearly. Her parents left the decision of following a determined occupational orientation completely on her hands without playing a minimal direct influential role. The incumbent couldn't resolve her indecision concerning an occupational orientation and, in agreement with her family, decided to make a horizontal advancement in an attempt to gain occupational orientation that could enable her to make a more appropriate choice regarding a subsequent vertical educational advancement. Eva's objective to access a university was always very clear. The aspect that remained undecided concerned which major she would like to undertake. IFPA and its dual system apprenticeship became a way of "hope" for work orientation for the incumbent and, as a result,

served as a manner to delay a decision about her occupational orientation. These aspects can be observed in her rendering as well:

“when I graduated I was 17 (‘) (2) well, 17 and a half actually (‘) (-) and then I had serious doubt (‘) about know what I :would: study (‘) what would I :do: [...] :then: at some point (-) during the third year of high school (‘) someone (‘) from=from IFPA :from: the=the technical course of Humboldt School (-) gave a presentation :and: they presented the course structure (-) I ended up signing up for this course (‘) I became interested (‘) I talked a lot with my parents (‘) and my parents liked the idea (‘)”

It demonstrates that the dual system apprenticeship structure has a vital importance for individuals who haven’t yet developed a clearer occupational orientation, since apprentices receive training both within the companies and the vocational school. Yet, it is regarded as a functional temporary mechanism that will lead to a more appropriate vertical educational advancement.

A further remarkable finding is that lack of occupational orientation prior to post-high school educational advancement can be used as a mechanism to circumvent the need to comply with the parents’ educational action scheme, societal compliance and the need to undergo physical and emotional efforts as to access a public university within a post-high school vertical educational advancement. It is also a mechanism assisting the biography incumbent to protect his or her identity development, given that a not overcome superimposed structural impediment could lead to potential questionings coming from significant others as well as other actors of one’s social arenas, which could put one’s identity at risk and demand rationalizations explicating such turn of events. The biography incumbent may opt to avoid higher education entrance examinations as to access public universities by expressing lack of occupational orientation within an indecision process. This mechanism ends up turning into a superimposed self-chosen impediment, which can be interrelated or even accumulated with self-erected impediments, meaning one assumes he or she is not capable or sufficiently prepared to overcome the potential superimposed structural impediment represented by the higher education entrance examination leading to public universities.

7.2 A concatenation of potential impediments hindering aspirations

As observed in the previous chapter, a horizontal educational advancement at secondary level within the process leading an individual to enroll at IFPA School as to undergo its dual system apprenticeship depends on one's pre-established primary educational orientation within his or her biographical intentions, and this primary educational orientation is heavily influenced by significant others, human and non-human and event carriers as well as a lack of occupational orientation. However, there are additional crucial conditions linked to one's educational objectives that may hinder or deviate pre-established objectives regarding a primary post-high school vertical educational advancement.

Assuming that IFPA School generally received the role of a functional mechanism, it could be observed that there was a clear tendency to align one's post-high school educational aspirations with a prompt vertical advancement characterized by higher education access. However, a concatenation of potential impediments has essentially impeded this accomplishment, through: (a) superimposed structural impediments, which means assuming that the natural environment which the community inhabits is a major factor in shaping human behavior. Such hindrance has also demonstrated to be able to lead to occupational orientation loss, and also self-erected impediments; (b) self-imposed barriers within an educational margin possibility. These can appear in form of self-chosen or self-erected impediments. (c) Impediments superimposed by others, which is mainly related to parents, but can equally be influenced by others. This condition is closely related to a lack of occupational orientation, indecision or indecisiveness. In such a scenario, parents' unwillingness to disburse huge amounts of capital becomes salient. (d) Dominant biographical process during decision making process. Trajectories can hinder or foster determined biographical action schemes, which can also function as a barrier within one's educational intentions. (e) Impingement through interlinks of biographical processes. They may hinder one's primary post-high school educational aspiration through macro-structural or micro-level individual constrains. It does not mean that these impediments appear separately in the process. There is an enormous potential for a concatenation of hindrances, which can impede any possibility of a vertical educational advancement, which had been primarily aimed at accessing tertiary level education with the intention of developing an occupational orientation based on personal cultivation and that could potentially lead to a more biographically adequate professional pathway.

Only after succeeding in the process of overcoming all of the above mentioned conditions the incumbent is able to achieve his or her primary post-high school educational intention of making a prompt vertical educational advancement. Otherwise, partial alteration or complete modification of these aspirations, due to a restricted educational pathway margin, could be needed. A forced alteration of these intentions constitutes the establishment of a second order educational choice, being the option considered “unnatural” or at first, at least, “undesired”. Not overcoming the aforementioned set of superimposed impediments can become a source of distress for the incumbent. Firstly, in case the incumbent already had an occupational orientation based on a biographically developed vocational identity and couldn’t overcome these hindrances, frustration becomes salient. In addition, data has shown that a subsequent necessary adjustment of educational intentions leading to a post-high school horizontal educational advancement has several side-effects, namely: (a) it is a representation of a negative outcome in relation to the parents’ educational action scheme for the incumbent, which remains unfulfilled; (b) the incumbent will have to experience post-hoc rationalization processes as to deal with his or her social world and their comprehension of the “unusual” educational pathway taken. One won’t be complying with an expected societal “normal” vertical educational advancement. (c) It is irritating for the incumbent him- or herself, who has, at this point in their biographical development, already established a general perception of the worth each school track choice has within a Brazilian context through one’s discernment of the duality structure in the educational system. The incumbent is aware that this educational decision is not the primary and ideal one, but that it will serve as a functional mechanism. (d) This last side-effect is the essential condition for the development of cognitive dissonance processes that can even interfere with the identity development of the incumbent, who may engage in an effort justification paradigm as to undergo an educational program within a horizontal advancement; this aspect will be dealt with later on within this theoretical model. (e) It may lead to a complete loss of occupational orientation during decision making process due to an abandonment of primary educational intentions. (f) The incumbents’ assessment of alternative educational track becomes more objective, rather than based on an assessment considering personal cultivation and the subjectivity of the educational program. In the following sections of this chapter, each of these conditions will be dully explained.

7.2.1 Impediments superimposed by structural conditions

One's pathway leading to IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship within a post-high school horizontal educational advancement has demonstrated to be closely related to superimposed structural impediments regarding one's primary post-high school educational intentions, essentially linked to higher education access. In order to understand this specific impediment, it is necessary to comprehend that the structural impediment here discussed concerns an obstruction imposed on one's unfold of biographical intentions by the examination procedure utilized by Brazilian higher education institutions as to select its new students. Firstly, it is indispensable to bear in mind that generally public universities have a higher quality of education in comparison to private institutions in Brazil, and that, as already mentioned in chapter 2, they still adopt entrance examinations to select candidates⁵⁰. The problematic variable in this selection process method is that the public offer of tertiary education in Brazil accounts to approximately 27%; see Brazil, 2011a, fact which culminates in a scenario where the demand is substantially higher than the offer, therefore, making competition extremely fierce. Alternatively, individuals may access private universities, but they would need to be financially capable of disbursing costly tuition fees. Castro (2001) reminds us that this fierce competition is unfair, given that only a small portion of the individuals who attended public schools are able to pass these entrance examinations at public universities. They practically face a very unreasonable competition due to the fact that they received a lower-quality of education and preparation in their public schools, as opposed to those who attended private schools and later entrance examinations preparatory courses. Data published by USP (Universidade of Sao Paolo) helps determining that Castro's assumptions are still valid after more than a decade in Brazil. The University of Sao Paolo, one of the most prestigious higher education institutions in the country, has recently demonstrated that the number of candidates who attended private schools and passed the entrance examination this year correspond to 71,5%. Such admission procedures are a clear representation of potential super-imposed structural impediments or

⁵⁰ This has been slowly changing, given that in 2009 ENEM became part of SISU (National Unified Admissions System) and start being used as an admission test to enroll in several federal universities and other tertiary education institutions (refer to chapter 2 for further information on the matter); substituting the old entrance examinations elaborated by the universities; see MEC (2011g).

institutional barrier⁵¹ within the Brazilian educational system that can significantly influence individuals' decision to search for alternative educational pathways.

Given that a horizontal advancement is generally frowned upon in one's attempt to formulate a primary post-high school educational aspiration, the initial educational pathway margin which is already considerably reduced, accumulates with the fact of not overcoming admission procedures established by higher education institutions. It assists creating an educational limbo that can only be resolved with either costly tuition fees disbursement at private universities or an, at first, undesired second order horizontal advancement as a provisory educational measure generally used as a functional mechanism. In addition, not overcome structural impediments are also a source of inner conflict for parents and children. The first perceive that their educational action scheme which has also cost a considerable amount of effort and capital hasn't promoted a chance to follow a more propaedeutic pathway by entering a public university, and probable further financial disbursement will be necessary. The biography incumbent also perceives it as very irritating and it could be clearly identified in the autobiographical interviews in laconic renderings. These individuals also perceive that they are not complying with the expectations of significant others and see their primary educational intentions become endangered. In addition, one can see the vertical advancement of peers and friends and other family members, which also serves as a source of frustration within this process due to inevitable comparative assessments.

Given that superimposed structural impediments can inhibit the individual from making a first order educational pathway choice, which is closely related to one's primary post-high school educational intentions, a horizontal advancement becomes an alternative to an unfulfilled educational aspiration. One possible, alternative educational pathway in the secondary level vocational education and training offer was IFPA School, in Sao Paulo. Lisa's case assists exemplifying that IFPA School can become a second order choice, in case the individual cannot access public higher education, as in:

⁵¹ Access to higher education facilities and institutions can be attributed to various factors which can be classified into situational, institutional and dispositional barriers. Institutional barriers refer to the admission procedures, non-flexibility of institution operations and so on, created by the structure of available opportunities; see Stephen, G. et al. (2006).

I wanted to study veterinary medicine (-) that's what I had in mind (((laughs))) [...] I tried to get into USP and UNICAMP (´) (-) these are /ehm/ federal universities (-) [...] but, since I didn't pass the entrance examinations, I gave up studying veterinary medicine (,) [...] I didn't study veterinary medicine because I didn't pass the entrance exam (,) (-) At that time, I did pass IFPA's admission test (´) so I decided to attend IFPA (,) (2) After I finished IFPA, I /ehm/ I didn't want to study veterinary medicine anymore (,) I realized it wasn't for me (,) (-)

Data has also demonstrated that this superimposed structural impediment within the Brazilian educational system can trigger a fear of failure that will influence one's future biographical development and possibly lead one to make further choices based on objective assessments, opting for an easier, more probable educational pathway that does not align with one's self-realization and main biographical orientations. For instance, the case of Lisa Steinway, who opted to undergo an office clerk apprenticeship at IFPA due to the fact that the admission was easier and her attempt to access the vocational school was higher. She couldn't overcome the higher education entrance examination either, and IFPA became a second order horizontal advancement. Yet, in order to assure she wouldn't continue in the educational limbo she found herself in, she opted for an objective assessment of the alternative educational pathway she was about to embark on, which led to an absolutely undesired occupational orientation. Her action scheme can be regarded as a radical change based on superimposed impediments, or a total loss of vocational orientation, given her primary post-high school educational aspiration was to access tertiary level as to obtain a degree in veterinary medicine.

As it can be observed, fear of failure may also be a condition of influence in one's choice, that is to say that previous failure in overcoming superimposed structural impediments can affect one's future decisions regarding risk taking. In addition, this fear of failure does not foster occupational orientation, on the contrary, it assists hindering its development. However, the reoccurrence of super-imposed structural impediments can promote the loss of an already established occupational orientation, hereby frustrating the incumbent who may abandon attempting to follow a determined orientation and embark on a subsequent decision process very focused on an objective assessment and disregarding the subjectivity of a self-realization based choice. Mary Weiß's case also assists showing the significance of institutional barriers as a possible pathway leading to subsequent educational choices that can potentially be totally

unrelated to an already previously developed occupational orientation. After not overcoming super-imposed structural impediments twice, she wound up opting for a horizontal advancement by enrolling in subsequent modality secondary level VET to do an apprenticeship in the field of industrial clerk at IFPA School.

I did another preparation course (-) because I wanted to study food engineering at Unicamp (public university) [...] it was pretty tough to pass (,) (2) [...] Then I did the entrance examination to study food engineering at Unicamp [...] but I didn't pass

Superimposed structural impediments are a major impediment to vertical advancement within the Brazilian educational system. However, it is important to understand that it is not a matter of school performance alone. It is a question of low public offer, and also having access to the necessary capital as to invest in high-quality private basic schooling within the parental educational action scheme for the incumbent. Yet, it still does not mean one's primary educational aspiration of making a vertical advancement will be feasible, given that a structural barrier is normally accompanied by one or more additional superimposed impediments that in a concatenation hinder the incumbent from making a vertical advancement, therefore, being compelled to search for alternatives, which in the case of the individuals here analyzed led to IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship. It helps comprehending the motives that led them to make this horizontal advancement and not a vertical one. As previously stated in this theoretical model, opting for one specific post-high school educational pathway means one did not choose another one. Thus, it was not viable to fully comprehend one's post-high school educational choice regarding IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship without examining a process structure within one's biographical development and the previous choices made therein.

7.2.2 Interlinks of biographical importance and its hindering outcomes

Impediments superimposed by structural conditions can considerably be aggravated through the incidence of interlinks of biographical importance. As a matter of fact, the educational action scheme of the parents can be neutralized due to a concatenation of superimposed structural impediments and interlinks of biographical importance, through macro structural level or micro-level conditions leading to a complete obliteration of likelihood to make a post-high

school vertical educational advancement by creating situational barriers⁵². This concatenation is another vital condition leading individuals to opt for a horizontal advancement, within the Brazilian educational system, by accessing IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. Upon failing to overcome the superimposed structural impediment posed by the entrance examination adopted by public universities, one may alternatively seek a private higher education institution as to carry on with his or her primary post-high school educational aspiration. However, this pathway within a vertical advancement can be impinged by interlinks of biographical importance which, in the macro-level, can be generated through a collective trajectory, which can potentially affect the family of the incumbent as well. Financial or political crisis, scenarios of instability in the country pose a threat to the labor market's health and also of the individuals that depend on it as a source of income for their self-existence. In the data collected, it was possible to clearly observe this effect on the school track choice of the incumbent. Mary and Lisa are examples of how one's school track choice may be affected through a collective trajectory. Lisa's case assists illustrating how interlinks may influence one's decision to undergo secondary level VET by accessing IFPA School. A significant interlink of biographical importance (Schütze, 2007) has led the family to a cul-de-sac financial condition, which impeded the incumbent from entering a private institution. In Lisa's case, the family was already undergoing a process of financial degradation and wasn't able to reimburse costly tuition fees. Mary's situation is rather similar, but occurs a while later in her biography. Firstly, her family was able to afford a private university and, therefore, Mary immediately opted for accessing a private university after having failed the entrance examinations at public tertiary education institutions. Yet, after a short period of time, her family began experiencing serious financial hardship, which initiated a process a financial degradation. Suddenly, a situational barrier was added to a previous institutional one and the aim of accessing and continuing pursuing higher education became a distant objective in her biography, as in:

I also did the exam to study architecture at PUC (-) in other words (‘) totally unrelated (,) (-) [...] so I decided to study architecture at PUC (private university) (,) (-) [...] then things were no longer going very well (,) (2) but we could pay enrollment fee and that's when the problems began (-) because then we didn't have money to pay for my college tuition anymore (-) it cost a thousand or so and it was about 10

⁵² Situational barriers refer to aspects such as unaffordable costs, proximity to learning institutions and lack or loss of time presented by an individual's present circumstances; see Stephen, G. et al. (2006).

years ago (,) (-) It was very expensive (,) (-) [...] so we couldn't afford college any-
more (,) then I had dropped out of college (-)

In these circumstances, costly tuition fees imposed private universities can serve as a barrier that can significantly aggravate the already restricted educational margin of the incumbent. In case of a lack of financial resources, individuals may be compelled to eliminate the possibility of accessing a private university, therefore, completely eradicating a feasible pathway leading to higher education, educational pathway which had been part of one's primary post-high school educational aspiration. Hence, the cumulative combination of the above-mentioned barriers can culminate in an even narrower educational pathway margin. Moreover, the concatenation of these superimposed impediments can also encourage individuals to seek a horizontal advancement that entails a mechanism enabling financial relief and/or independence, given it became crucial and even a topic of distress within the family. It has demonstrated to be a strong pre-condition for individuals to seek IFPA's dual system apprenticeship as well. A further attention-grabbing result of this process is that a horizontal educational advancement may even become a third order option and only become a potential alternative after the access to a public as well as to a private university have failed for one or a concatenation of motives aforementioned. Interlinks of biographical importance and its hindering outcomes do not only obstruct permeability, but it also helps aggravating and restricting the incumbent's educational pathway margin, and can influence one's educational choice by steering it at an educational advancement promoting financial relief, which is not a mechanism necessarily related to one's assessment of personal cultivation of interest in a specific occupational orientation.

7.2.3 Self-chosen or self-erected impediments affecting aspirations

Another potential observable type of concatenation of obstacles involving one's primary post-high school educational pathway and the subsequent need for an alternative horizontal advancement is concerned to the accumulation of superimposed structural and self-chosen or self-erected impediments. A self-erected impediment can be characterized as one's negative assessment of his or her own abilities to overcome higher education entrance examinations as to make a vertical advancement leading to the access of a public university in Brazil, which had been part of one's educational intentions at first. One may find it practically impossible or extremely difficult to pass entrance examinations at public universities and ends up avoiding

facing it. Self-erected impediments can also influence the emergence of subsequent choices based on an assessment characterized by a lack of subject assessment of an educational advancement entailing an educational program based on personal cultivation and self-realization, hence potentially leading to an occupational orientation based on self-alienation. To illustrate, one may opt for a school track choice and an educational program that appears to be more feasible due to a lower competition, which demands an inferior outcome in selective processes. However, it can seriously endanger the development of an occupational orientation based on self-realization and become a source of irritation within one's biographical development. The case of Lisa Steinway can appropriately illustrate it, as it can be observed in her rendering:

(.) I didn't see this course (IFPA's dual system apprenticeship in the office clerk area) as /ehm/ (2) I didn't do it because it was an office clerk course (.) I always had in my mind that I didn't want to be a secretary (')

A self-erected impediment can be fostered by recurrent non-overcome structural impediments. After not being able to accomplish one's post-high school primary educational intention of accessing higher education at a public university, one might conclude he or she is not capable of such an achievement and end up creating a self-erected impediment. This is proven to be potentially dangerous in terms of biographical development, given that it can lead to the loss of an already previously biographically developed occupational orientation. As a result, it winds up impacting future educational choices, including the specific vocational course chosen by the individual at IFPA School within secondary level VET. In this case, inner conflict can even be intensified for the reason that one needs to grapple with his or her social world through processes of justification, with the process of convincing him- or herself that their option to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship as well as course option are satisfactory, deal with the fact that a vertical educational advancement wasn't possible, and also handle a new occupational orientation that is not related to an already biographically developed one.

A self-chosen impediment can equally hinder one from making a vertical advancement within the educational system, as desired and established as a primary educational aspiration for a post-high school track. An indisposition to strive physically and emotionally to pass a highly competitive entrance examination at a public university ends up becoming a barrier that also

restricts one educational pathway margin. Alice's case helps us to identify the existence of this conditional circumstance. Her indisposition to strive for passing a highly competitive entrance examination at a public university became a self-chosen barrier that also restricted her educational pathway margin and culminated in the elimination of a possibility for a vertical advancement, given it also accumulated with a lack of occupational orientation and a superimposed barrier related to significant others.

it is difficult to get into a public college (-) and that's why she paid for us to go to Humboldt School (-) a private, expensive school (,) It was for us to learn and study as much as we could to be able to enter a public college (,) So she wouldn't have to pay for a private university later (,) (2) [...] It ended up not happening (-) because I chose to enter IFPA and not devote myself to getting into a public university (,) (-) I ended up studying in a private college later (,)

Self-chosen and self-erected impediments can undoubtedly restrict one educational pathway margin. It must be stated that these impediments normally constitute a part of a concatenation of impediments that end up forcing a search for other educational alternatives other than a vertical advancement. Nevertheless, data has also pointed out that self-chosen impediments are also a mechanism to circumvent the occurrence of not being able to overcome potential superimposed structural impediments represented by the entrance examinations at public universities. It is also used by the biography incumbent to deal with the other actors of his or her social arenas. Avoiding to face any superimposed structural impediment avoids the need for future post-hoc justifications or shameful justifications explicating the motives that hindered one to make a desirable and expectable post-high school vertical educational advancement, despite a costly and clear-purpose educational action of scheme of the parents involving expensive, high-quality private schools. Avoiding such circumstances also assists limiting one's pathway margin within a vertical advancement, which amplifies the possibility of a second order school track choice becoming a real as well as necessary alternative.

7.2.4 Impediments superimposed by significant others

Self-chosen or self-erected impediments and its accumulation with superimposed structural impediment or a lack of occupational orientation may lead to impediments superimposed by significant others. Parents may become unwilling to disburse enormous amount of capital for

the incumbent to access a private higher education within a vertical advancement in case of indecision or indecisiveness regarding a determined occupational orientation. Parents may perceive it a potential condition for drop out or change, which could lead to a waste of time and capital investment. As a result, the search for a horizontal educational advancement ended up becoming viable. IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship become the chosen option also due to the fact that it could provide the individual with work orientation, which could possibly eliminate the abovementioned risks regarding a vertical advancement. Moreover, a transitional educational program could provide the incumbent with sufficient time for an elimination of an indecision process concerning a more concrete choice leading to a determined occupation within a major in higher education. It demonstrates that parents may become hesitant in relation to cost and outcomes in later decision stages, despite the considerable investment made to carry out their educational action scheme established for the incumbent throughout his or her basic schooling. Hence, IFPA School represented an intermediary option with a suitable functional mechanism. In addition, data has demonstrated that the parents' basic orientation towards financial responsibility also has an influence on this process. Parents may encourage of horizontal educational advancement by accessing IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship for it provides the apprentices with a small salary, which can be the mechanism initiating one's final responsibility development, which the parents strive for and openly encourage.

It is perceivable how the concatenation of barriers explicated above restricts one's educational pathway choice and impose a hindrance of a post-high school prompt vertical educational advancement. As a matter of fact, it can seriously endanger vertical advancement by forcing its postponement or even eradicating primary post-secondary level educational objectives. In addition, it potentially induces the incumbent to make second order choices that can augment a biased, objective assessment of a determined occupational orientation within a forced set of alternatives. It is the ideal accumulation of circumstances for the constitution of a source of confusion and irritation for the biographical development of the incumbent. Data has shown that it is rather inaccurate to generalize and state that VET is often construed as an alternative chance for those deemed 'unsuitable' for progression in the academic pathway; see Hoelscher (2008). It can be observe that the concatenation of impediments is enormous and can appear in a set of permutations during decision making process within a Brazilian context. A concatenation or an accumulation of conditions can incredibly restrict ones' educational pathway

margin, which already initiates with a forced reduction imposed by societal expectations and influence of significant others through discernment of the duality structure in the educational system, and event carriers, as previously pointed out.

7.2.5 Dominant biographical process prior to IFPA's apprenticeship

It was utterly significant to comprehend the dominant biographical process structures, as well as any potential concatenation of them, which the incumbent was undergoing during his or her post-high school educational track decision making process. It is a fundamental aspect concerning one's decision to opt for a horizontal advancement within the educational system, and consequently, deciding in favor of accessing IFPA's dual apprenticeship. In addition, the dominant biographical process can accumulate with a concatenation of superimposed impediments, in case of dominant contours of events. One could argue that the dominant biographical process of individuals seeking for IFPA's apprenticeship doubtless refers to an institutional expectation pattern, in which the incumbent is following up expectations of institutionally defined paths of development and pertinent activities. However, an eclipse of biographical structures is also closely related to impingements posed on one's decision making process concerning IFPA School as an educational institution. Hence, one's dominant biographical process structure prior to IFPA access tends to be closely related to one's pathway leading to this school, and only previous biographical processes are able to elucidate how the flux of events culminated in the dominant biographical process during post-high school educational advancement period. Obviously, one's decision leading to IFPA can be heavily motivated by institutional and societal norms. Nevertheless, IFPA can serve as a mechanism for a biographical action scheme that eclipses with an institutional expectation with the purpose of terminating contours of events, as Larsen (2003) refers to it.

As mentioned above, one's decision to undergo IFPA's dual system apprenticeship can be heavily motivated by institutional and societal norms. One may be greatly motivated and decided to search for IFPA's educational modality due to a willingness of engaging in an educational activity that is part of an expectation of the society that one should seek qualification as to enter the labor market, obtain a source of income and follow a normal cycle life pattern. It could be drawn from the data that a dominant institutional expectation pattern may be closely related to the following conditions: (a) Using IFPA as an instrument focused on occupational

orientation development, as to avoid a later university dropout. Undergoing IFPA's dual system apprenticeship could help diminish the possibilities of this outcome later. (b) Seeking for a direct access to the labor market as to gain insight within the corporate world, and assess a determined vocation in relation to one's personal cultivation and self-realization. (c) Enhancing qualifications and increasing future employability prior to higher education access. Eva's case serves as an illustrative example for the above-mentioned assumption. The incumbent had the tranquility of entering IFPA to gain vocational orientation knowing her family would have sufficient capital as to sponsor a private university. Therefore, she didn't demonstrate any preoccupation concerning the restricted public offer in higher education in Brazil, which could pose a high risk superimposed structural impediment. Her margin of educational possibilities remained fairly broad and depended exclusively on her effort as well absence of self-chosen or self-erected superimposed impediments. She was also searching for a direct access to the labor market as to gain insight into the corporate world and searching for higher future employability.

Nonetheless, IFPA can also serve as an enabling instrument in a biographical action scheme that follows the outcomes of interlinks or other contours of events in the biographical development of the incumbent. Interlinks of biographical importance or contour of events in the biographical development of the incumbent may lead to a biographical action scheme focused on re-steering the course of one's biography through an educational pathway resolution. In other words, IFPA has also served as an instrument capable of assisting one's attempt to actively shape the course of his or her life that, for a given period of time, was ruled by outer forces that inhibited one's aptitude to model and steer his or her biographical development. Hence, IFPA would assume the role of an enabling instrument in one's active attitude in an intentional orientation structure. In order to comprehend this assumption, it is vital to bear in mind that two central post-high school educational pathways in Brazil, namely, secondary level VET in the subsequent modality (a horizontal advancement) or higher education access (vertical educational advancement), which is heavily dominated by the private sector⁵³. Therefore, contours of events or interlinks of biographical importance that cause financial degrada-

⁵³ Private universities and other tertiary education institutions account to nearly 71% of all enrollments; see Brazil (2011), whereas private VET schools account to more than 50% of the entire offer; see Brazil (2010). It demonstrates that the public offer is lower and, therefore, having the necessary financial means to afford private education enables one a wider margin of educational possibilities.

tion, which can potentially trigger considerable levels of distress within the incumbent's family, thereby instituting a source of contours of events. A financial constraint, being it caused by macro- or micro-level conditions, not only restrict one's margin of educational possibilities within the Brazilian educational system, but it also throws the incumbent at an undesirable trajectory which is affecting his or her family. Lisa Steinway's case helps illustrating how the outcomes of an interlink of biographical importance may represent an important condition leading one to seek IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship. An interlink of biographical importance (Schütze, 2008) in the life of the incumbent, triggered an undesired turn of events in her biography, and Lisa had to leave behind her residence in Sao Paulo as to move to a smaller town - where she would basically have to reconstruct her social frame and undergo a process of adaptation, lost peers and friends, abruptly ended a relationship to a young man she was dating. The incumbent could only comply with all the imposed measures adopted by her parents to overcome the financial hardship they were experiencing. IFPA represented an initial resolution to the financial degradation the family was experiencing and the trajectory the incumbent was concurrently undergoing. The incumbent's biographical action scheme intentions cumulated with the objective of terminating a trajectory that led her to the loss of important significant others, subsequent social isolation, and most importantly the trajectory the family was undergoing due to a serious financial constrain. Leaving for Sao Paolo represented escaping from the contours of events that were causing so much distress within the family. IFPA assumed a double meaning mechanism, namely, steering away from a trajectory and getting detached from an environment of distress, and also a representation of a financial relief for the family that also could provide for the incumbent's material subsistence. Obviously, this case also culminated with other conditions, but this biographical process prior to her access to IFPA School has demonstrated to be very significant. To be very clear, the pathway leading to a post-high school horizontal educational advancement is never based on a single condition. Data has dully demonstrated that it is the product of a concatenation of at least two or more conditions that wind up in one's pathway leading to IFPA School.

One's option in favor of a specific vocational course can also be related to a biographical event of the past. Mary's case also assists illustrating this postulation. Contours of events have led her family to an extremely serious financial degradation, to the point that the family became homeless and had to rely on others for shelter provision. The incumbent also seems to have opted for an educational pathway that could represent a financial relief on the family and

material subsistence, rather than on personal cultivation and self-realization. In addition, her educational pathway as well as course choice is totally unrelated to the one she primarily established as an objective in her educational intentions. Her first post-high school educational objective was to access higher education to major in architecture, yet she ended up dropping out university and accessing secondary level VET in the field of international trade, as in:

“so it was a very troubled period [...] we couldn’t afford college tuition anymore (,) (-) then (‘) I had to drop out of college (-) I studied for a year and I stopped (-) because (-) I could no longer afford (,) (-) This turmoil there (-) everything (‘) (-) so my father had to sell our house (‘) it was a very large house (-) very good (-) to be able to continue with his business (,) (-) the company had gone into a bankruptcy process (-) so he sold the house and paid the debts of the business (-) and /ehm/ we were penniless and homeless (,) (-) [...] and then I thought (-) I need to decide what I’m going to do with my life (-) /ehm/ then (‘) (-) I remembered about IFPA (-) I remembered there was this school (-) and that the company paid the school (,) (-)”

Another condition that can make the incumbent prone to search for IFPA School and its apprenticeship modality within a horizontal educational advancement is a plurality of impediments on one’s biographical development. In other words, the outcomes of these contours of events, such as financial degradation, may be aggravated through the loss of significant others, divorce, constant parental pressure regarding financial responsibility and independence, or even performing undesired labor with the purpose of assisting the financial situation of the family. The accumulation of these circumstances can equally affect the biographical development of the incumbent by obfuscating one’s consideration of a more biographically adequate occupational qualification program. Virginia’s case assists illustrating this plurality of outcomes originated from a biographical trajectory, more specifically. Her father’s mental disorder, and the aggravating fact that he negligently ceased taking his medication, led to a trajectory that was painfully experienced by all family members, and the succeeding events only helped fostering distress. It led to her parents’ separation, and the already fragile financial as well as psychological well-being of the family had significantly worsened. The informant, her mother and siblings had to move in with her grandfather, and very conceivably intensified the amount of time they had to dedicate to working on the plantation and harvesting. One can realize that the incumbent’s family also experience arduous further financial degradation, which had its genesis in her father’s condition, later unemployment and also sep-

aration. Schütze (2008) also states that somebody who is in permanent material difficulties, and doesn't find a stance to it, tends to lose his life partner. IFPA School and its VET program represented a possible resolution to the accumulation of these outcomes of biographical importance, especially due to its location and structure. The incumbent's biographical action scheme was equally aimed at a financial relief for the family and material subsistence rather than on personal cultivation and self-realization. However, it also functioned as the instrument terminating a trajectory due to abrupt end of her relationship to her father, her family as a united entity, the intensification arduous labor at her grandfather's farm, and the new residential situation. These circumstances represented vital conditions for Virginia to search for IFPA School in the development of her biography. She would move away from Greenville, thereby ceasing a period of distress and at the same time she would contribute to the family's financial relief and provide for her own existence. Yet, it is also possible to notice that these circumstances may have obfuscated her discernment of following an occupational qualification that aligned with her self-realization. She ended up accessing secondary level VET in the field of office clerk, which would lead her to the same occupation of her mother – which was heavily criticized by the informant. However, leaving for Sao Paolo to study and conduct her biography in this enormous metropolis represented the milestone leading to upward mobility as well. Hence, opting for a course that had an inferior number of candidates and higher probability of approval could also constitute a more feasible, safe pathway. It also reveals one's attitude towards risk taking. However, it is not related to previous failure concerning superimposed structural impediments, but due to a fear of not being able to cease the outcomes of a trajectory and of not being able to actively shape the course of one's life due to a personal shortcoming, namely, not overcoming an structural barrier imposed by the educational institution – the admission test. These assumptions can also be verified in Virginia's rendering, too:

“For me, that :marked: the time when hell started (,) (2) [...] until one day my mother had to put him in a clinic [...] So (-) my mother divorced him (,) and we left our home with just the clothes we had on (-) a little bed and a small washing machine (-) and we moved in with my grandfather (‘) [...] but I want to be seen (-) (-) I said to myself (-) that I also wanted people to come and say one day ‘:Oh my: (-) She went to São Paolo and she's studying there' (-) just like people talked about the mayor's kids and so on (,) I said “What do I need to do to be like that” (?) (-) One of the options was to go to IFPA [...] I didn't really like being a secretary, because my mother was a secretary her entire life and it traumatized me (,)”

As it can be observed, undergoing IFPA's dual system apprenticeship can be a central event within an eclipse of biographical process structures. It can serve as an enabling instrument used to initiate a biographical action scheme with the intention of fighting off the plurality of outcomes of contours of events. It means that choosing to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship is also closely related to one's dominant biographical process or eclipse of contours of events and institutional expectation patterns. In addition, the decision of one's specific VET course within a range of possibilities offered at IFPA may also be related to previous biographical trajectories and their influence on one's future decision making processes.

7.2.6 Loss of occupational orientation prior to IFPA's apprenticeship

A loss of occupational orientation regarding the incumbent's primary post-high school educational aspirations can induce a pathway leading to a horizontal advancement by accessing IFPA's dual system apprenticeship as well. A loss of occupational orientation prior to access to IFPA School appears to be related to a set of different conditions⁵⁴: (a) Presence of a predetermined vocational identity development related to the clarity of an individual's goals, interests, and talents can be identified; see Holland, Daiger, and Power (1980); (b) Failure to overcome superimposed structural impediments, which can lead the individual to abandon a determined occupational orientation choice based on self-fulfillment and identity. These impediments can also accumulate with other hindrances, being it self-generated or imposed by others. (c) Outcomes of biographical processes which can lead one to a more restrict educational pathway margin, fact that can dictate one's loss of options and, as a result, loss of occupational orientation.

Despite having a clearer vocational identity and, thus, being more aware of the vocational pathway he or she would like to follow on the development of their biography and the educational objective that may be of assistance to accomplish such an orientation, one can be impeded to accomplish and follow his or her orientation through superimposed impediments, which can lead to inner conflict and loss of occupational orientation. Data has demonstrated

⁵⁴ Evidently, these aspects do not necessarily appear in the exact same manner all cases cumulatively, given that biographies have different developments. Yet, they can alter the course of their development through its influential role regarding educational pathways leading to a determined occupation.

that even after having a possibility for contact and work orientation development, in the broadest sense of vocational orientation, one may have his or her occupational orientation suppressed. In addition, the aspects of influence played by significant others, and even by the presence of a helpful vocational-biographical identity model, may become neutralized through barriers or even a concatenation of impediments imposed on the incumbent, which hinder one from developing his or her biography on the base of primary occupational orientation. It can trigger disorientation and the individual may be compelled to establish an alternative most immediate educational objective as to circumvent impediments, which can be characterized by the abandonment of his or her primary educational objectives leading to a vocational development based on the basis of self-realization. John's case clearly illustrates these circumstances leading to a suppressing of his occupational orientation that had been carefully developed during his biographical development. He was constantly exposed to motivation originating from significant other and teachers regarding his writing skills. As a result, he sought work orientation in the field of journalism and developed, through various stages of his life, a vocational identity closely related to this occupation. Yet, due to a concatenation of superimposed structural hindrance, micro-level financial constrain, and a later self-erected impediment, the incumbent culminated suppressing and abandoning this vocational identity, therefore, losing an already established occupational orientation. A set of outer impediments, unrelated to the incumbent's subjective assessment of an occupational orientation based on personal cultivation and self-fulfillment, hindered him from making a vertical advancement and forced a search for a second order alternative pathway, which was in his case constituted by IFPA's dual system apprenticeship in the field of logistics – an absolutely self-alienating career pathway, which the incumbent had to insistently fight against later as to res-steer his biographical development away from.

In addition, as previously observed, failing to overcome superimposed structural impediments can be aggravated through the outcomes of dominant biographical processes during decision phase, which can equally lead to a loss of occupational orientation. The individual may begin a process of disorientation, losing a potential vocational identity that had been developed so far, for one perceives that his or her primary educational intentions seem to be improbable due to a conceivable combination of circumstances, such as restricted public offer and fierce competition, lack of financial means to afford accessing private educational institutions, and its accumulation with any source of distress the family of the incumbent might be undergoing

during decision making process. Mary's case also helps us understanding how a concatenation of biographical processes and super-imposed structural impediments can affect one's occupational orientation and eventually lead to occupational disorientation. She had the presence of two helpful vocational-biographical identity models, more specifically, her father who was an entrepreneur in the construction business, and also her mother who had always wanted to become an architect and even entered higher education, but didn't finish the course. The informant had also gained work orientation while assisting her father at work as well. It is, therefore, possible to see the link between these circumstances and her tertiary education choice to major in architecture. In other words, she was more aware of her vocational identity and of the occupation she would like to pursue. It can be even observed in her rendering that she can perceive that food engineering (she took the entrance examination at a public university to major in this area) had nothing to do with architecture, but it was a possibility to access a public institution. However, she couldn't access a public university and had to enter a private institution. After only one semester a financial and political crisis in Brazil initiated a process that became an interlink of biographical importance for the incumbent. The family could no longer afford a private institution and the informant had to drop out university, leaving behind her occupational orientation. It can be observed in her rendering below:

“My mother also went to school in Victoria (-) also good schools (‘) in Victoria (-) and she always wanted to study architecture (,) (-) [...] then /ehm/ I only tried to pass the entrance examination to study food engineering at Unicamp and architecture at PUC University (,) (-) in other words (‘) /ehm/ one course had nothing to do with the other [...] :I: wanted to study architecture at PUC (‘) and it was a :very: expensive (‘) (-) :and: [...] so it was a :very: troubled period [...] we could not afford college tuition anymore (,) (-) then (‘) I had to drop out of college (-) I studied for a year and I stopped (-) because (-) I could no longer afford (,) (-)”

A loss of occupational orientation prior to IFPA's dual system apprenticeship is also a precondition to a particular sequence of impediments within one's biographical development. It may once again trigger impediments superimposed by significant others, namely, the parents who may become unwilling to disburse the capital for a vertical advancement involving a private tertiary education institution. In addition, an accumulation or concatenation of superimposed impediments may be the foundation for a self-erected barrier, which can throw the incumbent back into an indecision process and, as a result, may trigger parental hesitation in relation to drop out or future changes leading to waste of time and capital, thus encouraging

the incumbent to make a horizontal advancement, which appears to be more prudent than making a prompt post-high school vertical educational progress.

Loss of occupational orientation may also happen after a post-high school vertical educational advancement and also lead one to opt for a post-tertiary level secondary level VET access. It does not seem to represent a regular occurrence; it appears to represent more the exception, even due to the fact that it was not possible to find other individuals who experienced this specific process leading to IFPA School. However, it demonstrates the importance of the dual system offered by IFPA due to its structure. After not being able to identify with the occupational orientation her higher educational major was leading her to, Lauren perceived that IFPA's VET program structure could enable her with work orientation and a possible more appropriate occupational orientation, despite the fact this educational modality belongs to secondary level. The dual system and its possibility for in-company training was the most important determinant in her decision to undergo this secondary level VET program, and indeed she encountered the occupational orientation she was looking for and finally began working in a field that can be assessed a self-fulfilling for the incumbent who currently finds herself within a main institutional expectation process in her biography. Lauren's case isn't one that represents the majority of the individuals that seek this apprenticeship at IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship in Brazil. Yet, her case assists illustrating that the structure of the dual system can indeed provide one with an occupational orientation that a "normal" vertical educational advancement may not be able to. Lauren makes very clear in her rendering she wouldn't even consider undergoing any other regular secondary level program at any other vocational school. Only IFPA School demonstrated to be a potential educational pathway due to the fact it could provide her with a direct access to the labor market, within an area of interest, where she would begin a process of work orientation from the very beginning of the VET program. This process would be essential in remediating a loss and gaining a new, solid occupational orientation.

Nevertheless, despite the structure, the opportunity for work orientation and a possible resolution to her loss of occupational orientation, Lauren also underwent the same process of post-hoc rationalizations experienced by others. Other social actors who belonged to the different arenas in her social world could not comprehend the need for such an educational endeavor and equally inquired her about this decision. In Lauren's case the processes of rationalization

have demonstrated to be even more intensive, given that in addition to being undergoing secondary level VET in the subsequent modality (one that general has apprentices with a very different socioeconomic profile in relation to hers), she was also making a downward educational advancement, going from tertiary back to secondary level. The biography incumbent had to make inner efforts to convince herself and other social actors that this educational progression was satisfactory and had a specific function, and it can also be illustrated with one of the textual section of her renderings:

“my friends were already developing professionally (‘) and I was going backwards [...] I questioned myself the entire time (-) about my decision (,) During the two years of IFPA (-) the whole time [...] I decided to take a step backwards and enter IFPA”

The questioning coming from other social actors also demonstrates that it wasn't seen as a social and also educational fit. It also helps comprehending that, despite the distinctive structure of this VET program, there is still a social skepticism and questioning regarding it. One may have to experience an effort justification paradigm as to be able to deal with the inner conflicts it might generate. In other words, one might have to focus on the functional mechanism associated to this dual system and the outcomes it may provide one with, while trying to minimize the strangeness such an educational decision may generate to oneself and other social actors one his or her social world.

7.3 Readjustment of primary objectives and second order alternatives

After perceiving that the accomplishment of a primary first order post-high school educational aspiration of making a vertical advancement became endangered or at least momentarily unfeasible or unachievable, an alternative, second order choice decision making process initiated. The biography incumbent suddenly realized that, due to a concatenation or accumulation of the aforementioned superimposed impediments, which can also be aggravated through interlinks of biographical importance and dominant biographical process during first order decision making process, his or her post-high school educational pathway track was restricted; the pathway leading the individual to seek a horizontal educational advancement is heavily oriented on a concatenation of conditions, and not on a single circumstance. Thus, a first order choice is postponed or suppressed and a search for an alternative pathway within a horizontal

advancement begins within an educational pathway track readjustment process. Parents, significant others as well as other event carriers once again will play a significant role in this process involving a second order educational pathway choice. In the following, a numbers of conditions will be addressed as to elucidate the conditions and mechanisms that have turned IFPA School and its dual system into a potential second order educational pathway within a horizontal educational advancement.

7.3.1 Significant others and central relationships in a second order choice

Counter actors may help incumbents to gain insight of the biographical importance their occupational work have in their lives, which is a crucial condition for self-fulfillment. It could be observed in the data that the presence or lack of parents as significant others is likewise a primordial condition regarding one's decision regarding a second order alternative track choice to an at first unfeasible post-high school vertical educational advancement. It calls attention that the uniform assistance of the parents concerning a primary post-high school educational aspiration concerning a vertical advancement is not so clear and lucid regarding a horizontal advancement, even because parents also have their own perception of secondary level VET, not all were aware of the distinctive structure a dual system apprenticeship entails, and most importantly such measure is accepting that a vertical educational advancement is not or should not promptly occur, thereby contracting an entire and costly educational action scheme established for the biography incumbent, which was supposed to lead to the access of a public university, ideally.

It could be noticed that the pathway leading to IFPA School as a potential second order educational choice was openly encouraged and also directly discourage by parents, and this polarization depended on different conditions. Some served as a vocational-biographical identity models, providing support to the incumbent in choosing a biographically appropriate VET course, others seem to have demonstrated a neutral or absent influence, whereas others appeared to have practically compelled their children to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship in any vocational area. Overall parents exerted a powerful influence on the former apprentices' decision to undergo IFPA's dual system apprenticeship in Sao Paulo, regardless of their socio-economic background, due to the fact that the incumbents sought parental approval and consent during decision making process. Yet, the degree and motives for endorsement as well as

influential attitude may vary, though, being positive and encouraging or pessimistic and dispiriting. It calls attention that the more socioeconomically privileged parents can equally encourage their children to pursue secondary level VET, in case a concatenation of superimposed impediments inhibits one from making a prompt post-high school vertical educational advancement. Yet, this encouragement is made on the basis of VET assuming a functional mechanism, and a vertical educational advancement will merely be postponed and is expected to be accomplished.

Parents that play the role of significant others exerting positive influence concerning a horizontal advancement entailed a set of determinant conditions supporting their attitude towards this educational advancement, more specifically: (a) Clarity regarding the modus operandi of the dual system VET and its structure. Parents have the need to comprehend the dual system VET modality, which is not popular in a Brazilian context. The understanding of its structure may encourage parents to accept a horizontal development, at least temporarily. It is necessary to comprehend that parents need to perceive it as a valid pathway in comparison to the higher education expectations they have for the incumbent. Overall, it could be noticed that parents do not see the dual system as an end station, especially due to the investments previously made that were essentially aimed at a more propaedeutic educational pathway. (b) The dual structure of the vocational training offered by IFPA School may provide the individual with occupational orientation. Parents may expect the incumbent to eliminate any lack of occupational orientation prior to access to tertiary education. They perceive IFPA and its apprenticeship as a functional mechanism capable of ameliorating or eradicating indecision. (c) Opportunity to enter the labor market before having a qualification and of obtaining on-the-job work orientation. Parents feared that the incumbent would make an occupational orientation choice based on an absence of any work orientation, which could lead to drop out, changes or frustration later in the incumbent's professional development within his or her biography. (d) Avoid a wrong premature tertiary education choice. IFPA can provide the individual with work orientation that could assist eradicating indecision and possibly enable the incumbent to encounter a more lucid occupational orientation, which will dictate the major that should be taken in higher education within a vertical educational advancement. In case the incumbent cannot overcome superimposed structural impediments as to access a public university, parents will not be concerned with a fear of drop out or change and may be more willing to disburse costly tuition fees at a private university. (e) Educational pathway leads to an

alignment with parental occupation. Parents may see a connection between their occupation within a company and the potential qualification offered by IFPA School through its dual system apprenticeship, which offers the apprentice with practical knowledge at a multinational company. The parents' professional experience can become a major source of influence, for they see the opportunity of entering the labor market as relevant. However, they do not tend to perceive it as a cul-de-sac educational pathway. It is merely an entry level educational program, which is above all a horizontal advancement, which will need to be complemented with a vertical development immediately upon graduation from dual system VET. (f) Possibility for financial independency. Parents see it as a possibility to relief their own financial constrain or initiate a process of financial independency that could otherwise only begin during or after tertiary education; this can also be the result of the parents' basic biographical position regarding financial responsibility as well as independency regarding the biography incumbent. This is especially valid for those who found themselves within a trajectory during decision making process, particularly contours of event arisen from interlinks of biographical importance. The apprentices' salary could represent a financial relief on families experiencing financial hardship. Regardless of the family's milieu, macro- or micro-level financial hindrance caused by situational barriers tend to prone parents to consider IFPA's dual system apprenticeship as worthy for it can provide the incumbent with a source of income. (g) Attending an educational course in a metropolis representing the pursuit of upward mobility. Parents of incumbents seeking for IFPA as an upward mobility mechanism may perceive the vocational school, and above all its location, as a representation of positive distinctiveness within their social arena. Leaving for Sao Paolo as to be an intern in a multinational company suffices as a solid argument and can even be more socially representative than the source of income the incumbent will receive in form of an apprentice's salary.

Parents can become a superimposed impediment regarding the decision to make a horizontal advancement within the Brazilian educational system by undergoing IFPA's dual system apprenticeship as well. Among the negative and pessimistic, dispiriting determinant conditions, the following could be observed: (a) Lack of understanding of the modus operandi of the educational modality. Parents may be reluctant to comply with the incumbent's request for acceptance if they do not comprehend the structure of the dual system VET offered by IFPA in Sao Paolo. They may perceive it as early employment at a biographical stage the incumbent should be exclusively acquiring knowledge in a tertiary education level as to only subsequent-

ly enter the labor market. Moreover, parents in financial distress may perceive it as a potential source of further expenses due to a low apprentice's salary, which the incumbent needs to rely on to live in a costly metropolis in Brazil. (b) Perception of an incongruent social fit in a comparison between location of the school and previous educational establishments attended by the incumbent as well as place of residence. The location of the school in Sao Paulo is important for more socioeconomically privileged parents. In addition, they may perceive it as a social unfit regarding the educational action scheme they had established for the incumbent. A sudden decision to make a horizontal advancement instead of a vertical one may be rather confusing for parents who see it as an undesirable turn of events, but also at times as the only option left, given a vertical educational advancement has shown to become at least temporarily unfeasible. (c) Being away from parental care and protection, given that some were still underage. Parents may be concerned about authorizing a still underage incumbent to live a huge metropolis without any near parental care. Of course, this skepticism can accumulate with both aforementioned impediments.

Lisa Steinway's biographical development assists illustrating how parents played to role of agents of influence in her second order decision to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship within a horizontal post-high school educational advancement. She sought and obtained her parents' approval. She also clearly refers to her father as a vocational-orientation role model, mentioning he provided her with advice on the grounds that he had already worked for a multinational and could see the benefits of it. One can observe that Lisa's educational choice would lead to the corporate world her father had experienced for many years already. His influence seemed to have been immense on her decision to undergo IFPA's dual system, as it can also be observed in the passage below:

My parents supported me (-) /ehm/ because they knew I'd also be doing a dual course (-) going to school and doing an internship at a company (,) They were the first ones to support me (,) (-) so I thought I'd go ahead and do it (') (-) my father had already worked at Phillips (-) and knew what it was like to work for this type of corporation (-) he liked it (2) so I thought I'd do it (,) I had the chance to enter the labor market at the age of seventeen or eighteen (-) /ehm/ and I'd be entering the labor market at a multinational corporation (-) because I'd definitely do my internship at a German company (-) and multinational one at that (,) (-) so, my parents supported me (,)

It is also possible to conclude from the data analysis that parental influence may vary concerning its intensity between mother and father, aspect that, coincidentally, also aligns with the studies of Looker & Lowe (2001). All in all, the conditions aforementioned are fundamental to understand that parental influence. Their support or discouragement has an impact on the approval sought the incumbents as to carry on with their educational intention, which can play, for instance, a key role on the further development of their occupational orientation. It is important to comprehend, though, that making a horizontal educational advancement is also a school track choice that demands adjustment of the parents' perception of the worth different educational pathways have within the Brazilian educational system. Not only the incumbent, but also the parents need to go through a process of acquiring the necessary arguments that will be used in rationalization process justifying this educational decision. In addition, parental discouragement can further deteriorate an already narrow pathway margin, and a subsequent post-hoc rationalization process can be intensified, for one needs to persuade him- or herself, other social actors and also significant others.

7.3.2 The role of additional event carriers

A series of other human and non-human event carriers have played a significant influential role leading individuals to decide in favor of a horizontal advancement leading to IFPA's dual system apprenticeship in Brazil. Schütze (2008) defines event carriers as other dramatis personae beyond the story carrier; as any type of social units they can even belong to the non-human world, and that of they are the central helpers, mirror image and counselors, for the incumbent. These event carriers will be individually addressed in the sections below.

7.3.3 The human world social units concerning a horizontal advancement

It is rather interesting that in terms of event carriers the human social world units concerning a horizontal educational advancement leading to IFPA tend to be less relevant in terms of a set of multivariate conditions than the non-human event carriers. Significant others, parents above all, essentially alter their role from essentially influential to a hybrid function of being influential and concomitantly open to a second order alternative that will demand understanding and acceptance, at least temporarily. Given that the biography incumbent is driven by societal expectations and significantly influenced by others through socialization with peers,

friends and classmates, the following social units could be identified as a source of influence regarding IFPA School: (a) The influence of peers in school. Even though it isn't commonly regarded by peers as a "normal" first order post-high school educational pathway constituted by access to higher education upon high school graduation, these individuals as well as the biography incumbent can perceive accessing IFPA School within a horizontal advancement as acceptable, for other individuals who belong to the same of even other private German schools also opted to follow this school track choice. This is a clear indirect influential aspect. It couldn't be observed in the autobiographical narrative interviews an intensively significant direct influence of peers or friends encouraging the incumbent to follow this pathway within a primary post-high school educational aspiration, instead of making a prompt vertical advancement. The observation that other social actors that belonged to one's social arena have also followed a post-high school horizontal educational pathway generated a perception of identification and acceptance, which was also used by the incumbent, even if unconsciously, as an argument that helped ceasing cognitive dissonance that arose from a incongruence regarding one's educational choice, primary post-high school educational aspiration, and above all one's general perception of secondary level VET in Brazil; (b) contact with the German culture through socialization with significant others. This was the case of cultural exposure, identity association and ethnic origin of significant others, and the fact that IFPA School is regarded as a German school, which offers a dual system apprenticeship essentially taught in the German language, by German teachers; (c) teachers and principals were significant sources of direct influence leading the incumbent to seek IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. These played the role of a channel used for the vocational school to transmit intrapersonal information about its dual system to potential candidates within the private German high schools located in Sao Paulo and also other areas; (d) the influence of other family members or friends of the family of the incumbent tends to be minor. Firstly, these can be unwilling to encourage a horizontal advancement within the Brazilian educational system due to their perception of a structural duality. Secondly, these individuals do not have sufficient understanding of the modus operandi of the VET modality offered by IFPA School and might be confused about the need to enter the labor market prior to obtaining a "normal" higher education degree within a vertical advancement. It helps demonstrating that the influence of significant others through their perception of what is regarded as a "natural" progression within the Brazilian educational system influences first and equally second order educational choices. In addition, these individuals that were previously a source of influence regarding vertical ad-

vancement directly or indirectly can turn into a source of botheration for the incumbent, who will have to utilize argumentative detailing to justify his or her educational track choice. Lisa's rendering can clearly illustrate that this switching process occurs in the role of event carriers, changing from influential to a source of doubt and inquisition, as it can be observed in:

“when people ask me “what is this IFPA” (-) when I was studying at IFPA (-) or “what do you do there (?)” (-) I said /ehm/ that I was doing a trade course (,) “but what is it like (?) What professional course (?)” I said it was a technical course (,) “but have you finished high school yet (?)” people asked me (-) but I had already finished high school (,) (-) IFPA isn't something known here (,) (-)”

It can be noticed that the lack of information about this relatively unknown VET structure in Brazil, the dual system, may lead determined human event carriers to doubt, skepticism and inquiries that may cause the incumbent to experience further hesitation about his or her second order school track choice. It generates a mental weariness of confrontation of the incumbent with his or her social world that may turn the educational experience into a negative experience. Yet, incumbents could apparently still follow through with it for the reason that the distinctive structure of the dual system offered by IFPA has facilitated conveying a positive image to these other social actors, who were also assure that a vertical educational advancement would be done as soon as possible, and by all means.

7.3.4 The non-human world social units in a horizontal advancement

As previously pointed out, Schütze (2008) states that event carriers can also be social units that can or cannot belong to the human world. There are a number of non-human world social units that exert an influence on the incumbent's decision to make a horizontal educational advancement post-high school level, more specifically, being impeded by accumulation or concatenation of superimposed impediments concerning primary post-high school educational aspiration, the distinct aspects of the structure offered by IFPA's dual system apprenticeship that provides the incumbent with arguments used by the incumbent in post-hoc rationalization in confrontations within his social arenas, a purchase opportunity determinant; see Brennan & Marriott (1996), lack of public tertiary education offer, the opportunity to gain work orientation, cultural exposure and identity association, ethnic origin of significant others, the association of the school to the German culture, and access to in- and out-school as well as in-

trapersonal information; see Whitley & Neil (1998). Below one can see each of these non-human social units' influential characteristics separately.

(1) the first and most important conditions that can be characterized as a non-human event carrier leading one to opt for a post-high school horizontal educational advancement leading to IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship is being impeded by superimposed structural, self-erected or chosen or barriers imposed by others to accomplish one's primary post-high school educational aspiration mainly aimed at a vertical advancement by accessing higher education. (2) The distinct aspects of the structure offered by IFPA's dual system apprenticeship provides the incumbent with solid arguments for a process of rationalization explicating his or her choice to opt for a post-high school horizontal educational advancement, which was already steered away from in their primary choice. Even though IFPA's dual system apprenticeship is acknowledged by the Brazilian government and follows into the secondary level subsequent modality VET, it has certain attributes that enable the incumbent to deal with his or her social world more easily regarding post-hoc rationalizations. The main lines of argumentation used by the incumbents were usually accompanied by the arguments that the apprenticeship is mainly taught in German, an exclusory mechanism used by the institution as a structural impediment, that the vocational school has a solid cooperation with German multinational companies in Brazil, and it offers the apprentice with practical and theoretical knowledge, while also offering an apprentice's salary. These are all peculiarities that served as potential arguments in processes or rationalization justifying one's "unusual" option of making a horizontal advancement. It provided the incumbent him- or herself as well as significant others with a set of distinct aspects that enabled one to change the image of IFPA's apprenticeship and detach it from that of other regular secondary level VET schools and its educational programs. (3) The distance between home and vocational school, which could be referred to a purchase opportunity determinant; see Brennan & Marriott (1996). The proximity of the vocational school played a role in the decision making process within a second order option. Parents were less reluctant to comply with this school track, for the incumbent did not need to move out and would still be under parental supervision. In addition, proximity means the incumbent did not have to go through a process of losing or distancing him- or herself from significant others, which equally argued in favor of this horizontal advancement. (4) Lack of tertiary education offer. For individuals coming from less socioeconomically privileged German colonies in the south of Brazil, the limited higher education offer near their

residence has made the primary post-high school aspiration of accessing tertiary education rather difficult. Thus, searching for an educational alternative that could provide one with further education while also providing one with enough income for self-existence was fundamental. Once again, the apprentices' salary has demonstrated to be crucial for all incumbent biographies, regardless of one's socioeconomic profile or background, for the motive that it either resolved financial constraint problems, or it served as means for self-existence while acquiring a profession, or it served as the initial income leading to a process of financial independence within one's biographical development. (5) The opportunity to enter the labor market working for a German company and the possibility of gaining work orientation is also a significant condition in favor of IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. The vocational school gained a functional characteristic, and not necessarily the instrument used to acquire qualification related to a specific occupational orientation based on personal cultivation and self-realization, which had been previously biographically developed. (6) Cultural exposure and identity association composed other relevant conditions of influence that could be observed in the pathway leading the individual to seek IFPA's apprenticeship modality. It relied on cultural exposure and identity association through previous educational processes. There is an interrelation between the educational institution attended the individual during his or her basic schooling and the educational pathway leading to IFPA. The incumbent was influenced by the culture he or she was exposed to within a German private elementary and/or high school in Brazil. These previous biographical processes experienced by the biography incumbent are characterized by an immersion in the German culture in these educational institutions, where they acquired the language, socialized, obtained instruction from German teachers and personnel, and were regularly involved in activities related to the German culture within and outside the classroom in school. Moreover, the incumbent had the opportunity to socialize with peers that very often spoke German at home, had a German offspring in the family, and were equally experiencing the exposure to the German culture. This was certainly a condition of influence making the incumbents opt for this specific school within a variety of secondary level vocational schools they could potentially choose from. This constant exposure to the German culture also played a fundamental role in the identity development of the incumbents that, at least, prior to enrollment at IFPA developed a sense of identification with the German culture, through its language, people and customs. Furthermore, the influence of one's ethnic origin on their educational pathway choice concerning this horizontal advancement leading to IFPA School was also observable. One's ethnic origin regarding IFPA School and its appren-

ticeship can be a condition of influence, but not necessarily a prerequisite. One's decision to attend its apprenticeship can also be based on other conditions, and regardless of one's ethnic origin. Essentially, it can be divided into three different groups and aspects: (a) Ethnic origin and its impact on the individuals coming from German colonies. IFPA has a great number of individuals originated from German colonies in the southern states of Brazil. As previously mentioned, from 1824 to 1969, around 250,000 Germans immigrated to Brazil, being the fourth largest immigrant community to settle in the country; see IBGE (2012a). The vocational school takes advantage of this aspect and tries to attract apprentices coming from these smaller communities. These are individuals that didn't attend expensive elementary and high schools in Sao Paulo. Data also shown that these individuals coming from specific ethnic minority groups, more specifically, the German colonies, also equally tend seek tertiary education access within a primary post-high school education aspiration. Individuals coming from this ethnic group may opt for two different pathways, either study to enrich their communities or to obtain upward mobility and distance themselves from the culture. These individuals consider themselves and refer to themselves as inhabitants of German colonies, where customs, language and culture is kept alive and passed on from generation to generation. Attending IFPA School and its dual system appears to be a more logical pathway, which aligns with one's ethnic origin and may also be easy to undergo, given it is taught in their language, they will have contact with German teachers. In other words, they will still be within a German world. In this case, the incumbent had already developed an identity based on the German culture, and accessing IFPA School was nearly an extension within his or her own culture. These are individuals who are direct descendents of German citizens, and who normally speak a German dialect at home. This culture is very present in their identity development and, as it will be addressed in the next chapter, can become a potential source for hybridity later in their development within another social arena involving the same culture. These individuals tend to seek upward mobility and positive distinctiveness, and they don't necessarily seek the knowledge that was gained in the dual system apprenticeship as to employ it in their community. This aspect depends on other variants, such as the influence of significant others, dominant biographical process and additional event carriers, but is not the focus of this research project. (b) Ethnic origin and its impact on German descendents. The same ethnic origin influential impact can be observed in individuals that had equally developed their identity based on the German culture in other regions of the country than within German colonies in the south. Descendents of German citizens who live in Sao Paulo, for instance, have also demon-

strated that IFPA School is a choice perceived as an offer within the continuation or margin of their identity development. It justifies a choice related specifically to this school, once they can still remain within their social identity world. (7) Ethnic origin of significant others and the German school are also a principal event carrier within socialization processes of influential importance on the incumbent's decision to access IFPA School within a horizontal educational advancement. Individuals that are not descendants of Germans and/or do not come from German colonies were equally influenced by significant others within a German elementary or high school they attended. Within this educational institution, they also had several processes of socialization that can establish undergoing IFPA's dual system apprenticeship as a valid educational pathway that is at times equally taken by other individuals who belong to the same social arena. The school, as an event carrier, is an important social frame enabling these processes and also directly influencing it through teachers, administrators and intrapersonal information. The ethnic origin influence may also occur through external significant others. Christopher doesn't have any German offspring and didn't attend German elementary and high schools in his life. It also demonstrates that ethnic origin is not an elementary condition. It can be a contributive aspect, though. Through his own interest, he came in contact with an exchange program by receiving an exchange student; please refer to portrait chapter for further comprehension. (8) Access to in- and out-school as well as intrapersonal information through significant others is equally relevant within this second order horizontal advancement. Whitley & Neil (1998) distinguished 'in-school' and 'out of school' information flows. They suggest that 'in-school' information provided by teachers and career guidance people was more important, but that peers played a significant role in providing 'out-of-school' information. Although, the studies of these authors are focused on another cultural context, the case of IFPA, as a horizontal educational advancement within a Brazilian context, is also partially similar. Yet, in the case of IFPA out-school information cannot be only limited to significant others. Non-human event carriers are also equally significant. The educational institution is pro-active in terms of making information accessible to a variety of candidates throughout the country. IFPA provides advertising sessions in different institutions, German school, consulates and other trade fairs. In addition, given that socioeconomic privileged individuals don't tend to search for information regarding secondary level VET for they tend to perceive it as a social and biographical unfit, a lack of information regarding possible alternatives can aggravate indecision and lack of occupational orientation.

Interestingly, this specific finding aligns with the studies of Pitz and Harren (1980) who mention that the first element of each decision problem is a set of alternatives. The case of Eva is clear illustration to this matter. She wasn't aware of the available alternatives and its characteristics until the day she attended a presentation given by IFPA at her school. Choosing a biographically appropriate educational pathway leading to an equally adequate occupation, also depends on access to information about possible pathways within an educational system, and also about individual choices available therein.

Hence, another relevant condition that influenced one's decision to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship in Sao Paulo was the access to information, which can be the necessary ground for the assessing its biographical appropriateness, its outcomes, and also the identification of necessary steps to accomplish such an educational decision. Based on the empirically collected data, it is possible to ascertain two important relevant aspects concerning information as a crucial condition. There are sources of intrapersonal information that can play an influential role in one's decision to follow the educational pathway offered by IFPA, to be exact, (a) from biographical care takers and significant others, (b) from on-site institutional information. Intrapersonal information, on-site institutional information through face-to-face contact is a relevant condition in the decision making regarding individuals' access to IFPA School. Former apprentices had presentations about the school, where information exchange occurred regarding certification, academic aspirations, structure of the apprenticeship as well as admission pre-requisites and career prospects, with the purpose of facilitating their understanding as well as their assessment of the school and its educational modality as a social and personal fit. The location of the information is also another relevant variable in the conditions leading individuals to opt for IFPA's apprenticeship. The school works with intrapersonal information provided at very specific sites. Their information sessions are carried out at German elementary and high schools, as well as at other German schools located in German colonies in the Southern states of Brazil. It, as a result, allows one to obtain the information that other peers follow(ed) or will follow this educational modality as well, which could provide one with the perception that this would be consider a recurrent occurrence within his or her social context and would, therefore, be considered acceptable.

As it can be observed in the first part of this theoretical model, there is a complex interrelation of conditions, mechanisms and process that culminate leading an individual to opt for a IFPA

School and its dual system apprenticeship within a post-high school horizontal educational advancement in Brazil. Firstly, the incumbent establishes his or her primary post-high school educational aspirations with the assistance of a multivariate nexus of influential conditions, which includes the family milieu, the parents' educational action scheme, the influence of significant other as agents of societal influence, the influence of an important non-human event carrier, the incumbent's general perception of the educational system and its compliance with societal expectations, a lack or a presence of occupational orientation prior to IFPA, the dominant biographical process during decision making process.

Subsequently, the next process within the incumbent's school track choice is to overcome a very dense accumulation or concatenation of a variety of impediments hindering the accomplishment of these primary educational objectives, which can appear in form of superimposed by structural conditions, outcomes of interlinks of biographical importance, self-chosen or self-erected impediments, impediments superimposed by significant others, dominant biographical process structures prior to IFPA's apprenticeship, loss of occupational orientation prior to IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. Only after this process the biography incumbent will be able to achieve his or her primary post-high school educational aspiration. Not overcoming this dense filter separating primary educational objectives and their accomplishment means a readjustment process of primary educational objectives will occur, in which potential second order alternatives arise. These entail, obviously, a post-high school horizontal educational advancement, by undergoing IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. This school track will once again be influenced by a set of conditions, mechanism and processes which involve significant others, central social relationships, and a variety of human and non-human world social units.

It is perceptible that it is not a simple process. Choice is based on biographical development and previous processes, and the pathway leading the incumbent to access IFPA School and its dual system within a horizontal advancement depends on a concatenation, and not on an isolated condition. Indeed, only the entire biographical assessment of the incumbent's processes and the dully examination of conditions and mechanism used by him or her can make a horizontal advancement leading to IFPA School comprehensible. This complex nexus is the basis to grasp how the biography incumbent experienced and the meaning that was given to this

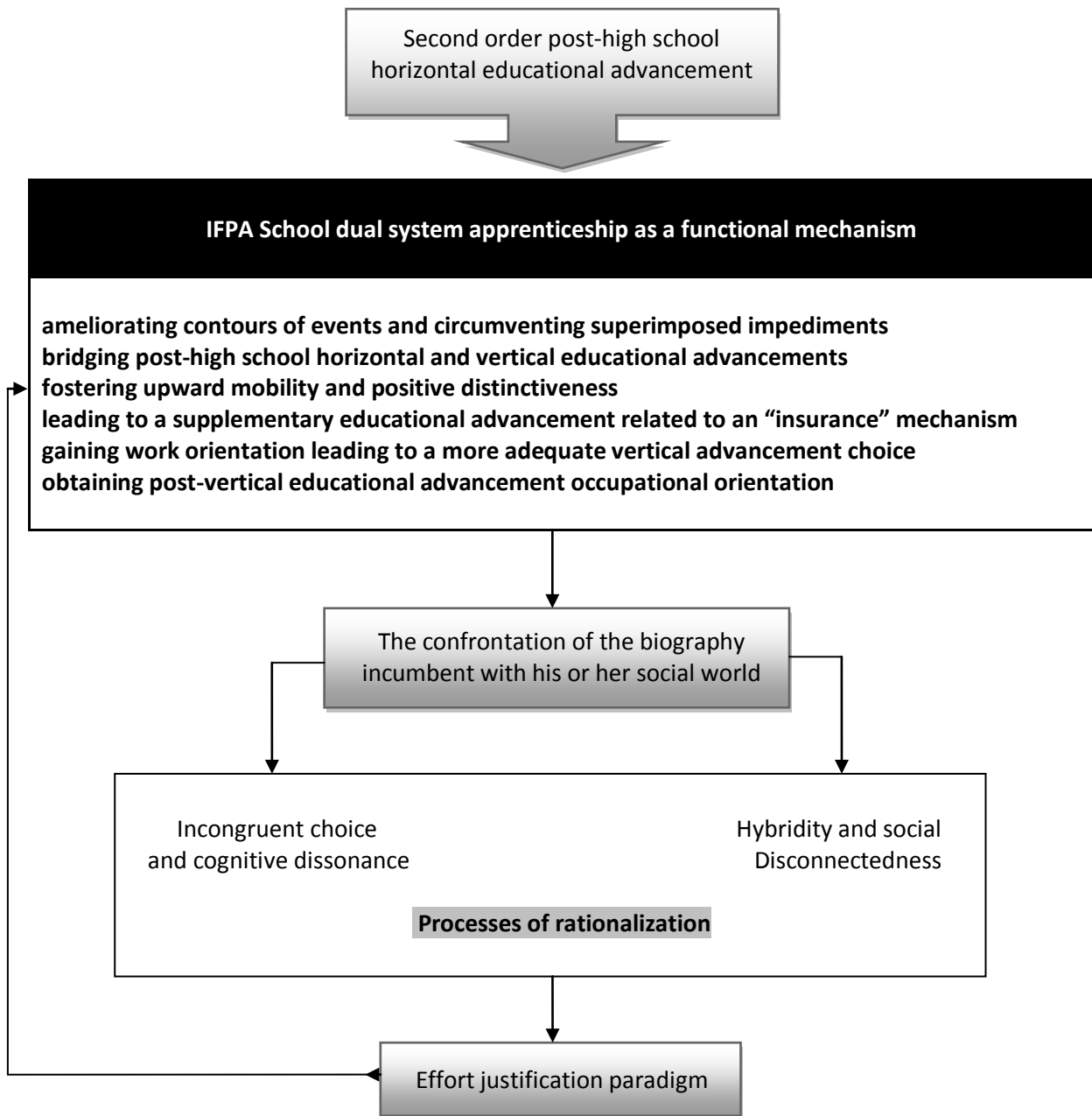
educational institution and its apprenticeship by the apprentice within the reflective narrator's and also biography incumbent's perspective.

7.4 Perception, experience and meaning given assigned to IFPA's VET

The perception, experience and meaning associated by individuals to IFPA School's dual system apprenticeship are closely interrelated. Yet, they have to be explicated separately as to achieve a comprehensive understanding of this interrelation. The perception of the incumbents is closely related to an already discussed structural duality within the Brazilian educational system which divides educational pathways into the ones who will do the manual and the intellectual work. In other words, one's perception of IFPA's dual system apprenticeship within a post-high school horizontal educational advancement is also related to one's discernment concerning higher education and his or her primary post-high school educational aspiration.

Data has pointed out that there are different conditions related to one's negative or positive appraisal of the VET program. These conditions can also assist comprehending the motives that led these individuals to experience IFPA's apprenticeship as an instrument characterized by a functional mechanism, which also demonstrated to be heavily accompanied by an effort justification paradigm process, which arose from a concatenation of incongruent perception-behavior concerning secondary VET in a Brazilian context, social disconnectedness, hybridity, and the need for post-hoc rationalizations as to deal with one's social world confrontation regarding this school track choice. Nonetheless, it could also be observed that the educational modality undergone by former-apprentices tends to receive a more positive within a reflective assessment, whereas experiencing the process itself demanded more physical and emotional effort as to deal with oneself and other social actors within one's social arenas.

Illustration (3): Perception, experience and meaning scheme
(by the author, 2013)



7.4.1 The incumbent’s perception of VET within a Brazilian context

Schütze (2008) states that autobiographical storytelling can also help establishing how one felt when undergoing the experience of outer events, and it is a first step of coming to terms with the continual built-up and change of inner states and how this amounts to the evolving

life historical identity structure of the individual. Thus, this second section of the theoretical model is aimed at comprehending IFPA School former-apprentices perception of the educational modality they underwent as well as understanding how they experienced this outer event within their biographical development. It could be observed that one's perception of IFPA's educational modality determines how one confronts his or her social world concerning this specific school track choice. It is essentially closely related to an amalgamation of perceptions as well as self-theoretical reflections concerning a duality structure within the Brazilian educational system.

Former apprentices' tend to address the school as a superior educational institution, as if it were part of an educational stratification. This assumption, however, could only be clearly uttered by the incumbents in a comparative manner, who demonstrated a propensity to justify this educational choice with the assistance of post-hoc rationalizations through argumentative narrative detailing, based on a structural duality within the Brazilian educational system. Overall, informants appear to establish and refer to a duality of educational pathways, establishing appropriate choices based on the socioeconomic profile of individuals, who belong to two distinctive groups, namely, the socioeconomically privileged ones who attended expensive, private elementary and high schools and are capable of enrolling at IFPA School, and the socioeconomically underprivileged individuals who attended public schools providing low-quality of education that led to a restrict margin of educational options and are deemed to undergo secondary level VET at other vocational schools and will, as a rule, become manual workers. Schütze (2008) reminds us that dealing in a circumspect way with your autobiographical knowledge also entails the generation of elementary classifications and assumptions. Individuals generally associate IFPA School and its VET program to a certain breed of cultured persons, who are not generally expected to engage in general secondary level VET, a group of individuals entitled and cognitively able to access higher education, in order to get a position in a white collar position; it is a clear reference to the duality encountered within the Brazilian educational system, which created, as already mentioned, a clear difference between the ones who are going to do the intellectual and the ones who are going to do the physical activities; see Kuenzer (2002). Interestingly, incumbents do not tend to associate the choice of this horizontal educational advancement to superimposed impediments or other contours of events. The rationalizations are focused on conveying the perception that this school track choice was practically part of one's primary post-high

school educational aspiration. In addition, incumbents have demonstrated a heavy tendency to categorize themselves as members of a selective group, at times even regarded by informants as *the elite*. There is a tendency to claim IFPA School is aimed at those who wish to prepare and qualify for managerial positions, or the ones who will do the intellectual work at the companies. In other words, it represents the contrary outcomes of regular secondary level VET schools that train the socioeconomically underprivileged individuals to later perform the manual worker which, according to interviewees, demands little cognitive competence. Interestingly, it aligns with the social identity theory proposed by Tajfel (1978) and Tajfel & Turner (1979). One can perceive a certain level of social classification. Data has demonstrated that incumbents seemed to categorize individuals and associate their profile to determined educational pathways within their cultural and social context; therefore, establishing the creation of two distinctive groups and a structural duality, in which each group is expected to follow a considered appropriate educational pathway, which also mirrors the findings of Turner et al (1987). It also demonstrates how a historical structural duality is still vividly present in the perception of the individuals regarding the Brazilian educational system; see Ferreti (2002), Kuenzer (2002), and not even a dual system apprenticeship is capable of eradicating it. Cunha (2000) argues that Brazil has a clear separation between VET and a more propaedeutic education related to higher education. Interestingly, though, even the more socioeconomically underprivileged individuals perceive the aforementioned structural duality and equally tend to detach themselves from this possible educational modality.

The findings regarding former apprentices reveal a very intriguing phenomenon. Their perception of the outer events they embarked on has demonstrated a determined inconsistency between educational decision and one's perception of secondary level VET derived from the behavior of other group members. In order to comprehend this phenomenon, however, it is necessary to recapitulate certain basic characteristics of the Brazilian VET structure. Firstly, according to the current legislation (Brazil, 2010a, p.34), professional education is structured into three different levels, more specifically, initial and continuing training of workers or vocational training, vocational education at secondary level and vocational education at tertiary and postgraduate levels. The most important level, and also the one under examination in this research project is the VET at secondary level. This modality is, according to the current legislation (Brazil, 2010a, p.31) in section IV-A of the LDB article 36b, is divided into two main categories, namely, articulated with high school (Integrated or Concomitant), and

subsequent, for individuals who have already finished high school. Both modalities lead to the certification of secondary level VET. Therefore, IFPA School also belongs to secondary level VET in the subsequent modality; and its vocational courses started being acknowledged by the Brazilian government in 1996; see IFPA (2011). Yet, there is a clear tendency of individual's regarding secondary level VET rather negatively and, therefore, it is became feasible to identify these former apprentices' incongruence between perception and behavior, which can be visibly detected trough an elementary communicative scheme of representing life and the world; see Kallmeyer and Schütze (2007) – more specifically the communicative scheme of argumentation which deals with possible explanations for the quite often questionable flow of events.

Even though a theoretical model shouldn't necessarily entail a vast number of textual sections, which basically interrupt the flow of the text that can become fragmented, the next three brief textual sections entailing rationalizations regarding secondary level VET clarifying the informants' perception are fundamentally illustrative and can considerably assist comprehending the general perception associated by informants to this educational school track choice. Lisa's perception (a) of general secondary level VET in is rather negative and she seems to openly criticize it. One can notice that she implicitly conveys in her rendering that this is not an educational modality that would be considered a socioeconomic fit for her. She associates secondary level VET in Brazil to SESI and SENAI, which are institutions of the S System in Brazil⁵⁵. Yet, the major issue is that SENAI, for instance, has been an institution which has the objective of workforce qualification for the working class; see Filho (2007, p.4). She links this educational pathway to courses that lead to the qualification of manual workers, and that demand little intellectual competence or school achievement to be successfully undergone. In other words, she believes VET is essentially aimed at those who will become factory manual workers. Alice's point of view (b) is also negative and she associates general secondary level VET in Brazil with socioeconomically underprivileged indi-

⁵⁵ This system consists of 11 organizations and institutions related to the productive sector such as industry, commerce, agriculture, transport and cooperative, and one of its objectives is to provide VET training at all educational levels, including secondary level VET. These two institutions mentioned by the informant are essentially the most important institutions that constitute the S System are SENAI (National Service of Industrial Learning) and SENAC (National Commercial Training Service), and they are very representative in the vocational training and education field in Brazil. These two institutions of the S System account for nearly 38% of all secondary level VET enrollments at secondary level in Brazil; see SENAC (2010) and SENAI (2010).

viduals, thus also establishing a duality within the educational system according to socio-economic classification. She also believes that the ones who have a wider margin of educational possibility due to their capital resources won't follow this educational pathway that offers merely courses of short duration. This discernment regarding vocational education and training in Brazil is also noticed by individuals coming from lower classes, who equally consider secondary level VET as an insufficient educational advancement. Christopher Hoffmann's perception (c) is rather attention-grabbing, given that he comes from a very-low income family which had several problems due to financial constraints during the informant's basic schooling, which was fully acquired at public schools in Brazil. The incumbent also includes himself in the group of the ones who are not suited for vocational courses. Jessica Mai (d), who also comes from a lower class family, which equally had serious financial difficulties during the incumbent's entire basic schooling, also shares a similar perception regarding secondary level VET in Brazil:

(a) "the normal technical courses like SESI (-) /ehm/ SENAI /ehm/ which are FIESP institutions, for example, from the Federation of Industries of São Paulo (') are courses aimed at a lower class (.) You don't need to have a very high intellectual level (') you only need to know how to work your tools and everything else (-) but you don't need to be the most intelligent student in your class to do a technical course (.) (2)"

(b) "I think (-) technical courses is/are often (') (-) when people don't have (-) with=with (-) it's more people with low income end up doing technical courses (-) than other people who have more opportunity (,) (-) this is my perception (,) (2) because it is cheaper (-) and the duration is not as long as university (,) (-) it's faster [...] I think that SENAC (-) SENAI have technical courses (,) (-) I think these are the most popular ones (-) SENAC, SENAC (,) (-)"

(c) "(I only underwent) IFPA because of this dual system (,) I never thought of going to any trade schools (-) in Sao Paolo or /ehm/ where my parents live [...] it is not well seen by the companies (-) [...] only with a trade course you won't have many chances [...] nobody wants to do trade courses".

(d) "I don't want to have any prejudice against anybody (') but /ehm/ people who go to IFPA (-) are people who can speak German (,) And they come from middle and upper class (') except for us (-) who come from German colonies (,) (-) But regular trade courses are for people from lower classes".

Another interesting aspect is that even an individual who opted to make a horizontal advancement prior to accessing higher education, due to a lack of occupational orientation, with the purpose of gaining work orientation, which could promote a more adequate choice regarding a vertical educational advancement, also perceived a duality within the educational system and the negative-cul-de-sac image this educational modality entails in a Brazilian context. Eva Schmidt's case assists illustrating it. One can perceive in her rendering that she sees it as a social unfit and also states that VET qualification solely isn't sufficient for one to grow professionally within an organization in a Brazilian context. Her opinion is somewhat milder than the previous ones and she tends to relate one's choice concerning this educational modality to self-fulfillment. Yet, implicitly, it is also possible to observe how she detached herself from a possibility to merely undergo secondary level VET and not continue to pursue further educational objectives.

“the person will do the technical course and not attend college (,) (-) ok (-) you have a technical background and you will do this for the rest of your life (,) (2) [...] but the rule is that if you only have a technical course and nothing more (') you are not well seen in a company (,) (-) Theoretically (-) you have to have a college degree Brazil (,) (-) [...] SENAI is the only other school I know (,) (-) I guess it's for people of a lower class /ehm/ is it how you call it (?) (-) It's for a social class a little bit lower (,) (-)”

The perception of general secondary level VET is crucial to comprehending the reputation of this educational modality in this South American country. Interestingly, this reputation is not only perceived by the more fortunate choosers, the ones who have cultural, social and financial capital that enables them to possess a wider margin of educational options. One could also argue that the root of this perception has a historical background. Vocational schools appeared in Brazil in 1909, through Decree 7.566/1909, which emphasized that it was necessary "to enable the children of the lower classes with essential technical skills and make them acquire habits of useful work that should distract them from idleness and crime. Later, nearly 30 years after the first school in 1909, in the 1937 Constitution, the Article 129 described that "the pre-vocational and vocational training and education for the underprivileged classes is the first duty of the State that is responsible for the establishment of institutes of vocational education". Seemly, even though, nowadays, the constitution regarding vocational education and training in Brazil does not elude any duality or class separation concerning educational modalities, the image associated to this educational modality re-

mains, and can undoubtedly be empirically validated. Lisa even mentions the exact same words entailed by the constitution of 1937 – lower class. She also has the perception that individuals undergoing VET in Brazil will hardly access tertiary education. It also clearly aligns with the content of the article 129 that leaves a more propaedeutic education for the socioeconomically privileged individuals. This emphasis generated an image to the vocational system in Brazil that, according to Ferreti (2008), led technical courses to be viewed historically as a lower type of training. In Brazil, it is generally associated with an indicative of lower status. The same author also states that the general thinking is that university trains leaders and technical course are for those who will operate machines in factories. The cases illustrated in the examples above serve to demonstrate that, in all probability, the reputation of a crucial educational modality from which the economic development of the country also depends upon, remains practically unaltered. The duality of educational pathways within the Brazilian educational system is still vivid in a Brazilian context - on the one hand, a more propaedeutic education, aimed at the socioeconomically privileged, and leading to higher education, on the other hand, there is the VET pathway, aimed at the socioeconomically unprivileged and leading to labor market. Kuenzer (cited in Culhari 2010, p.27) had already called out attention to the fact that this structural duality has created a clear difference between the ones who are going to do the intellectual and the ones who are going to do the physical activities. There is a tendency to regard secondary level VET as a limited educational modality aimed at socioeconomically underprivileged individuals who seek short duration qualification course, leading to manual work and demanding little intellectual and previous education. Moreover, its image is often linked to institutions of the S System, and that it solely constitutes an insufficient educational objective in case one wishes to grow professionally within an organization in the Brazilian context. Nevertheless, the most interesting aspect is that this negative discernment concerning secondary level VET is equally perceived by individuals coming from completely different socioeconomic backgrounds, as it could be previously observed above.

7.4.2 The incumbent's incongruent perception-behavior concerning VET

It is important to bear in mind that the educational modality undergone by the informants interviewed within this research project belongs to the same educational pathway that is heavily criticized and avoided by these individuals. IFPA School belongs to secondary level

VET in the subsequent modality, a post-high school horizontal educational advancement. This disparity has led to one of the most significant findings in the process of experience undergone by the incumbent during his or her dual system VET program. Undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship became a source for cognitive dissonance for its apprentices. Gorman (2005) explains that dissonance occurs where there is incompatibility between and among what I am capable of doing, that which I must do, and that which I want to do. Essentially, different conditions may trigger an incongruent perception-behavior concerning one's educational pathway. These conditions are linked to the incumbent's: (a) critiques, self-theoretical commentaries and reflections assigned to different educational modalities in a range of alternatives within the educational system, which is heavily influenced by significant others as well as event carriers, both human and non-human, such as the labor market's qualification demands. (b) Primary post-high school educational objective within one's biographical development. (c) Perception of "self" within a social frame is equally important, given that the incumbent generally intends to further develop a consistent identity. (d) Discernment of the expectation and perception of significant actors upon his her educational choices regarding school track choice, especially regarding the incumbent's family milieu. (e) Decision concerning an educational modality and its occupational area in relation to what is regarded as socially and biographically appropriate.

Any permutation or even an entire accumulation of conflicting aspects regarding the conditions named above are determinant in a process leading to incongruent perception-behavior regarding school track choice. This concatenation of cognitive dissonance pre-requisites has become a precondition for post-hoc rationalizations in the rendering of the informants. Individuals enrolled and underwent secondary level vocational training that led to certification in the same educational field believed to constitute a social and personal unfit. Data has demonstrated through the incumbents' renderings a clear inclination to provide a narrative entailing several different argumentative narrative textual sections regarding one's educational choice. There is clear evidence of repeated attempts to rationalize school track choice, more specifically a horizontal advancement within secondary level education, in post-hoc reconceptualizations of behavior with the purpose of establishing a distinction between IFPA's dual system apprenticeship and other regular secondary level VET programs in Brazil. This finding has a remarkable similarity and alignment with the studies concerning cognitive dissonance suggested by Festinger (1957). These informants underwent vocational

training in an educational modality they openly criticize and associate with a completely different socioeconomic profile, as already previously seen, therefore triggering an educational action-discernment incongruence. Festinger (1957) argues dissonance can be resolved in one of three basic ways: change beliefs, change actions or change perception of action. This third resolution pathway is usually accompanied by rationalizations of one's actions in an attempt to perceive action in a different manner or context so that it no longer appears to be inconsistent with one's discernment of the action they are involved in. In the following, selected illustrative textual passages will be presented to demonstrate a search for incongruence resolution. It is quite unproblematic identifying, through a communicative scheme of argumentation, attempts to rationalize educational choice and detach one from other regular secondary level VET courses in Brazil. As stated above, these rationalizations are a product of the cognitive dissonance process, which arises due to a concatenation of conditions. Three illustrative passages from, respectively, Lisa's (a), Mary's (b) and Eva's (c) cases assist in illustrating these post-hoc rationalizations aimed at changing perception of action to resolve this educational action-discernment incongruence. Lisa regards IFPA as an institution aimed at socioeconomically privileged individuals who could afford attending private elementary and high schools in Brazil, opposed to the underprivileged one who had to attend public school with low level quality. Lisa also argues that it is an elite course, aimed at individuals who attended expensive elementary and high schools, and also states the school and its courses are not popular in the country. She wants to convey that only a handful of socioeconomically privileged individuals who attended private German elementary and high schools know about the existence of IFPA and its apprenticeship modality; even though, it could be observed from the collected data that more socioeconomically underprivileged individuals equally undergo IFPA's apprenticeship modality. These argumentations seem to assist covering the main motives that led the incumbent to enroll in this educational modality by making a horizontal advancement. There is a need for post-hoc rationalizations, given that one's primary post-high school educational aspirations couldn't yet been accomplished. Mary also clearly mentions and establishes a duality within the educational system. She states IFPA is aimed at those individuals who will do the intellectual work and that other secondary level VET courses offered in Brazil are aimed at those who will operate machines in factories. Alice highlights certain aspects of IFPA's apprenticeship in order to rationalize its superiority compared to other regular secondary level VET courses offered in Brazil.

(a) IFPA is aimed at the middle class (,) (-) Because these middle class individuals /ehm/ they have a good education (-) and go to good high schools (,) Private schools and all (,) This is, in fact, the case of IFPA [...] the person must come from a family with better financial condition (,) This is the difference between normal technical courses and the technical courses offered at IFPA (,) (-) [...] IFPA is not /ehm/ (2) we don't know it here as a technical course (,) (-) [...] People don't think that if you go to a *Berufsschule* you won't achieve much in life (') that you are not able to go to college to study engineering or medicine, etc (,) We don't have this perception here in Brazil (,) (-)

(b) I think that (-) comparing IFPA with other technical courses (-) I think IFPA is more a trade course aimed at a person who will be a manager or a director (,) (-) These other trade courses are more for people who will work even with/in labs, like in the case of SENAI (,) (-)

(c) IFPA is a special trade course (-) it's different (-) do you understand (?) (2) It's not like any other technical course we have here in Brazil (,) (-) [...] It's a more selective technical course (,) (-) Do you understand (?) (2) It's only for people who can speak German (-) understand (?) (-) is more selective (,) (-) It's not like other technical courses (-) that you sign up for (-) sit there in class and do it (,) (-) It's not just anyone who can do it (,) (-)

It is clear that individuals portray and regard IFPA School as a superior educational institution in comparison to other regular secondary level VET schools in Brazil. Incumbents tend to base post-hoc rationalizations on arguments related to structural differences between IFPA's apprenticeship modality and other regular secondary level VET schools in Brazil. These arguments, such as language in which classes are taught, the dual system itself, the apprentice's salary and the access to intrapersonal information within one's social arenas, are crucial aspects that assist the incumbent in formulating a differentiated perception between IFPA and other regular secondary level VET schools. It creates a mechanism that helps convince two different parties within the incumbent's social world, namely, other social actors and also him- or herself. It is fundamental to developing a discernment that this horizontal educational advancement is worthy of being considered and followed in order to gain acceptance. Yet, these arguments accumulate with another important aspect regarding IFPA's apprenticeship, more specifically, its unpopularity, since it's not a well-known school and also VET modality throughout Brazil. As a result, it ends up making post-hoc rationalizations processes simpler for the incumbent, who can highlight its aspects of distinctiveness to other social actors within his or her social world, thereby diminishing cogni-

tive dissonance and gaining acceptance and comprehension from significant others, without having to focus on the dense set of impediments that couldn't be overcome in order to accomplish one's primary post-high school educational aspirations. These are the main points of distinctiveness used by informants in reconceptualizations to resolve dissonance: (a) The school is not popular and this makes it unique. Only individuals from a determined ethnic origin or individuals attending private German elementary and high schools know of its existence. In other words, its existence is only realized through institutional or intrapersonal information that, in this case, can only be obtained within a restricted social framework margin, by individuals that can supposedly plainly assess its quality and outcome possibilities. (b) IFPA's apprenticeship is essentially taught in the German language. It establishes a point of positive distinctiveness; given that only a small fraction of individuals in Brazil have a command of this foreign language to the point of being able to undergo educational programs in this idiom. (c) IFPA's dual system apprenticeship structure and its practical in-company training part. One enters the labor market during the process of acquiring a qualification, as opposed to regular school-based VET or higher education courses. (d) IFPA is aimed at those individuals who will do the intellectual work, while other secondary level VET courses offered in Brazil are aimed at those who will operate machines in factories. (e) IFPA is aimed at those who are culturally and socioeconomically privileged and possess skills that are highly appreciated in the labor market, in this case the German companies that are engaged in the dual system offered by IFPA. (f) Due to a flexible permeability within the educational system in Brazil, IFPA's dual system does not mean one won't access higher education. Incumbents have demonstrated a tendency to rationalize the intention of accessing higher education, which helps alleviate dissonance and also convey the impression that IFPA and its apprenticeship are merely a transitional educational modality. (g) It is superior to other regular secondary level VET institutions given it is taught in the subsequent modality. This aspect reveals two important pieces of information: the lack of information about the general structuring of the educational modality, or an attempt to irrationally justify the stratification of IFPA in relation to other VET schools.

7.4.3 Ones' confrontation with his or her social world concerning IFPA

The above-mentioned mechanism, namely, to formulate post-hoc rationalizations based on aspects of distinctiveness regarding IFPA's apprenticeship modality within a horizontal educational advancement as to diminish cognitive dissonance, assists the incumbent to deal and confront his or her social world regarding this school track choice. Argumentative narrative detailing sections are used by informant to reconceptualize one's discernment and avoid incongruence between action and perception of secondary level VET in Brazil, which is generally considered to be a social unfit.

Data has demonstrated that the incumbent was constantly inquired about his or her decision to make a post-high school horizontal educational advancement by accessing IFPA's dual system apprenticeship, especially regarding one's postponement of a vertical educational advancement. These questionings triggered the need to utilize the aforementioned post-hoc rationalization mechanism as to persuade others that this school track choice is unrelated to the general stigmatization of VET within the structural duality in the Brazilian educational system. It could also be plainly observed that such rationalizations were closely related to a structural duality which is typical to the Brazilian educational system, making it thereby a crucial condition related to a cultural context. The renderings of Jessica assist demonstrating how the biography incumbent had to deal with post-hoc rationalizations processes in Brazil and a clear contrast to how the biography incumbent had to confront other social actors in Germany, concerning her post-high school horizontal educational advancement, where the German dual system adopted by IFPA School essentially came from:

“In Germany nobody asked me about my trade course (‘) but to other people here in Brazil (‘) I had to explain what it was /ehm/ what I did (,)”

It could be observed that it was rather easier for the biography incumbents to focus on the distinctive aspects of IFPA's apprenticeship as to rationalize this school track choice, than recognizing that a vertical advancement couldn't be accomplished due to a concatenation of impediments. Obviously, not all impediments can be clearly discerned by the informant, fact which only worsens the argumentation processes. The decision to make a horizontal advancement is perceived by other actors as unexpected. Moreover, the incumbent also strived

to convey a positive perception regarding this educational advancement as to protect his or her identity development, after all one could still perceive that others, such as friends and peers, still continued to pursue a vertical educational advancement, which is regarded as a “natural” post-secondary level educational pathway. Nielsen and Rudberg (1993) explain that one makes a decision in the attempt to make an agreement between inner and outer reality – between the societal and cultural possibilities and the subjectivity. It can be noticed that such a school track decision, leading to secondary level within the subsequent modality, has led the incumbent to a clear conflict between inner and outer reality. Moreover, it was also partially difficult for incumbents to explicate and rationalize this school track choice at times. Lisa’s (a) and Mary’s (b) rendering, respectively, assist illustrating how the informant was constantly questioned by actors of her social frame about her educational choice, which may have caused confusion and lack of understanding, as it can be observed in:

(a) “So, when people ask me “what is this IFPA” (-) when I was studying at IFPA (-) or what do you do there (?)” [...] But, when we talk /mhm/ about IFPA (-) we say no (-) it is not a technical course (.) It’s a technical course, but it’s more professional (.) (-) It’s difficult to explain (-)”

(b) “IFPA (-) because everyone asked /ehm/ so what do you do there (?) (-) [...] Because nobody knows it (.) (-) [...] only a few companies /ehm/ not all companies know it (.) (-) I don’t know (-) it’s not well-known known”

The educational action-discernment incongruence experienced by the incumbent seemed to have been intensified in case of inappropriate apprenticeship course choice. As previously seen, non-overcome superimposed structural impediments, and especially its recurrence, regarding one’s primary post-high school educational intention of making a vertical advancement by accessing higher education, can trigger a fear of failure that will influence one’s future biographical development and possibly lead one to make further educational choices based on fear of failure, by opting for an easier, more probable educational pathway that does not align with one’s self-realization and main biographical orientation. In case an individual opts for a horizontal advancement in order to undergo secondary level VET in the subsequent modality, case of IFPA School, he or she may opt for a vocational course that is unrelated to persona cultivation. In such case, cognitive dissonance can achieve even higher levels, for the incumbent needs to undergo processes of post-hoc rationalization to justify a

post-high school horizontal educational advancement, and also a VET course linked to an occupational orientation that cannot be comprehended by other actors, for instance, due to the fact that it lead to a low-prestige occupation. For instance, Lisa opted for the office clerk apprenticeship, and this choice served as the root for even further questioning coming from other significant others within her social context. Apparently, she was repeatedly confronted with questionings concerning her choice, given that her apprenticeship course led to a qualification in a profession of lower reputation within her social context:

“I really (-) don’t know (,) I didn’t see this course as /ehm/ (2) I didn’t do it because it was an office clerk course (,) I always had in my mind that I didn’t want to be a secretary [...] (they)said “ah, secretary /ehm/ they only take phone calls and pay invoices” >ironic< (((laughs))) I didn’t really care much about it (,) I didn’t think about anything (‘) I just wanted to do the course to continue learning German (,) I simply didn’t think much about what other people said (-) like “ah, a secretary, you want to be a secretary (?)” >ironic< (-) I didn’t worry about it (,)”

Another relevant aspect regarding the confrontation of the incumbent with his or her social world concerning IFPA is the fact that one needs to deal with his or her parents’ perception of this horizontal educational advancement. The incumbent is generally aware of his or her parents’ educational action scheme, which was characterized by high investments in private, expensive elementary and high schools and that there was a high expectation of a vertical educational advancement by accessing higher education. Data analysis has made clear that there was an exaggerated concern of accessing higher education upon graduation from IFPA’s apprenticeship. Parental expectation can equally demand processes of rationalization, especially in cases that vertical advancement wasn’t accomplished due to a self-chosen superimposed impediment of, for instance, not undergoing the emotional and physical stress of attempting to overcome the fierce competition to access a public university in Brazil. In addition, parents might be equally exposed to indirectly-related processes of rationalization concerning other social actors within their social world. They may equally be exposed to the need for justifying a horizontal educational advancement of the incumbent, which is regarded by these other individuals as intriguing, given that it does not align with a “natural” post-high school educational pathway. As can be observed, such a school track choice can become a source of difficulty regarding the incumbent’s and his or her family’s confrontations with their respective social arenas and its corresponding social actors. This pressure is rather

intense and in some cases, the incumbent even accesses higher education during his or her dual system apprenticeship, as soon as the impediments that hindered him or her from accomplishing a primary post-high school educational intention leading to higher education access were duly eradicated or no longer present. This, as a result, created another problem. Even though it eliminates the reason for further processes of post-hoc rationalization regarding one's secondary level VET, it became a source of distress for the incumbent, who became overwhelmed and overloaded with academic, school, and practical work, which has actually proven to result in poor performance in all three areas.

It must be pointed out that individuals coming from more socioeconomically underprivileged backgrounds did not seem to have faced the same intense cognitive dissonance. However, these individuals have experienced similar processes of cognitive dissonance regarding this school track decision in relation to themselves, meaning that one still needs to be convinced that such an educational advancement can be regarded as worthy, despite one's perception of general secondary level VET in Brazil and a primary post-high school educational aspiration aimed at higher education access. Furthermore, it does not mean that these individuals' parents do not have aspirations for the incumbent to access tertiary education, but it means parents do not have to undergo similar process of post-hoc rationalizations. On the contrary, this horizontal educational advancement may be regarded as positive distinctiveness, but not due to the fact that IFPA belongs to the secondary level VET subsequent modality, but rather due to the opportunity for upward mobility it represents, which can possibly enable the incumbent to make a vertical educational advancement later, thereby, fulfilling the aspirations of the parents as well.

All in all, there is clear evidence that IFPA and its apprenticeship function as a temporary or initial educational level, which will compulsorily have to be supplemented by a vertical advancement. Regardless of socioeconomic background, individuals assume that secondary level VET is insufficient qualification, despite any of the distinctive characteristics of IFPA's apprenticeship, which are also used in post-hoc rationalization processes by the incumbent. It assists in establishing that the duality structure within the Brazilian educational system can hardly be bypassed by a dual system apprenticeship. Image is not necessarily associated with the structure of secondary level VET itself, but with the general stigmatization this educational modality has as a whole in the country. It helps in comprehending the

motives that led individuals to experience cognitive dissonance while undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship and the difficulties one had to experience in relation to other social actors and also oneself concerning this school track decision.

7.4.4 The meaning of education concerning IFPA's apprenticeship

Data analysis has shown that the meaning associated by the incumbent to IFPA School and its apprenticeship is rather peculiar. Even though it is regarded as a potential secondary level VET school, which entails a variety of atypical characteristics due to its structure, informants still assess and assign meaning to it using the general duality structure present in the Brazilian educational system as a reference point. Christopher Hoffmann, an informant coming from a rather socioeconomically underprivileged background, who attended his entire basic schooling at public universities, and whose parents had always had serious financial difficulties and a very low level of education, has a very attention-grabbing discernment that assists in illustrating the aforementioned meaning given by the informant to IFPA School, as in:

“if IFPA were a higher education course (‘) then it would be a completely different thing (,) (-) There is an extremely high prejudice against trade courses (-) here in Brazil”

IFPA and its dual system apprenticeship are generally regarded by the former-apprentices as: (a) An educational modality that does not replace a college degree. It is regarded as a transitional educational modality prior to accessing higher education. Biography incumbents leave no doubt that this horizontal educational advancement needs to be dully complemented with a nearly compulsory higher education degree. Renderings reveal that such a degree can even supersede more important personal cultivation aspects leading to a vertical advancement within an educational intention leading to a determined occupation orientation. The exacerbated value assigned to higher education becomes once more very evident. Even though IFPA offers a dual system apprenticeship in cooperation with German multinationals, it does not suffice in terms of qualification. Former-apprentices perceive it as an inferior educational level, which will not be accepted within society and not suffice to develop professionally within an organization. IFPA is considered to be an entry-level educational level

that must be continued through access to higher education, an aspect which surpasses one's educational intentions, given it is regarded as mandatory. (b) It is a horizontal educational advancement aimed at gaining sufficient time to decide about a more adequate higher education degree leading to a determined occupation. This perception arises from three different aspects. Firstly, indeed, it represents a transitional educational level used by the biography incumbent to develop a potential occupational orientation. Secondly, it may be the byproduct of an impediment superimposed by the parents who are not willing to invest in higher education, in case of a clear indecision process or traits of indecisiveness that may lead to drop out or change. Thirdly, it is a mechanism promoting an occupational orientation moratorium for the incumbent. As identified in the data analysis, the biography incumbent will gain time to align his or her interest on the basis of personal cultivation of an occupational orientation, which can even be completely unrelated to IFPA's apprenticeship area, leading to a self-fulfilling decision, which was made based on an assessment of objective and subjective conditions. (c) It means early financial independence through an apprentice's salary, aspect which is equally important for different incumbents, regardless of socioeconomic profile and family milieu. Financial independence as well as financial responsibility is equally relevant for individuals coming from more socioeconomically privileged families; as previously explained, it can also be potentially related to the basic biographic positions of the parents. It represents a first opportunity to deal with one's source of income, which is the direct result of one's efforts. It is important to bear in mind that these individuals have essentially attended private elementary and high schools and lived under very protective parental care. IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship are the first representation of a contrast to these environments, including the initial income it provides the apprentice with. It does not mean these individuals had to assist their parents financially with their apprentice's salary. However, as it could already be observed, interlinks of biographical importance and its macro-level outcomes may throw families into a situational constraint. In these cases, IFPA School and its apprenticeship also mean a financial relief for the parents who didn't need to disburse further tuition fees, which were paid by the company, and also didn't need to care for the incumbent's basic expenses. (d) It means direct access to the labor market, which would fundamentally occur much later in case of a prompt vertical educational advancement after high school. Once again, this definition and perception is associated to IFPA and its apprenticeship regardless of one's socioeconomic background. There are different intentions regarding this matter, though. It could serve as a mechanism used to obtain

work orientation, as a possibility to obtain a source of income that will foster financial independence, an opportunity to be exposed to and socialize within an organization where one will not be the client anymore, but will play the role of a worker who is conditioned to rules, commitments and responsibilities. Proof of that is the fact that biography incumbents have undergone creative metamorphoses of biographical identity processes while undergoing IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. Lisa's rendering can assist in illustrating this aspect regarding a biographical metamorphosis:

“(IFPA) was very good after all /ehm/ because then I started to create, to shape, my personality (-) in order to create a basis for a professional life (-) do you understand (?) I had to grow up, because that was the time I started to realize that life /ehm/ is hard for everyone (-) do you understand (?) (-)”

In addition, the meaning attributed by the incumbent to the apprenticeship modality offered by IFPA School is directly related to the objective established by this individual in relation to this horizontal educational advancement. It could be identified that IFPA and its dual system apprenticeship is used as very specific functional mechanisms by the incumbents. These are the main mechanisms that could be identified in the data analysis: (a) IFPA School and its apprenticeship as a tool in search for upward mobility: IFPA School has demonstrated to be a crucial instrument in the biography incumbent's search for upward mobility. Evidently, this specific mechanism concerns individuals coming from more socioeconomically underprivileged backgrounds. It is a remarkable finding, given that higher education is the educational modality usually regarded as “normal” and a potential in terms of upward mobility. It helps demonstrating that the dual system apprenticeship can enable the emergence this mechanism through its structure, which enables the incumbent to: (1) receive an apprentice's salary which can serve as the necessary means for self-existence, whereas not to generate any further costs regarding, for instance, tuition fees. In addition, it could represent the necessary source of income which will be used to make post-VET educational advancements. (2) Leaving a smaller residential location in the countryside to move to a huge metropolis is already an aspect of positive distinctiveness. It entails the representation of a positive distinctiveness. (3) The practical part of the apprenticeship in the company provides the incumbent with opportunities of socialization that may foster a vertical educational advancement through human event carriers or even through non-human, such as the companies influence on the incumbent's further education. (4) Its qualification can provide the incumbent with

the necessary means to obtain permanent employment, which can provide enough income to follow a normal cycle life, assist parents financially and also make a vertical educational advancement within a private tertiary education institution. These characteristics turn IFPA's apprenticeship into a potential tool in the process of achieving upward mobility. Without some of these structural aspects, it would have become nearly impossible for socio-economically underprivileged individuals to undergo this school's VET program. (b) The functional mechanism for seeking permeability: IFPA also serves as a functional mechanism boosting permeability within the Brazilian educational system. (1) It becomes a second order school track option in case superimposed impediments cannot be overcome as to accomplish primary post-high school educational intentions. (2) The biography incumbent perceives that it widens his or her educational pathway margin regarding a vertical educational advancement due to two distinct factors. Firstly, it provides one with a qualification that may be used to obtain permanent employment, which will generate income that can be potentially used to access a private university. Secondly, through active engagement and pro-active behavior one may increase the probability that the company will offer permanent employment upon completing one's dual system apprenticeship and may be willing to further invest in the incumbent's education, which would promote a vertical advancement at no cost, meaning no further individual disbursement. It allows the incumbent to obtain the permeability leading to a vertical educational advancement that one couldn't accomplish prior to his or her access to IFPA School, during the time one made a first order post-high school educational choice. (c) Gaining work orientation to avoid premature occupational orientation: In actuality, this is a functional mechanism that can be characterized as a result of superimposed impediments by significant others, more precisely, the incumbent's parents. In this mechanism, IFPA equally becomes a second order school track choice which serves as a pre-orientation phase prior to a post-high school vertical educational advancement. In other words, the dual system apprenticeship may assist the biography incumbent in overcoming indecision or diminishing indecisiveness, and through work orientation, in developing a more precise occupational orientation. It is a prevention mechanism set in motion before parents make an enormous financial disbursement to enroll the incumbent at a private university, in a course that may lead to drop out or change. It demonstrates that costs play a significant role at early as well as later decision periods in a Brazilian context; the parents' educational action scheme leading to a more propaedeutic education is normally composed by a basic schooling entirely done at private schools. It can be strengthened in case of self-

chosen superimposed impediments, in which the biography incumbent is unwilling to face structural impediments that may hinder him or her accessing a public university which is free of charge. (d) A countermeasure mechanism to obtain a new post-vertical educational advancement occupational orientation. This was the case of Lauren, as can be observed in the portrait chapter. Once again, it does not seem to represent a process capable of turning into a generalization, but it is certainly worth discussing and examining. It demonstrates that making a post-high school vertical advancement in the midst of an indecision process, regarding a more appropriate occupational orientation, may lead to realization of the feared outcome parents have dreaded concerning private universities. The individual may realize later that his or her major choice, leading to a determined occupational orientation, is completely unrelated to personal cultivation and self-fulfilling aspects. It may, as a result, lead to a potential change, which can generate further financial burdens. Lauren found the resolution to her lack of occupational orientation in the dual system, especially through the opportunity of gaining work orientation within the VET program. Her case helps demonstrating that such a VET structure is fundamental in the process of assessing a biographically adequate professional orientation, which as a rule cannot be so intensively offered within a post-high school vertical educational advancement, given that universities in Brazil do not offer the dual system at tertiary level degrees. (e) A supplementary educational achievement to an alternative-less vertical educational advancement is also related to as an “insurance function” mechanism related to potential redundancies; see Soskice (1994). IFPA and its VET dual system are used by the biography incumbent as an educational modality leading to a professional qualification that can guarantee the minimum requirements for obtaining employment within the labor market. It is perceived as a safety-net, in case one needs to be proactive in order to avoid a trajectory of unemployment, or it is seen as an additional qualification that can possibly avoid one from going from a dominant institutional expectation pattern to a trajectory of unemployment. Lisa’s rendering assists exemplifying it:

“but IFPA is not college and isn’t a college degree (,) it’s a vocational certificate, which is just a plus (,) (-) but, it does not replace college”

Obviously, these mechanisms appear to be accompanied by other circumstantial factors, and these can also overlap. However, these are a main track leading one to seek this educational modality at IFPA School. The functional mechanisms used by the incumbents regarding

IFPA's apprenticeship call attention, for none of them relates to undergoing a dual system VET program as to acquire the necessary qualification to pursue a professional career in a determined vocational field. The intentions observed in general secondary level VET apprentices (please refer to chapter 3), generally, do not directly align with the functional mechanisms observed by apprentices that underwent IFPA's apprenticeship. Interestingly, this second order school track choice still entails clear strategies that can possibly catapult the incumbent towards his or her primary educational intentions, which couldn't be accomplished due to a very dense set of not overcome superimposed impediments, as previously discussed.

7.5 The incumbent's individual experience within IFPA's apprenticeship

There are different conditions that lead the incumbent to experience IFPA's dual system apprenticeship either within a more negative or more positive appraisal. Firstly, the conditions that have demonstrated to be closely related to one's negative perception of the educational modality offered by IFPA will be discussed. In the latter, the conditions leading to a positive perception will be addressed. It is necessary to comprehend that the biography incumbent's experience is generally accompanied by a concatenation of negative and positive conditions that, as a result, compose one's discernment of his or her participation in this dual system apprenticeship.

7.5.1 Conditions related to one's negative perception of the VET program

These are the main conditions which made the incumbent prone to perceive this process as an action of endurance that demanded a considerable physical and psychological effort: (a) Need for hybridity regarding identity development: One might develop a need for hybridity; see Appel (2001, p.156). Individuals who have attended German schools during practically his or her entire basic schooling, were constantly exposed to the German language, or even came from German colonies, where the sense of identification with the German culture is very strong, begin undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship and then realize they don't belong to that German world. They have difficulties communicating with individuals who they assumed already belonged to their context. One becomes confronted with the perception of not being part of the culture to which he or she was once related. Individuals that had previously

shaped an identity development based on the German culture, given that they originate from ethnic minorities, are descendants of German citizens, or have even attended and been in contact with the German culture throughout his or her basic schooling, may experience hybridity while undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship. The incumbent might become confused and hesitant about his or her already developed identity when in contact with a VET course which utilizes the German language as a primary idiom in its classes. In addition, German teachers are of great influence within this process. Attitudes of discouragement and criticism regarding one's language command, for instance, already constitute a source for hybridity which can potentially lead to doubts about one's identity development, which as a consequence may influence one's performance, interest and even occupational orientation development. One might even begin developing a sense of disconnectedness, by perceiving that this is not the "German" context one was accustomed to. The language barrier was also an important determiner for a sense of social exclusion developed by the biography incumbent during his or her apprenticeship at IFPA. One may feel intimidated, at a disadvantage and also detached from social relations within the institution due to poorer language command⁵⁶. It also fosters a development of a sense of social disconnectedness. Teachers, as human event carriers in this biographical process experienced by the biography incumbent, can directly influence and accentuate one's sense of unacceptability, which can arise from an apparent rejection concerning one's ethnic origin.

(b) Sense of social disconnectedness: This can arise from a perception of social unfit, especially strengthened by the presence of event carriers of biographical importance during the dual system internship. These event carriers may be human or non-human. As for the former, peers and friends are of vital importance for one's discernment of the educational modality one is undergoing. One may affect his or her discernment of IFPA's apprenticeship through the perception that others, as a rule, follow a post-high school vertical educational advancement and ask the incumbent about his or her school track decision; which appears to be rather incongruent. This state of affairs is a precondition to a constant need for a post-hoc rationalization process, which has already been addressed. It becomes a mechanism used by

⁵⁶ This dissertation is not focused on policy transfer per se. However, it demonstrates once again that a dual system apprenticeship needs to be adjusted and adapted as to achieve a successful implementation within a Brazilian context. Turbin (1995) argues that that VET systems are embedded within a wider societal, institutional and cultural context that limits the success of transfer.

the biography incumbent to confront his or her social world, and also as a potential functional mechanism to persuade oneself that this school track decision entails a determined value. It can strengthen a sense of social disconnectedness, a sense of not belonging. There is an apparent struggle regarding the comprehension of the turn of events and state of affairs and outer events may help fostering one's sense of incongruence. These conditions tend to culminate in a negative appraisal of one's second option, and this discernment can be validated or strengthened through outer events involved in the process. The parents' educational action scheme is also very relevant. The incumbent can experience that this educational decision falls short in relation to parental expectation and will have to be complemented with access to higher education. This aspect creates a tremendous anxiety for the incumbent, who at times needs to undergo his or her dual system apprenticeship during daytime, so as to attend college in the evenings. Non-human event carriers are also significant agents of influence leading to a negative appraisal of the apprenticeship. Lisa's rendering can clearly exemplify how, for instance, a bus can become a source of disturbance for the incumbent, who perceives it as social degradation, which could have had an impact on her inner development as well. She observed a social frame disparity on a daily basis, which only reinforced a sense of not belonging, as it can be seen in:

“I had to go from one side of town to the other (‘) it took me about an hour to get there by bus (‘) (-) in short, it wasn't something that a girl who went to Porto Seguro was used to (,) I wasn't used to it (,) do you understand (?) (2) [...] who gets on the bus at this time (?) only unskilled bricklayers (,) it's something different (,) (-) I had to take buses to work with all the housekeepers and manual laborers (‘) people from a lower social status (,) it was a shock in the beginning”

The location of the school can also be an important non-human event carrier. The school used to be located in a more salariat neighborhood and it was also a source of botheration for the incumbent and also the parents. Another relevant non-human event carrier was the daily routine within IFPA and the exposure of the incumbent to previously unknown responsibilities and commitments. A further rendering helps to illustrate this aspect, as it can be observed in:

“At Porto Seguro you didn't have to wipe the board before the teacher entered the classroom (,) At IFPA you had to do it [...] you couldn't be late or they threatened that they would tell the company”

(c) Language barrier: The language in which IFPA's apprenticeship is taught can become a problem for its apprentices leading to, inclusively, identity development conflicts. It may be one of the main sources resulting in a need for hybridity, as observed above. Moreover, it may also impact apprentices who do not have any identity relation with the German culture per se. These individuals may simply be exposed to a great barrier regarding lack of sufficient language command, which can turn into a frustrating experience for the incumbent, who may even develop a self-erected barrier, believing that he or she is not capable of undergoing it successfully. In most cases, the incumbent has to switch from learning German as a second language to acquiring a qualification on the basis of a near-native level language requirement.

(d) Regret concerning inadequate VET course choice and negative appraisal: As already mentioned, previous non-overcome superimposed structural impediments concerning one's primary post-high school educational intentions may trigger fear of failure that can have an impact on future educational decisions. Hence, one can end up opting for a pathway that seems to be the easiest and not the most appropriate regarding personal cultivation and self-fulfilling motives. Lack of intrinsic identification with the vocational course chosen can arouse a negative appraisal of one's experience, given that in addition to being a second order choice it is also rather personally and biographically inadequate⁵⁷.

(f) The apprenticeship's curriculum and its lack of popularity: A curriculum focused on the German market is also a source of negative appraisal by the incumbent, who perceives it as a shortcoming in case one needs to apply for employment at Brazilian companies. This aspect also helps contribute to a high level of distress towards the end of the dual system apprenticeship, when companies may or may not permanently employ the apprentice. There is clear concern that a curriculum focused on the German market needs could hinder one from making a professional advancement within a Brazilian context. This aspect also accounts to a fear of future employability. This fear is usually accompanied by another aspect; namely, the fact that IFPA's dual system is not popular in Brazil. It puts the incumbent under pressure,

⁵⁷ This aspect is another vital proof that only through a comprehensive biographical analysis of process is it possible to ascertain the impact of previous experiences on school track decision and one's perception of this choice.

for one assumes that it will not be a recognizable qualification in the Brazilian labor market. This, as a result, serves as a precondition for an early concomitant vertical and horizontal educational advancement. In other words, the incumbent may access higher education while undergoing his or her secondary level VET, which can substantially affect performance in all three areas involved; namely, college, the vocational school and the company.

(g) Cultural marginality and ethnic origin: Individuals coming from ethnic minorities or more socioeconomically underprivileged backgrounds may experience cultural marginality while undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship, which can have an impact on one's identity development. Given that the vocational school has apprentices with very distinct socioeconomic profile, despite the fact that the majority comes from more privileged family milieu, it creates a social arena in which its social actors compose a polarized group, which is divided by class and origin. This scenario has reinforced social segregation within the school. Based on the renderings, it was possible to observe that groups originating from distinct socioeconomic backgrounds have a tendency to form two distinctive groups within the institution. Even though attending the same school and educational modality, individuals coming from more privileged socioeconomically contexts still tend to address individuals of the other group as the "other" ones within the structural duality observed in the Brazilian educational system. John's rendering helps the comprehension of this circumstance:

"they (individuals coming from lower class families who reside in German colonies in the south of Brazil) didn't grow professionally (-) let's say (,) And there is a clear social class difference too"

It is remarkable how these two groups remain separated within an educational program within an educational modality that is criticized by both. There is essentially the establishment of a sub-duality structure within secondary level VET. Nonetheless, individuals coming from less socioeconomically privileged backgrounds perceive that the school represents a social arena that generates strangeness and doubts regarding one's presence therein. This scenario creates a paradox concerning other theoretical approaches to school track choice. For instance, Breen and Goldthorpe (1997) argue that working class individuals tend to opt for the vocational alternative while children from more privileged background are likely to always prefer the highest educational alternative due to avoid social demotion. However, the social arena described above entails a rather peculiar reverse aspect, lower class individuals feel

sociality disconnected within an educational modality, which is considered to be aimed at those. Virginia's (1) and Jessica's (2) rendering helps illustrating this fact:

“I felt like :shit: I felt like nothing (-) in that place” (referring IFPA School) there (-)
we stayed only in our group of people from the German colonies (,) We didn't min-
gle with the folks from Sao Paolo (,) (-) :They:=they were different”

It must also be pointed out that keeping a determined polarization and distance between these two groups is also a mechanism used by the more socioeconomically privileged individuals, who may, even if unconsciously, avoid a contact that can, through the role of human event carriers, reinforce the perception that this horizontal advancement shouldn't have been done, for one finds him- or herself within a social arena where other social actors constitute a clearly opposing role to that which one was accustomed to during his or her basic schooling. It must be remembered that this incumbent is also undergoing a process of cognitive dissonance that, regardless of its intensity, also involves persuading oneself that this horizontal educational advancement was an appropriate school track choice.

7.5.2 Conditions closely related to one's positive perception of the VET program

These are the main conditions which make the incumbent prone to perceiving this process more positively and as a potential educational pathway entailing the role of a functional mechanism: (a) The opportunity to gain occupational orientation for the first time within a multinational. This positive discernment is shared by incumbents from different socioeconomic backgrounds. It demonstrates that the dual system apprenticeship is, above all, an opportunity to gain work orientation, rather than an early-access to the labor market. It does not mean it won't constitute a pathway leading to permanent employment, though. However, the incumbent has sufficient time to assess a more adequate occupational orientation. Gaining work orientation and possibly a clearer occupational orientation not only leads the individual to a more self-fulfilling development of his or her professional pathway, but it equally serves as an important instrument that can eliminate impediments superimposed by parents, who were previously unwilling to invest in a post-high school vertical educational advancement due to indecision or indecisiveness.

(b) The school represents an opportunity for upward mobility, attaining positive distinctiveness for those originating from more socioeconomically underprivileged backgrounds. Individuals coming from minor countryside locations perceive the possibility to leave for Sao Paolo as a possibility to acquire qualification and also work orientation at a company as a potential instrument fostering positive distinctiveness. It reveals that secondary level VET in the subsequent modality can be, depending on its structure and location, acknowledged as a differentiated educational modality. It can be illustrated with the assistance of Virginia's rendering:

"I said to myself (-) that I also wanted people to come and say one day 'Oh my: (-) She went to São Paolo and she's studying there' (-) just like people talked about the mayor's kids and so on (,) I said "What do I need to do to be like that" (?) (-) One of the options was to go to IFPA (,)"

This perception, which characterizes a positive aspect in relation to IFPA's dual system apprenticeship, is not regarded by the more socioeconomically privileged individuals, who perceive the school's vocational training program as a temporary functional mechanism, which replaces a temporarily unfeasible post-high school vertical educational advancement.

(c) IFPA School and its apprenticeship modality can circumvent superimposed structural impediments regarding one's primary educational intentions. It is utilized as an instrument steering one's biographical development away from an educational limbo of being impeded from making a vertical advancement and the unwillingness of making a horizontal one by accessing a regular vocational school as to undergo VET in the subsequent modality. In other words, this combination of being impeded to access higher education and perceiving secondary level VET as a social unfit, throws the incumbent into a limbo within the educational system. IFPA, through its distinctive structural aspects, enables the biography incumbent to compose a post-hoc rationalization based on these arguments, which may serve to diminish cognitive dissonance in relation to the self and other actors within one's social world.

(d) IFPA serves as an instrument that ameliorates a combination of contours of events and the concatenation of non-overcome superimposed impediments regarding one's primary post-high school educational intention. Trajectories caused by macro or micro-individual structural conditions and their accumulation with structural impediments may be alternative-

ly suppressed by making a horizontal educational advancement by undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship. Firstly, it provides one with a second order educational choice and it can provide one with a source of income alleviating outcomes of interlinks related to financial constrain. It can also provide the biography incumbent with the opportunity to distance him- or herself from contours of events within his or her family, as a social frame.

(e) The apprenticeship is a crucial mechanism used to circumvent the recurrence of the financial hardship, and this aspect can have a diverse set of ramifications. It can represent a financial relief for the parents who don't need to disburse tuition fees, which are paid by the company. The school and its apprenticeship can enhance future employability, through permanent employment upon graduation. It can be the pathway that will lead one to make a subsequent vertical educational advancement, for the individual can obtain the necessary financial means to afford a private university; even though, in some cases the company will cover these costs. As previously mentioned, IFPA and its dual system apprenticeship modality can provide the biography incumbent with financial independence through an apprentice's salary, regardless of the apprentice's socioeconomic profile. The more socioeconomically underprivileged individuals need it for self-existence and financial relief of the family. The more privileged ones may equally need it for the same motives due to outcomes of interlinks of biographical importance and its impact on financial constraints, or it may foster financial responsibility and independence. This aspect helps in comprehending that a small apprenticeship salary can be equally important for individuals coming from different socioeconomic contexts. Both individuals can benefit from this characteristic of the dual system apprenticeship. This finding, interestingly, diverges from the findings of Schindler and David Reimer (2008, p.3) who state that compared to tertiary education, vocational training offers many advantages such as a relatively short training period (in most cases only two years for students with *Abitur*) and a small training salary, which are especially attractive for students from working class backgrounds possessing lower financial resources. Of course, these authors have examined the German context. However, they don't properly address the needs of these individuals regarding the apprentice's salary. In addition, there is no consideration of the parents' basic biographical position regarding financial matters, which may greatly influence the biographical development of the incumbent, even regarding school track choice.

(f) Ethnic origin and identification with the German culture: IFPA School offers classes in German and has close cooperation with multinational companies, and it plays an important role in the positive discernment of the apprentice. The school represents an extension of a cultural exposure and even an identity development for the incumbent. This individual may continue immersing in the German culture, through socialization processes with German individuals within the institution, by further acquiring the German language, and also by obtaining work orientation within a German multinational company, aspects which can provide one with the future possibility of working in Germany – which would characterize the highest achievement for the one who had already previously developed an identity based on the German culture. Nonetheless, as mentioned in the negative aspects above, it can also turn into a disadvantage in case the incumbent begins perceiving a need for hybridity within the institution.

(g) Being a rather unknown secondary level VET school, offering vocational training in the subsequent modality, is not directly regarded as a positive aspect by the informants. However, it is an extremely important factor, for IFPA's dual system apprenticeship entails distinctive aspects in relation to other regular secondary level VET. These aspects made post-hoc rationalizations processes more feasible for the incumbent, who used these arguments to justify the motives that led him or her to make an "unusual" post-high school horizontal educational advancement, by accessing secondary level VET in the subsequent modality. However, as observed in the negative aspects, it can also be a source of fear of future employability. It is a very remarkable paradox related to the popularity and image of the vocational school. On the one hand, it can serve as a potential characteristic fostering future employability within German companies in Sao Paulo. On the other hand, it can concomitantly become a source of botheration for the incumbent, who fears a curriculum rather focused on the German market needs is not appropriated. The incumbent is equally concerned about the school's lack of popularity, which can make it difficult to justify its quality within Brazilian companies that don't even know about this VET program existence. Conceivably, if the school and its apprenticeship were well-known and of easier access to every individual, it would become more difficult to rationalize this school track choice as one of distinctiveness, and individuals coming from more socioeconomically privileged backgrounds could become reluctant to undergo it.

7.5.3 The effort justification paradigm and IFPA's apprenticeship

Effort justification is related to one's inclination to attribute and focus more on the outcome of a determined process than the effort one had to put into achieving objectives therein; see Festinger (1957). Interestingly, the incumbent may experience this paradigm regarding IFPA and its apprenticeship modality, regardless of socioeconomic background or family milieu. This paradigm is closely related to the interrelation between the functional mechanism associated by the incumbent to IFPA's apprenticeship and the cognitive dissonance intensity or one's sense of cultural marginality and/or hybridity. One may rather focus on the outcomes, despite the considerable effort needed to accomplish it, in this case to undergo IFPA's dual system apprenticeship.

One possible variation of the effort justification paradigm related to the incumbent and IFPA School dual system apprenticeship is related to the interrelation between the functional mechanism associated by the incumbent to IFPA's apprenticeship and the cognitive dissonance intensity. The incumbent undergoes IFPA's apprenticeship aimed at different functional mechanisms, namely, gaining occupational orientation or as a second order educational choice serving as an alternative to non-overcome superimposed impediments regarding one's primary post-high school educational aspiration, which can foster permeability through employment and a later vertical educational advancement through a private university. These mechanisms are the motives that drive the biography incumbent to undergo constant cognitive dissonance processes during the apprenticeship in the subsequent modality. Thus, one focuses on the outcomes that will arise from the mechanism, making it more significant than the necessity for constant post-hoc rationalizations as to persuade others and oneself of the worth this school track choice entails. The incumbent deposits hope in the school as an instrument that will assist one re-steering its vertical educational advancement aspirations. In other words, the school and its dual system apprenticeship is the same instrument that causes and solves cognitive dissonance, for after IFPA and through permanent employment, one becomes financially able to afford attending a private higher education institution in order to pursue an educational pathway that wasn't feasible within a primary educational aspiration, prior to one's decision to make a horizontal educational advancement by accessing IFPA School. Another variation of the effort justification paradigm related to the incumbent and IFPA School dual system apprenticeship is between the functional mech-

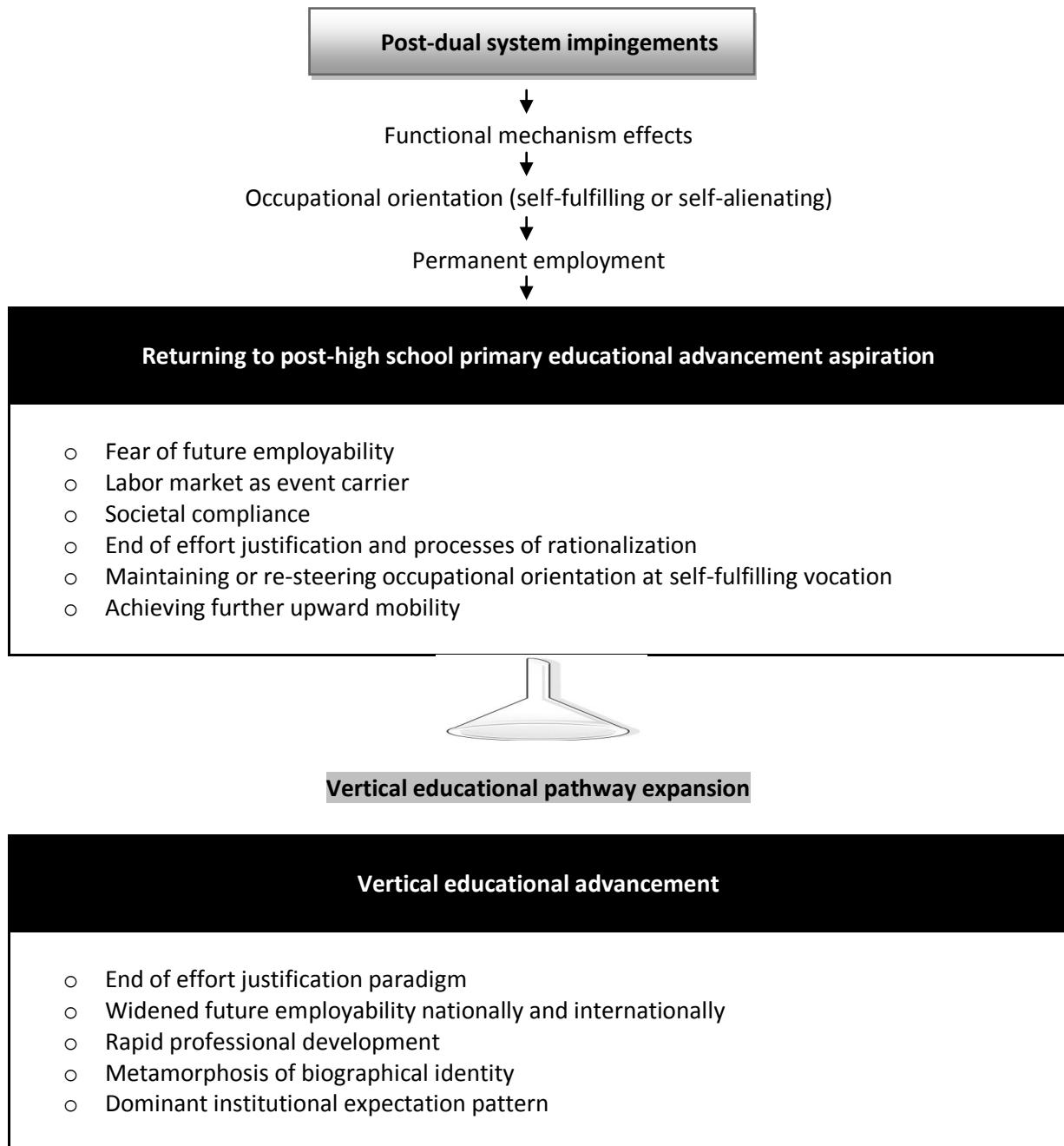
anism associated by the biography incumbent to IFPA's apprenticeship and one's sense of cultural marginality and/or hybridity. The incumbent's senses of disconnectedness may lead the individual to engage in an effort justification paradigm, in which one experiences an unpleasant process within a social arena, where one feels detached and excluded from, in order to achieve a desired initial goal. This is part of a functional mechanism aimed at achieving positive distinctiveness and upward mobility. It becomes more important than the contours of events that a sense of cultural marginality or the need for hybridity generates. It is rather remarkable that the need for seclusion coming from more socioeconomically privileged individuals within the school, which is also a measure to diminish cognitive dissonance, can turn into a source of distress for the more socioeconomically disadvantaged who may equally experience an effort justification paradigm. It can be perceived that the effort justification paradigm related to the incumbent and IFPA School dual system apprenticeship is a rather common occurrence. Therefore, despite the distinctive characteristics of the dual system offered by IFPA in relation to other secondary level VET schools offering vocational training in the subsequent modality, this educational modality can be experienced within a process of personal effort. It also helps to demonstrate that undergoing secondary level VET in this modality and within the circumstances of IFPA School may be an act of commitment of the incumbent with the outcomes it can possibly generate in relation to a determined functional mechanism. Data has demonstrated that, in fact, one has eventually reaped the fruits of this commitment, as it will be addressed in the following chapter. Nonetheless, a more positive appraisal can only be more clearly observed within reflective passages of assessment regarding the dual system undergone by the biography incumbent. It could also be observed that this effort justification paradigm tends to cease whenever one makes the already expected vertical educational advancement, as processes of rationalization tend to diminish, once IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship become a clear additional educational measure and not a cul-de-sac main source of qualification per se.

7.6 Post-IFPA biographical development impingements

IFPA School and its dual apprenticeship system had a great impact on the incumbents' post-VET biographical development. The vocational school impinged one's further educational as well as professional developments. It also influenced the biography incumbents' vocational orientation, and constituted a key social arena representing the genesis of a metamor-

phosis of biographical identity. Moreover, the former-apprentices' current dominant biographical process is also interrelated with IFPA's dual system apprenticeship, even including peculiar exceptions that will be discussed in this chapter as well. Illustration 4 below entails the entire scheme of impingements generated in the biographical development of the incumbents' post-IFPA's dual system apprenticeship, which will be addressed separately in each section of this last chapter of the theoretical model. This final section is dedicated to a post-IFPA analysis, as suggested in the last one of the three main questions posed in the core of this research project, with the aim of comprehending the impact the dual system can have on the further development of one's biography after undergoing this secondary level VET within a Brazilian context.

Illustration (4): Post-IFPA biographical development impingements scheme
(by the author, 2013)



7.6.1 Post- apprenticeship impingements on further educational developments

Firstly, it must be pointed out that there is near unanimity regarding a post-high school vertical educational advancement post-IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship. Regardless of socioeconomic background, individuals encountered the possibility of accessing university, advancement that didn't occur at first within one's post-secondary level primary

educational objectives. The incumbent's access to higher education upon VET graduation or even during his or her vocational training is associated with a multivariate set of conditions that tend to overlap; more specifically, executing one's functional mechanisms related to IFPA's dual system apprenticeship, fear of future employability, the labor market as an event carrier, protecting one's identity development, complying with expectation of significant others – including the parents' educational action scheme for the incumbent, and other non-human event carriers. These conditions are added to the incumbent's general perception of the educational system and his or her willingness to comply with societal expectations as well.

One of the most attention-grabbing findings regarding one's post-IFPA educational development is that, despite the distinctive characteristics entailed by the dual system apprenticeship, the perception of the duality structure within the Brazilian educational system remained unaltered. Former-apprentices still perceived that accessing higher education upon graduating from IFPA's apprenticeship was nearly compulsory, and that IFPA had simply laid out the foundation of one's educational pathway, serving as a transitional education modality. It must be stated, though, that this perception is not related to the structure of the course or its quality, but rather to the educational level it belongs. It appears that this could only be changed in case the IFPA's apprenticeship were acknowledged as tertiary level VET, which would in turn ameliorate the negative aspects already discussed in the last chapter, as well as the confrontation of the incumbent with his or her social world in relation to this school track choice. John's (1) and Christopher's (2) renderings, respectively, assist in illustrating the above-mentioned perception that secondary level VET, regardless of its structure, is regarded as an insufficient educational advancement. Even more attention-grabbing is the fact that these two individuals come from absolutely different socioeconomic backgrounds and family milieu; John comes from a middle class family and attended his entire basic schooling at private schools in Brazil, whereas Christopher comes from a much lower class family and attended his basic schooling entirely at public schools.

(1) if I didn't do it (access higher education) (‘) I would be out of the labor market (.) In Brazil (-) it is like that (.) To be very clear (‘) if you don't have a college degree in Brazil (‘) you are a nobody (.) It never crossed my mind not to go to college after IFPA”

(2) “only with my IFPA course I would be :a: nobody in this life (,) I needed to go to college (,)”.

Even the word choice used by these two former-apprentices is partially identical. Both informants mentioned in their rendering the fact that holding a secondary level VET and not pursuing higher education access lead one to become a person of no importance or influence, as if one would live in a social marginality, given that this individual does not possess the necessary educational means to follow a normal life cycle development. There is a clear exacerbated value associated with higher education access and holding a tertiary level degree; which also demonstrates that this had always been a clear educational aspiration of these biography incumbents. This educational level remains as an alternative-less pathway, and only possessing a secondary level VET qualification is regarded as insufficient. Former-apprentices' access to university within a vertical educational advancement, post horizontal one, is closely related to the following motives: (a) Executing one's functional mechanisms related to IFPA's dual system apprenticeship: the permeability mechanism enabled by IFPA's apprenticeship, in which one can acquire a qualification that provides the possibility to obtain employment in this area and, as a result, a source of income, enabled one to afford a private university, which had always been part of one's primary post-high school educational aspiration. Accessing university was, therefore, the byproduct of the mechanism associated with the dual system apprenticeship by the incumbent. Moreover, it is also a byproduct for the incumbent that accessed IFPA in order to gain work orientation that could possibly lead to a clearer occupational orientation prior to a vertical educational advancement choice; which could also have been hindered, as previously seen, by the superimposed impediment of the parents who were unwilling to disburse costly tuition fees in case of indecision, indecisiveness and/or a clear lack of occupational orientation. It is also a way of continuing to pursue upward mobility and positive distinctiveness, especially for the incumbents who had their previous biographical processes developed within a more disadvantaged socioeconomic social framework and family milieu. (b) Fear of future employability: this concern regarding one's employment margin after graduating from IFPA's apprenticeship is an important motive leading one to seek access to higher education. There is an apprehension that, due to the school not being familiar to the vast majority of Brazilian companies, its certificate won't be known or even acknowledged by other Brazilian companies. This fear is added to the incumbent's self-theoretical commentaries regarding the existent duality struc-

ture within the educational system. There is a perception that, despite the reputation of the school within German companies, it will still be regarded by Brazilian companies as insufficient qualification if not accompanied by a higher education degree. It can be observed that it is an accumulation of concerns, one regarding the dual system apprenticeship's curriculum which can be rather focused on the German market and the other one related to the perception Brazilian companies would have of this VET certificate. Moreover, there is also a fear of not obtaining permanent employment upon graduation from IFPA's apprenticeship. This could initiate a trajectory of unemployment and, as a result, could once again impede one's bridging mechanism to be accomplished, thereby inhibiting once again a vertical educational advancement. In other words, one wouldn't have the necessary financial means to afford a private university in order to accomplish his or her primary post-high school educational intentions. Hence, the last months of the dual system apprenticeship constitute a period of distress for the incumbent, who was uncertain of future developments, and was still under external and internal pressure regarding a vertical educational advancement. (c) The labor market as an event carrier: A further vertical educational advancement, after a horizontal one, is heavily driven by the perception that secondary level VET alone is not sufficient to continue a professional development within a competitive labor market. The renderings of Jessica also clearly exemplify this assumption:

“if you don't have a college degree here (‘) they don't even call you for a job interview (,) It is a problem here in Brazil (,)”

One needs to seek differentiation, especially in the Brazilian context, where the incumbents have the perception that secondary level VET is stigmatized by the companies in the labor market. It can be observed that university has a social as well as a functional role of maintaining one on the labor market and increasing one's employability and carrier development. In other words, university is perceived as the means necessary to survive within the capitalist productive system, which VET alone cannot guarantee. Whitaker (1998) states that young individuals usually have a mistaken perception about the education provided by the university, which is usually seen as an essential pre-requisite for labor market entry, and loses its character of research and knowledge acquisition. In addition, there is a perception that a higher education degree is not associated with being a low-achiever or to a restricted employability margin. It is regarded as an educational step that is able to break the stereo-

type one could be associated with due to the general image of secondary level VET. (d) Protecting one's identity development: Accessing higher education upon IFPA's apprenticeship graduation is a mechanism that enabled one to considerably diminish, or eliminate, the need for post-hoc rationalizations concerning post-high school educational track choice. One's confrontation with other social actors within his or her social world tends to stabilize, given that one will not be further inquired about an educational pathway choice which is regarded as "natural" regarding one's family milieu and socioeconomic background. Accessing university can cease post-hoc rationalizations, which initiated due to a concatenation of superimposed impediments hindering one from entering higher education in the first place. These cognitive dissonance processes can endanger one's social identity and accessing higher education is a manner to concretize that one shouldn't have his or her identity development related to secondary level VET, but with an individual who is going to attend university to follow a more propaedeutic pathway leading to a non-manual occupational orientation. Essentially, after graduating from IFPA's apprenticeship and achieving one's objective related to its mechanism, it is the moment to abandon this temporary educational program. The bypass effect fostering permeability within the education system which led one back to his or her primary post-high school educational aspiration of accessing higher education in order to comply with societal and labor market expectations, as well as develop an identity unrelated to manual-work and low-achievement. It meant that further problems of confrontation with one's social world were substantially diminished or eliminated. Finishing IFPA's apprenticeship and pursuing a vertical educational advancement is also a way to enhance one's identity development by promoting further upward mobility. In this case, IFPA's dual system apprenticeship serves as a lift mechanism providing upward ascension, but is equally abandoned the moment a possibility for vertical advancement arises. (e) Complying with expectations of significant others: A vertical educational advancement, characterized by higher education access, is an act of compliance with societal expectation, which also assists in shaping one's perception of the worth each educational pathway entails within the Brazilian educational system, namely, a horizontal or a vertical post-high school educational advancement. The accumulation of influence and perception is vital in one's desire to access higher education; in addition to the identity development aspect already discussed above. As for the compliance with peers' expectations, the influence to access higher education can arise from socio-interactive processes at work. Lisa's (1) and Virginia's (2) renderings, respectively, assist demonstrating that the dual system apprenticeship itself, in its practical

part, is already a source of influence for a vertical educational advancement. Processes of socialization within the company trigger one's interest or simply confirm that this is a "normal" and even nearly "compulsory" educational pathway one should follow in order to remain within a determined uniformity of a group regarding qualification.

(1) "Everybody was going to college (-) everyone does it right after high school (,) I am actually the exception (,) I didn't take the typical path Brazilian students usually take (') going to college right after finishing high school (,) (-) I went to IFPA for two years before college (-) but IFPA is not college and isn't a college degree (,) it's a vocational certificate, which is just a plus (,) (-) but, it does not replace college (,) (-)"

(2) (,) I always wanted to go to :college: (-) precisely because at the company (') nearly everyone went to college and had a degree (,) For you to continue in this labor market without a college degree (') is impossible (') (-) you have no future (,) (-)

One is also driven to make a vertical educational advancement upon IFPA's dual system graduation as to comply with the parents' educational action scheme. As previously discussed, parents have invested in a rather costly scheme of sending the incumbent to private, expensive elementary and high schools in the hope of steering his or her biographical development from a non-propaedeutic education leading to a manual-work orientation. Even though one made a horizontal advancement that served as a second order choice, given one couldn't overcome a concatenation of superimposed impediments, parents still expect the incumbent to make the "alternative-less" educational advancement. In addition to the parents' educational action scheme for the incumbent, there is the aggregating fact that parents play a vital role of a significant other in the biographical development of the incumbent, being inclusive a vocational-identity model. Hence, the incumbent is not only willing to comply with the action scheme, but also determined not to disappoint a significant other. It can be very clearly illustrated with the assistance of Lauren's rendering:

"I didn't know what to do (') (-) :and: my parents were putting me under a lot of pressure (-) saying I needed to enroll in a prep course to prepare for the entrance examination [...] then in the second year of IFPA pressure came back (,) I had in mind I needed to go to college (') so I began choosing one (,) [...] it's not like I do what

my father tells me to do (‘) but everything he suggests fits my needs (,) (-) I don’t want to disappoint my father”

The need to comply with the expectation of other important human event carriers, including the incumbent’s friends and his or her immediate family, as well as other relatives is equally important. The incumbent focuses on making a vertical advancement as to re-establish a connection with a determined expectation of the actors of the social world he or she belongs to. These individuals assist in conveying the perception that undergoing secondary level VET in the subsequent modality, firstly, isn’t the “normal” school track choice. Secondly, these individuals also help transmit the idea that one is diverging from a societal expectation, which will invariably be questioned. If not accomplished, it can keep the incumbent in a process that demands further post-hoc rationalizations, which could even engender one’s identity development within his or her social arenas. (f) Complying with the influence of another non-human event carrier: The company where the practical part of the dual system apprenticeship took place can become an agent of influence. In case the apprentice is permanently employed after graduating from IFPA’s apprenticeship, the company may be willing to further invest in the former-apprentice’s qualification. It may trigger the company’s interest in continuing to invest in this individual by assisting him or her financially so that a vertical educational advancement can be made by accessing a private university. However, this can also be a very complicated event carrier, which could be responsible for a decision leading to a self-alienating occupational orientation. This is the case of an individual that accessed IFPA within a second order choice, given he or she couldn’t overcome a concatenation of superimposed impediments, with the purpose of using it as a mechanism promoting permeability within the educational system by enabling one to obtain the necessary financial means to sponsor a private university in an area of a previous biographically occupational orientation. One’s decision to accept the financial assistance offered by the company can be done under the condition that one needs to continue pursuing a career related to one’s dual system apprenticeship, which is either unrelated to one’s previous biographically developed occupational orientation, or is related to an occupational orientation one didn’t develop during his or her apprenticeship. It could be the exact process leading one to a self-alienating educational and professional development, which could turn into dissatisfaction and late occupational indecision.

7.6.2 Impact of the dual system on further professional developments

Concerning the incumbent's post-IFPA professional development, it could be observed that the school and its dual system apprenticeship have greatly influenced one's professional development. An interpretation of the data provided by the former-apprentices through autobiographical narrative interviews indicates that IFPA fostered the following professional outcomes in the post-IFPA biographical development of the incumbents: (a) Rapid professional development: IFPA's dual system apprenticeship, as a matter of fact, not only was able to promote an extremely low rate of unemployment among its group of young individuals, but also laid the foundation for its apprentices to achieve promising career development levels, even managerial positions, within a short time span after the conclusion of IFPA's apprenticeship, which was succeeded by higher education. Another relevant aspect is that IFPA's former-apprentices, despite having undergone VET in a specific course, have sufficiently acquired flexible qualifications that enabled them to remain capable of climbing the career ladder in different areas. Virginia's professional development clearly demonstrates that. The incumbent underwent an office clerk apprenticeship at IFPA and is currently working in project management in the field of engineering, an employment that demands constant travelling and a great deal of commitment and responsibility. Lisa is also another example that helps illustrate this professional development. The incumbent also underwent an office clerk apprenticeship and later developed several projects in the field of international trade, having inclusively worked in projects in the USA, Germany, China and India (please refer to portrait chapter for further information on these incumbent's biographical development); obviously, these professional achievements were also positively impinged by further vertical educational advancement. It also assists in demonstrating that a combination of these two educational modalities was essential within a rapid professional development in the biography of the incumbents. Moreover, it could be observed that companies have a strong tendency to employ apprentices upon IFPA's dual system apprenticeship graduation. It demonstrates that these companies can assure to be employing a qualified individual, while providing financial relief in terms of hiring costs that would be generated in case this company had to hire an external individual. Another relevant finding is that IFPA enabled the incumbents to obtain permanent employment prior to completing a higher education degree. Even though these very same individuals perceive universities as belonging to an educational modality which is seen as a nearly compulsory educational pathway, IFPA could guaran-

tee one with permanent employment through secondary level VET as well, in a much shorter period of time than college, for the dual system offered by the school only lasts two years. In other words, IFPA's dual system established the entry door that would only be opened much later in one's professional development. This constituted an early opportunity to facilitate further educational advancements, which resulted in a rapid professional development. This fast progress initiated with the entry door to the labor market provided by the dual system, which was duly acknowledged by the informants in reflective textual passages of their respective narratives. Lisa's rendering, extracted from the evaluative section of the pre-coda in her autobiographical rendering, demonstrates the retrospective discernment of the former-apprentice regarding post-IFPA and also current professional developments, which culminated with a clear dominant institutional expectation pattern in the present biographical development of the interviewee:

“I didn't have in my mind that IFPA would open doors the way it did (,) (-) So, when I made this decision, I didn't know (‘) (-) but today I can see that it was essential in order for me to be where I am today (-) within an organization like KLS (,) (-) If I hadn't studied at IFPA, I wouldn't be here today (,)”

(b) Immediate labor market access as an opportunity to gain work orientation: IFPA's apprenticeship structure enabled two different functions in the professional development of the incumbent. Firstly, it provided one with the opportunity of immediate labor market access to begin in-company training, prior to the acquisition of any official qualification. Instead of waiting for an internship during college, there was instantaneous access to the labor market. This employment possibility cannot be generally related to earning an apprentice's salary, even though it could also be significant in determined cases, as previously observed. It represented an opportunity to gain work orientation one had never had before, and would probably have to wait a long time to have, most likely only during an internship at tertiary level, in case this individual could overcome a dense concatenation of potential superimposed impediments in order to make a vertical educational advancement. This work orientation is not only related to in-company work experience per se, but also entails a variety of skills such as personal and social competence, which involve different responsibilities. A very short textual section from Nicole's rendering assists in demonstrating the importance of this work orientation and how it fostered the development of responsibility and commitment in the incumbent, as can be seen below:

“At IFPA you had to do it [...] you couldn’t be late or they threatened they would tell the company (as in opposed to her private German high school, where the incumbent was merely a customer)”

(c) Enhanced future employability: regardless of the incumbents’ perception of the reputation of secondary level VET, educational level IFPA’s apprenticeship also belongs to, IFPA and its dual system VET have considerably enhanced employability, even internationally. Despite the fact that the school’s VET curriculum was claimed to be rather focused on the German market and the fact that the vocational school was regarded as practically unknown among Brazilian companies, there is no clear evidence it affected one’s post-IFPA employability. Not a single trajectory of unemployment could be identified in the incumbents’ post dual system developments. On the contrary, there is a clear dominant institutional expectation pattern in the current biographical process of these individuals, who are either fully employed and/or continued to follow higher levels of education. Even the incumbent who wasn’t immediately permanently employed upon graduation from IFPA’s apprenticeship did not demonstrate to have had employability difficulties. Alice’s post-IFPA professional developments help illustrate this. The incumbent could rapidly and easily encounter new employment in a Brazilian insurance company after leaving the insurance company where she did the practical part of her apprenticeship. Nonetheless, it could be observed that there is a high level of anxiety towards the end of one’s apprenticeship concerning permanent employment upon graduation. This anxiety was also worsened by the return of one’s post-high school primary educational aspiration of accessing higher education and the necessary action scheme to achieve it. Once again one was faced with superimposed impediments, which couldn’t be overcome before. It was again time to consider a vertical educational advancement that had been postponed. Yet, one then had the possibility to access a private university either with the direct financial assistance of the company or through private capital from his or her salary. This accumulation of high anxiety regarding post-IFPA professional developments and the need for a further action scheme to accomplish one’s post-high school primary educational intentions can be observed in a perfectly illustrative textual passage from John’s autobiographical rendering:

“then :I: /ehm/ began worrying about college (,) I thought I’d finish IFPA (‘) and I’d have to go to college then”

(d) Fast integration and identification as a byproduct: It is evident that a clear connection between company and apprentice took place, and that this educational modality was able to foster employment and career development in a Brazilian context. The apprentices developed a connection to the companies, where the practical part of the dual system apprenticeship occurred. This connection has demonstrated to be the genesis for a new occupational orientation for one who had previously developed a different orientation or even for those who were undergoing a process of indecision during a first order school choice regarding post-high school educational pathways. In addition, this connection has also fostered retention, given that the incumbent felt connected to the company and developed a strong relationship to the institution during the two years of apprenticeship and during her permanent employment thereafter. It made transition processes difficult, in the sense of leaving one's first company to obtain employment elsewhere. Eva's stance helps to illustrate this aspect. She nearly considered it a betrayal to leave the company where she did the practical part of her dual system apprenticeship, given all the investment the company had already made and the level of identification she had with the company and the area of her vocational course. However, this connection with the company has also demonstrated to become a trap for the incumbent's occupational orientation. In case the connection with the company was rather intense, and the incumbent perceived the investment and dedication made by the company in relation to his or her educational as well as professional development, the incumbent became reluctant to leave the company and a determined occupational orientation, as it was perceived as an act of ungratefulness (please refer to John's case in the portrait chapter for illustrative textual passages). It is also an interesting finding, indicating that within a socio-cultural context where secondary level VET entails a lower reputation, one might "use" the system only to achieve a different educational level in unrelated areas. From the company's perspective, however, this connection could also mean lower fluctuation, and stronger identification of the apprentice with the company.

(e) Widened future employability, both nationally and internationally: IFPA's dual system apprenticeship has also influenced professional development through widening future employability, nationally as well as internationally. Given the certificate issued by the vocational school is also recognized by the German government, it has also opened a wider range of future prospects. It could be observed from the data that different individuals have either

obtained permanent employment in Germany or went there for temporary projects. Eva's post-IFPA professional developments can illustrate the influence of IFPA's widening future international employability, as can be observed in:

“they sent me to Germany (-) they sent me in July of 2010 (,) (-) To initially stay for only three months (,) (2) [...]So /ehm/ :I: quit my job in Brazil (') actually, they dismissed me (') I /ehm/ retained all my :rights: (-) they paid me all :benefits: :and: I finished my contract with HS in Sao Paolo 100% (') and I was hired in Hamburg (,) (-) And then /ehm/ since then (-) I've been here in Hamburg (-) in this department /ehm/ working at the headquarters here /ehm/ (-)”

This is certainly one of the key characteristics of IFPA's dual system apprenticeship that assists in differentiating it from other regular secondary level VET course in the subsequent modality. Interestingly, though, this specific point wasn't directly mentioned by the incumbents as a point of distinctiveness used in processes of rationalization explicating to other social actors this horizontal educational advancement. (f) Future professional development through impulse or financial assistance: there is also evidence that companies demonstrated a willingness to continue investing in the apprentices' qualification by financing further vertical educational advancement. This occurrence was of equal importance to the incumbent, regardless of his or her functional mechanism associated to IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. It either represented the continuation of an upward mobility processes or the resolution to one's permeability mechanism intention; accessing a private university, where competition is generally much lower in comparison to public universities, a fact that can be associated to offer and quality can considerably widen one's the possibility of access, was a much simpler resolution. However, this impulse and/or financial support given by the company to the incumbent can also turn into a negative influential event carrier. In case the company either directly or indirectly encouraged or otherwise compelled one to major in an area in which one was previously unwilling to develop an occupational orientation, one may find him- or herself trapped in a vertical level advancement leading to an occupational field that can be regarded as biographically inadequate and self-alienating. It could lead to the negligence of one's subjective assessment of his or her personal interests regarding a determined orientation. Mary's rendering assists in illustrating how IFPA's apprenticeship, through the company's role of an event carrier, can end up dictating one's future professional development into a vertical level educational advancement leading to an occupation that is not based

on personal cultivation and self-realization, but rather a decision based on the company's direct or even more subtle incentive or demand for a determined occupational orientation. At this time in her biographical development, Mary didn't even consider majoring in architecture, an occupational development she had intensively developed within previous biographical processes and through the influence of significant others, as it can be observed below in the textual passage of her interview:

“I wanted to major in business administration (-) more or less (-) just to have a degree [...] For me to continue climbing the career ladder in the company /ehm/ I saw that they demanded a college degree in business administration, international trade or economy”

7.6.3 IFPA as a central condition for occupational orientation

IFPA's dual system apprenticeship has demonstrated to be a central educational instrument leading to the determination of an occupational orientation, either leading one to the development of an occupational orientation based on personal cultivation and self-realization or to the acknowledgement or realization of a self-alienating occupational orientation. The establishment of a determined professional pathway depended, obviously, on different conditions which are related to the period corresponding with during the apprenticeship itself and also after it. IFPA served as the basis for the development of an occupational orientation, either directly related to the dual system VET course undergone by the incumbent or not; as it also served to demonstrate that one couldn't identify with his or her VET course and the potential occupational orientation it would lead one to, thus, enabling one to re-steer a professional orientation through adequate action schemes resulting in a more appropriate major choice within a vertical educational advancement.

The incumbent who was compelled to access IFPA within a horizontal educational advancement in case of superimposed impediments established by the parents, who perceived an indecision process and a high possibility of drop out or change within a vertical educational advancement, also encountered an occupational orientation through IFPA's apprenticeship. The case of Eva Schmidt can help exemplifying it. The incumbent had never had any sort of work orientation before, and IFPA's dual system enabled the incumbent to experience working for an international company in the field of logistics. She strongly identified

with the company and felt very accepted. She developed an occupational orientation in the field of her VET and it served as a trigger for the approval of her parents, who then authorized a vertical educational advancement in the same area. Currently, Eva continues to pursue a career development in the same area, and has even done a master's degree in the field of business administration.

“when I was going to IFPA (-) :I: didn't want to waste any time (-) and since I had already decided (-) (-) that I wanted to stay in this administrative area (') why not to=to major in business administration (?) Or maybe foreign trade (?) I passed the exam and then in August I started to go to college (,)”

It can be observed that the school and its dual system apprenticeship have the capability of fostering occupational orientation through an early labor market access, which can make vertical educational advancement choices more appropriate and can also eliminate superimposed impediments posed by the parents' skepticism concerning the incumbent's post-high school indecision process. Alice's case also assists in demonstrating the role of IFPA in the occupational orientation development of the incumbent and how important it is in the decision making process of making a horizontal educational advancement, including for parents:

“my mother was always in=in :favor: of IFPA [...] she knew I didn't know what to do (') :and: she was afraid (,) Afraid of paying a private college (') :and: then I'd drop out (-) because I didn't like it”

Nevertheless, it must also be pointed out that an unsteady, unfruitful relationship and connection to the company has also led to the non-achievement of an occupational orientation and a continuation of an indecision process that had been initiated prior to IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. The commitment and dedication of the company with the apprentice has demonstrated to be crucial in one's image of his or her apprenticeship, which can end up altering one's perception of a determined occupational orientation. A sense of disconnectedness with the VET course and a lack of identification with the course and the company have also led to a non-development of an occupation orientation. Alice's rendering equally helps exemplify this assumption, as it can be observed below:

“it was not easy to work at the company [...] the mindset of the company was /ehm/ she will stay in this department for=for :only: three months (,) So let’s not teach her much (,) [...] I realized that working with insurances wasn’t for me [...] I don’t like it”

A sense of disconnectedness with the company and the perception that IFPA’s dual system VET course is not related to one’s interests regarding a determined occupational orientation has a twofold impingement. Parents may continue to be reluctant to invest in private universities which could enable the incumbent’s vertical educational advancement, and the incumbent might make an educational choice rather inappropriate to his or her personal interests leading to a self-realization in a professional field. There is also evidence that in such a scenario, the labor market tends to become a central event carrier in the moment of decision, which is made almost solely based on an objective assessment of its requirements rather than on a balance considering personal cultivation. Alice’s rendering can also demonstrate this outcome. She opted for majoring in business administration in college due to a still permanent lack of occupational orientation post-IFPA’s apprenticeship.

“I didn’t do it because I like it (‘) I did it because the labor market demands it (,) [...] until today (-) I don’t know what I want to be (-) what I do is not my passion”

As for the incumbent who already had developed a determined occupational orientation prior to his or her access to IFPA, and who couldn’t make a vertical advancement due to a concatenation of superimposed impediments, IFPA has demonstrated to be an agent of occupational orientation development or repulsion regarding a determined orientation. The cases of Nicole (please refer to portrait chapter) and John can precisely assist in illustrating how IFPA and its educational modality are crucial in bridging horizontal and vertical advancement, and how relevant its work orientation is for further decisions concerning a specific occupational orientation. John had already developed a very strong occupational orientation, prior to IFPA, through biographical developments leading him to be prone to develop a professional career in the field of human sciences. Yet, due to a concatenation of impediments, John could accomplish his most immediate post-high school vertical advancement aspiration. Hence, undergoing IFPA’s apprenticeship in an unrelated occupational area has only served to consolidate that the incumbent was unwilling to follow a self-alienating profession within an occupational orientation unrelated to personal cultivation and that ignored previ-

ous biographically developed vocational orientation. Yet, IFPA was a necessary functional mechanism that enabled the incumbent to embark on a biographical action scheme aimed at deviating from the professional development in the field of IFPA's VET program. IFPA School and its apprenticeship enabled the incumbent to obtain a qualification that served as the basis for permanent employment, which generated an income that was used to make a further vertical educational advancement in the field of humanities, which was a choice more closely related to personal cultivation and self-realization. His rendering can help illustrate the importance of this orientation:

“I chose a course that wasn't related to me at all [...] I always approach things from a more humanistic aspect [...] I chose the logistics trade course because it was /ehm/ at least related to the international aspects that I was interested in [...] I wasn't doing something for society (‘) and I didn't want to work for private companies anymore [...] PUC (private university located in Sao Paolo) was the beginning of my golden years”

It can be seen that IFPA's apprenticeship also helped the incumbent to determine he didn't intend to work within his apprenticeship area. This is very important in one's biographical development; given it is also a professional development assessment, which in the case of the incumbent took the subjectivity of one's occupational orientation into consideration. John perceived that such a vocational development was biographically inadequate and it assisted him in making a vertical educational advancement choice more appropriately, based on personal cultivation and self-realization.

Data has also made it clear that IFPA can provide a new occupational orientation for the incumbent who suffered a loss of previous occupational orientation due to the concatenation of superimposed structural impediments. A second order horizontal educational school track ends up becoming the genesis of a new orientation that will be followed in a future educational as well as professional development. Nicole's biographical development helps to understand this assumption. The incumbent had already developed an orientation prior to her first confrontation with superimposed impediments within a post-high school educational intention. The incumbent experienced a concatenation of impediments during this biographical process, more specifically, a self-chosen impediment of not wanting to face fierce competition to access a public university, and also an structural impediment, for she didn't pass

the entrance examination to study in a private university. This combination of superimposed impediments had practically eliminated her chances to make a vertical educational advancement at that moment, which resulted in an alternative second order horizontal advancement by entering IFPA's apprenticeship. Yet, this alternative horizontal advancement provided her with work orientation, which led to a new fruitful occupational orientation, as it can be seen in her rendering below. The incumbent also felt accepted and developed a positive level of identification with the company.

“at the beginning I didn't really know what logistics was about (‘) and what IFPA was really about (,) (-) But I forgot about majoring in architecture”

Although undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship provided incumbents with occupational orientation, it has also equally made it very difficult for the incumbent to establish an action scheme as to steer one's professional development away from an undesired occupational orientation. It occurred essentially due to an inappropriate VET course choice, or due to a lack of relationship between the VET course and one's previously biographically developed occupational orientation, as in the case of John which was already explained above. In the first case, regarding inappropriate choice, it can be argued that this equivocated course option is related to a fear of superimposed structural impediments, given that IFPA also possesses an admission test. Previous not overcome superimposed structural impediments can alter the incumbent's risk taking attitude, thereby making him or her prone to make a choice based on a pure objective assessment regarding almost exclusively one's probability and chances of being admitted into an educational institution and its program. The case of Lisa is a clear evidence of this situation. The incumbent's incapability of overcoming previous superimposed structural impediments led her to make a VET course choice based on admission probability, given that the course had more vacancies than applicants. However, even though she was in fact admitted, she opted for the office clerk apprenticeship and had to invest a considerable amount of effort to steer her occupational orientation development away from a vocation she absolutely didn't wish to follow. Moreover, this decision has intensified the need for rationalization processes, given she opted for an “unusual” horizontal educational advancement, and within an occupational orientation leading to a vocation of lower prestige within her social world and cultural context. This finding can also be clearly observed in the following informant's textual section:

“my course wasn’t very interesting (.) It was interesting in that it was what I chose (-) but /ehm/ I didn’t choose it to be a secretary (‘) [...] I didn’t want to pursue a career as a secretary”

Lisa associated IFPA to a potential functional mechanism that would enable her to re-steer her educational intentions at her primary post-high school aspirations of accessing higher education. Yet, it has cost the incumbent a considerable amount of endeavor through an effort justification paradigm, constant need for post-hoc rationalization regarding her school track choice when confronting other actors of her social frame, and also demanded a great deal of commitment within a biographical action scheme aimed at changing the occupational orientation IFPA’s dual system apprenticeship was leading her to. Not only was it unrelated to an orientation she desired to follow, but it also endangered her identity development, given that she was constantly asked about her horizontal educational advancement.

7.6.4 IFPA School as a genesis for a metamorphosis of biographical identity

The results of the narrative analysis have shown that there is a clear tendency of discrepancy between the perception of the narrator through his or her reflective assessments concerning IFPA’s apprenticeship and the biography incumbent. In other words, one’s perception of his or her horizontal educational advancement constituted an important process establishing conditions that led biography incumbents to a metamorphosis of biographical identity, which can be observed in renderings. IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship led to new important inner developments that were irritating in the beginning, and towards which one had to find out what the very quality of it was; see Schütze (2008).

There is tendency of a more positive assessment of the apprenticeship within reflective assessments of the VET program, only after one has undergone it. Reflectively, one perceives how IFPA has influenced and assisted one’s biographical development. A second order choice horizontal advancement turns into a primordial educational and professional help. However it was still difficult for the biography incumbent to confront social world, while undergoing processes of hybridization and also cultural marginality at school. Being thrown into a second order post-high school educational choice was not an uncomplicated turn of

events. Not being able to overcome a dense set of superimposed impediments inhibited one from accomplishing primary post-high school educational intentions, a process which led the biography incumbents to consider IFPA School as a possible alternative school track choice. It was a choice that entailed an effort justification paradigm and demanded mechanisms to deal with other actors of one's social world. However, from a current reflective assessment, one perceives the importance of the school and the processes it caused. IFPA laid the foundation for process of identity change, for new inner changes, which the biography incumbent had to find out the quality of. Lisa's rendering can assist in illustrating this aspect regarding a biographical metamorphosis:

“(IFPA) was very good after all /ehm/ because then I started to create, to shape, my personality (-) in order to create a basis for a professional life (-) do you understand (?) I had to grow up, because that was the time I started to realize that life /ehm/ is hard for everyone (-) do you understand (?) (-)”

Jessica's reflective narrative detailing also assists in illustrating the manner in which IFPA School influenced one's biography and identity development. Undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship was also a crucial step within her educational track. It was a personal change that came through a variety of commitments she had while living in Sao Paulo, such as dealing with her own finances, taking care of her daily routine, being away from parental care and being responsible for her own decisions. It demonstrates that a dual system apprenticeship is of crucial importance for a young individual who never had any work orientation before and didn't have to deal with competence enhancement, work commitments and process to establish the basis for a professional orientation. Lisa also reflectively acknowledges the importance of the vocational school and states it was a crucial decision that initiated an identity change process and also laid the foundation for a rapid professional development. The informant considers that only a vertical educational advancement wouldn't have brought her to the personal and professional level she finds herself nowadays, as it can be observed in:

“I think I learned to be an adult during this time”. “IFPA :was: /ehm/ the best decision of my life (,) If I had entered university after high school (°) I /ehm/ my God (°) I wouldn't have everything I do (-) I wouldn't have learned so much”

IFPA's apprenticeship modality has proven to be a genesis for a metamorphosis of biographical identity for different biography incumbents, regardless of one's socioeconomic back-

ground or the family milieu he or she came from. Christopher's instance helps comprehend that it was also very difficult for the informant to adjust to a huge metropolis; especially given he was born and lived for many years in the countryside. He also had difficulties dealing with the new actors of his social world and had to deal with new inner developments this educational process began in his biographical development. It can also be observed in his rendering that he underwent moments of doubt regarding his horizontal educational advancement, due to the considerable amount of psychological and physical effort it demanded. Yet, reflectively, Christopher recognizes that IFPA School was a crucial event carrier in his biography leading to processes of change, be the changes either professional or identity.

“I arrived in Sao Paolo :and: everything was new (,) (-) And it was overwhelming at the beginning too [...] Sometimes I thought /ehm/ why didn't I go straight to college after high school (?) [...] Today I see it was better not to have entered college back then”

Former apprentices also explicitly recognize that IFPA School was the genesis of a professional development. One's current professional career and the possibility to be following a normal cycle institutional expectation pattern is associated to the vocational school and its dual system apprenticeship that enabled the beginning of one's rapid professional career. Lisa's rendering (1) and Eva's (2) reflective narrative detailing below assist in illustrating it. The first was heavily impacted by a concatenation of superimposed impediments and had to abandon her primary post-high school educational aspiration. She experienced cognitive dissonance during the process and was thrown into an effort justification paradigm. However, from today's perspective she can see that IFPA and its apprenticeship were very important in her professional development, because it enabled her to access the labor market, gain work orientation and bridge her educational aspirations to her already previously established intention of accessing higher education. Eva also recognizes that IFPA School opened an entry door to the labor market that was maintained and represented the beginning of a very rapid and successful professional development in her biography. Eva was impeded by her parents to make an immediate vertical educational advancement post-high school, given that they perceived she was undergoing a serious process of indecision. They feared university drop out or change, which would result in a great financial disbursement in vain and a waste of time. Eva also had to deal with other actors of her social world and commit to the

mechanism she related IFPA and its dual system apprenticeship to. Yet, she can from today's perspective see how fruitful her efforts were.

(1) As a matter of fact, it all started with IFPA (-) because if it wasn't for IFPA, I wouldn't be at KLS today (-) [...] so KLS gave me many opportunities (,) and I'm extremely grateful to this company (,) (2) It all originated at IFPA (-) so it was very good (,)

(2) IFPA (') so that was a plus (') actually the biggest advantage of all (-) that I can think of (-) about this post high school trade course (') /ehm/ this was the biggest advantage it brought me to this day (') (-)

The incumbent's biographical development was shaped by this horizontal educational advancement. The dual system apprenticeship offered by IFPA exposed former-apprentices to new commitments, responsibilities and social reality outside of their comfort zone. It has generated a variety of inner changes and conflicts, which the biography incumbents hadn't undergone before. A direct vertical educational advancement wouldn't offer the "dual structure" of this apprenticeship, which wouldn't be able to offer work orientation and another vast set of developments. Most importantly, IFPA School provided a setting where comprehensive learning took place. The former-apprentices did not only acquire a profession through on-the-job training, but they also developed personal competencies to learn how to deal with conflict and responsibilities, and they also had to learn how to cope with a horizontal educational advancement within a cultural context where secondary level VET is generally frowned upon. In addition, IFPA School composed an interesting new social arena in the biography of the former-apprentices. The school has apprentices from different socioeconomic background, ethnic origin and family milieu. A very heterogenic social frame also represented the initial cause for several inner conflicts, but is perceived from a reflective perspective as necessary in one's identity formation. Two final illustrative examples demonstrate the diversity within the social arena IFPA School represented in the biographical development of the biography incumbents. Lisa's rendering (1) demonstrates the difficulty of adjusting to a social arena with individuals from very distinct ethnic origins, whereas Virginia's rendering (2) demonstrates the clear difficulty of dealing with the clash of different socioeconomic profiles within the institution.

(1) “I was the only one who didn’t (-) and was a fish out of water (,) [...] so, that’s why I went to Germany (,) when I finished the first year (‘) because I said (-) “there’s no way I’m going to pass (,) (-)” the first year was catastrophic”

(2) “Some kids came to school driving Land Rovers (-) even armored Land Rovers (‘) Another one drove a City that his father had given him (‘) and another a Honda Civic (‘) I felt like :shit:, I felt like nothing (-) in that place (‘)

In summary, it is possible to ascertain that the structure of the dual system offered by IFPA, combining school and on-the-job training, goes far beyond acquiring the knowledge necessary to obtain a profession in order to gain employment. The vocational school provides a heterogenic social arena where metamorphoses of biographical identity occur. Hence, there is a tendency of the biography incumbent to perceive it more positively only in a reflective manner, given that undergoing the process itself demands a considerable amount of psychological and physical effort, eventually leading one to an effort justification paradigm. It helps demonstrate that the apprenticeship system offered by the school is generally very positively evaluated, but it still belongs to an educational modality that is regarded as inferior in relation to tertiary level. Undergoing such an apprenticeship is not only perceived as insufficient regarding the labor market, but is also not enough within societal expectations. Even though the biography incumbents see its importance as an agent of identity development change and as a potential foundation for one’s successful professional development, there is still a conflict between IFPA and its dual system apprenticeship potential and the expectations of significant others, the labor market, and one’s identity within his or her social world.

7.6.5 Current dominant biographical process and interrelation with IFPA

IFPA has demonstrated to have a heavy influence on the post-VET biographical development of the incumbent. Essentially the vocational school has been the genesis for a continuation of an institutional expectation processes in the biography of the apprentices. Even though further educational objectives were sought, the autobiography of the incumbents reveals that IFPA School and its apprenticeship were a central mechanism enabling one’s current professional development and normal life cycle pattern. This dissertation is absolutely not aimed at quantifying data, but it must be stated that all informants interviewed in this

research project are currently undergoing a normal life cycle following institutional expectation patterns and have developed rapid professional growth, regardless of ethnic origin or socioeconomic profile. There couldn't be identified any trajectories of unemployment following post-IFPA biographical developments. As a matter of fact, it can be observed that these individuals developed an above average professional career, and climbed the career ladder within the company where the practical part of the dual system VET took place or within other institutions. Even individuals who were undergoing contours of events have steered biographical development at an institutional pattern expectation.

These are final illustrative examples demonstrating biographical development prior to IFPA and the influence of the vocational school and its dual system in the incumbents' post-VET dominant biographical process. (a) Eva gained work and occupational orientation at IFPA and it enabled her to persuade her parents, demonstrating that she was prepared to make a vertical educational advancement and was no longer undergoing an indecision process. The informant continued to pursue educational vertical advancement and has even done an MBA. She also continued to develop professionally in the same area of her dual system and, currently, works for the same company in Germany, where she continues to follow a career in the same area as her VET. In addition, she has now begun a family. (b) Christopher, an individual coming from a more socioeconomically disadvantaged background, has also continued to pursue his career development and is still working for the company where he did his dual system apprenticeship. He currently has a position that demands travelling to Germany and developing several projects in Brazil as well. Not only has he steered his biographical development away from financial constraints, but he has also achieved upward mobility. He has even bought his own apartment in Sao Paulo. (c) Virginia, another individual coming from a lower class family, has also rapidly developed professionally and is currently following a dominant institutional expectation pattern. She is majoring in engineering and possesses a job that demands travelling and project management. She has also bought her own property in Sao Paulo. (d) Lisa is also following an institutional expectation pattern, still dedicated at work and climbing the career ladder by developing several projects in different areas. She is also currently building her own house. (e) Alice is equally following an institutional expectation pattern and is currently focused on starting a family. The informant has achieved very promising career levels, having worked for different multinationals in Brazil. (f) Mary has worked for the same company where she did the practical part of her

dual system apprenticeship for many years, and is still following a dominant institutional expectation pattern. Currently, she runs her own business in cooperation with her father. (g) Jessica has also worked for the same company where she did the practical part of her dual system apprenticeship for a few years. She even worked at the company's headquarters in Germany. She is currently following an institutional expectation pattern as well and is rather focused on starting a family. She intends to get pregnant soon and has, therefore, decided to return to Brazil with her husband, where she intends to continue working in her area.

The individuals who are not working in, at least partially, similar professional areas related to their VET at IFPA have either developed a sense of disconnectedness with the company or were individuals who already had developed a more biographically appropriate occupational orientation but were impeded by a dense set of superimposed impediments from accomplishing a primary post-high school educational orientation, which was reactivated after IFPA's apprenticeship, which in turn was only a second order alternative school track option. This can be illustratively observed in the cases of John and Nicole. Both incumbents were impeded from making a prompt vertical educational advancement upon high school graduation due to a concatenation of superimposed impediments. The first had already developed a clear occupational orientation he intended to follow. The second began developing a sense of disconnectedness with the company where the practical part of the dual system apprenticeship took place, up to the point that she realized it was leading her to an undesired occupational orientation. Both individuals have still greatly benefited from IFPA's apprenticeship. The first found in it the possibility for permeability within the educational system and a bridge mechanism linking a second order school track alternative with his primary intention of accessing higher education. Nicole found in it an alternative to superimposed structural impediments and it provided her with work orientation that was crucial to establishing a more adequate occupational orientation. Nicole found a new occupational orientation and is nowadays attending graduate school, pursuing a PhD title. She intends to become a professor in the field of energy production, and is equally following a dominant institutional expectation pattern. As for John, he re-steered his biographical development toward his initial educational intentions, and is currently attending a master's program in the field of politics in Germany. He intends to return to Brazil and follow a career in the field of journalism/international relations. He is also following a dominant institutional expectation pattern, and has recently started a family as well.

It can be clearly observed that these former-IPFA apprentices have developed considerably both educationally and professionally. This helps to demonstrate that, despite the efforts made by these individuals to undergo this apprenticeship within a modality of lower reputation, the structure of this apprenticeship has greatly contributed to a positive biographical development. There is very little doubt that these individuals will continue to follow an already dominant institutional expectation pattern and it is very difficult to forecast any type of contours of events concerning trajectories of unemployment within the near future.

8. Final overview to theoretical model and general considerations

The findings of this dissertation, which are based on a biographical orientation, have identified the conditions and mechanisms entailed by the process leading former VET apprentices to undergo the dual system apprenticeship offered by IFPA School in Sao Paulo, the perception the incumbent has of this VET dual training system as well as the experience of the individual during this specific VET training. Moreover, the biographical impingements this educational modality had on one's further biographical development were also identified. Thus, this final chapter entails an overview of the findings described in the theoretical model, including final remarks regarding the potential as well as the setbacks of the German dual system apprenticeship offered by IFPA School within a Brazilian context. In addition, this final chapter is dedicated to briefly explaining the limitation of this study approach and to making further research recommendations in the field of this dissertation.

8.1 The pathway to the dual system apprenticeship in Brazil

The process leading one to seek the dual system apprenticeship offered by IFPA School, within a post-high school horizontal advancement can be regarded as a choice made by the biography incumbent⁵⁸, which means one favored a determined educational pathway within a set of two main options, either making a prompt post-high school vertical educational advancement by accessing higher education, or a horizontal educational advancement by entering secondary level VET in the subsequent modality. It must also be understood that opting for one specific pathway meant not choosing another. Thus, it was not viable to fully comprehend one's post-high school educational choice regarding IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship without examining a process structure within one's biographical development and the previous choices made therein. It could be observed that the process leading the biography incumbent to IFPA School initiates with the incumbent's primary post-high school educational aspiration, which, as it could be observed, does not necessarily relate

⁵⁸ It must be pointed out that there are a number of approaches to the study of conditions regarding school track choice and inequalities. The most influential are the cultural reproduction by Bourdieu's; see Bourdieu és Passeron (1977) and Bourdieu (1986), rational choice; see Boudon (1974) and Goldthorpe (1996), and also cultural explanations of schooling decisions and school choice; see Ball et al. (1995), Reay and Ball (1997).

directly to a horizontal advancement choice⁵⁹. This primary aspiration is heavily influenced by one's perception of the general structural duality present within the Brazilian educational system⁶⁰. The value assigned to higher education by the informant is vital to determining whether IFPA was regarded as a primary post-high school educational aspiration or as a second order alternative educational choice within a non-natural course⁶². The origination of this discernment and the establishment of a primary educational objective are impacted by the parents' educational action scheme, significant others and human event carriers as agents of societal influence, as well as important non-human event carriers such as the labor market, a lack of occupational orientation prior to a horizontal advancement, or even a concatenation of superimposed impediments.

Nonetheless, there are crucial conditions that have the potential to hinder or make one deviate from pre-established intentions regarding a primary post-high school vertical educational advancement⁶³. Considering that IFPA School generally played the role of a functional mechanism, it could be observed that there was a clear tendency to align one's post-high school educational aspirations with a prompt vertical advancement characterized by higher education access. However, a concatenation of potential impediments has essentially impeded this accomplishment, leading the biography incumbent to look for a second order educational alternative; namely, IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. The main conditions and impediments leading to an accumulation of hindrances obstructing one's vertical advancement within a primary post-high school intention are: superimposed structural impediments, self-imposed barriers (which appear in form of self-chosen or self-erected impediments), impediments superimposed by significant others, dominant biographical processes during decision making processes, impingements of interlinks of biographical processes, loss of occupational orientation. It can be noticed that, in a Brazilian context, the concatenation of impedi-

⁵⁹ Prompt post-high school access to secondary level VET in the subsequent modality. In order to enroll in this secondary level VET modality, students need to have a high school diploma, and it takes place at a single school under a single VET curriculum, usually lasting from two to four semesters on average.

⁶⁰ The structural duality within the Brazilian educational system has divided pathways into those who are going to do the intellectual and the ones who are going to do the physical activities; see Cunha (2000); Ferreti (2002), Kuenzer (2002).

⁶¹ In the sense of Durkheim and Mauss (1903): manual work vs. non-manual work or, to put it in a Marxian language, hand work vs. brain work; see Schütze (2007, p.44).

⁶² The studies of Nogueira (2003) argue that socioeconomically intellectually privileged individuals in Brazil see higher education as an inevitable, "natural educational" pathway.

⁶³ Prompt post-high school access to higher education.

ments hindering one from accomplishing a primary post-high school educational intention of making a prompt vertical educational advancement is enormous and can appear in a set of permutations during the decision making process. Moreover, these impediments and conditions have shown to occur concomitantly and, as a result, the pathway leading to IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship within a post-high school horizontal educational advancement is never based on a single condition or superimposed impediment.

A forced alteration of a primary post-high school educational intention aimed at making a prompt vertical educational advancement demanded the establishment of a second order educational choice. Data has made clear that this subsequent necessary adjustment of educational intentions leading to a post-high school horizontal advancement has several side-effects: (a) It is a representation of a negative outcome in relation to the parents' educational action scheme for the incumbent; (b) The incumbent has to undergo post-hoc rationalization processes in order to deal with his or her social world, which may perceive this educational action as incongruent. (c) The process itself is irritating for the biography incumbent, who is aware that this educational decision is not part of his or her primary post-high school educational intentions. (d) The incumbent may have to engage in an effort justification paradigm while undergoing an educational program within a horizontal advancement; (d) It can potentially lead to a complete loss of an occupational orientation during the decision making process due to an abandonment of primary educational intentions or recurrent non-overcome superimposed structural impediments. (e) The incumbents' assessment of a potential alternative educational track can become more objective, rather than being based on an assessment considering personal cultivation and the subjectivity of a determined educational program.

After perceiving that the accomplishment of a primary first order post-high school educational aspiration of making a vertical advancement became endangered or even unfeasible, an alternative, second order choice decision making process initiated. Thus, a first order choice is postponed or suppressed and a search for an alternative pathway within a horizontal advancement begins, thus characterizing the emergence of an educational pathway track readjustment process. Parents, significant others and other event carriers will once again play a significant role in this decision involving a second order educational pathway choice. It could be observed in the data that the presence or absence of parents as human event carriers is likewise a primordial condition regarding one's decision regarding a second order

alternative track choice to an, at first, unfeasible post-high school vertical educational advancement. Parents who play the role of significant others exerting positive influence concerning a horizontal advancement entailed a set of determinant conditions supporting their attitude towards this educational alternative, more specifically: (a) Clarity regarding the modus operandi of the dual system VET and its structure. (b) The dual structure of the vocational training offered by IFPA School may provide the individual with occupational orientation. (c) Opportunity to enter the labor market before having a qualification and the possibility of obtaining on-the-job work orientation. (d) IFPA perceived as a mechanism avoiding a wrong premature tertiary education choice. (e) Educational pathway leads to an alignment with parental occupation. (f) Possibility for financial independency, regardless of the biography incumbent's socioeconomic profile. (g) Attending an educational vocational course in a metropolis representing the pursuit of upward mobility.

On the other hand, parents can equally become a superimposed impediment regarding the decision to make a horizontal advancement within the Brazilian educational system by undergoing IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. Among the negative and dispiriting determinant conditions, the following could be observed: (a) Lack of understanding of the modus operandi of the educational modality. (b) Perception of an incongruent social fit in a comparison between location of the school and previous educational establishments attended by the incumbent as well as place of residence. (c) Being away from parental care and protection, given that some incumbents were still underage. (d) Noticing it would demand processes of rationalization to justify the incumbent's school track choice to other social actors, and also realizing that the educational action scheme established for the incumbent had not enabled him or her to make a vertical educational advancement, which was at least momentarily unfeasible.

A series of other human and non-human event carriers have also played a significant influential role leading individuals to decide in favor of a horizontal advancement by accessing IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. The most significant human world social units concerning a horizontal advancement can be divided into: the influence of peers in school, contact with the German culture through socialization with significant others, teachers and principals, and the influence of other family members or friends of the family. As for the non-human world social units in a horizontal advancement, the following influential conditions

can be pointed out: (1) Being impeded by superimposed structural, self-erected or chosen hindrances, or barriers imposed by others from accomplishing one's primary post-high school educational aspiration, which has demonstrated to mainly be aimed at a vertical advancement by accessing higher education. (2) The distinct aspects of the structure offered by IFPA's dual system apprenticeship provide the incumbent with solid arguments for a process of rationalization explaining his or her choice to opt for a post-high school horizontal educational advancement, which was already steered away from in one's primary choice. (3) The distance between home and vocational school can also be relevant, which could be referred to as a purchase opportunity determinant; see Brennan & Marriott (1996). (4) Lack of public tertiary education offer. For individuals coming from less socioeconomically privileged German colonies in the south of Brazil, the limited higher education offer near their residences has made the primary post-high school aspiration of accessing tertiary education rather difficult. (5) The opportunity for entering the labor market working for a German company and the possibility of gaining work orientation are also significant conditions in favor of IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. (6) Cultural exposure and identity association composed other relevant conditions of influence that could be observed in the pathway leading the individual to seek IFPA's apprenticeship modality. It relied on cultural exposure and identity association through previous educational processes. (7) Ethnic origin of significant others and the German school are also a principal event carrier within socialization processes of influential importance on the incumbent's decision to access IFPA School within a horizontal educational advancement. (8) Access to in- and out of school as well as intrapersonal information through significant others is equally relevant within this second order horizontal advancement; Whitley & Neil (1998) distinguished 'in-school' and 'out of school' information flows.

8.2 The biography incumbent's experience within the dual system

As for the perceptions and experiences of individuals within a routine during IFPA's apprenticeship, it can be pointed out that the assessment of the benefits associated with IFPA and its apprenticeship modality by the individual is closely related to the meaning it has, as an educational institution, within one's biographical development. One's discernment of the VET program is strongly related to the motives that led the individual to look for this school and its apprenticeship modality. Whereas for some it embodies a lift mechanism leading to

possible upward mobility, to others it also signifies a momentary instrument that will enable them to abandon a circumstantial educational limbo and re-steer subsequent action schemes toward their primary post-high school educational objectives. It could be observed that one's perception of IFPA's educational modality determines how one confronts his or her social world concerning this specific school track choice. It is essentially closely related to an amalgamation of perceptions as well as self-theoretical reflections concerning a duality structure within the Brazilian educational system. Individuals generally associate IFPA School and its VET program with a certain breed of cultured persons, who are not typically expected to engage in general secondary level VET, a group of individuals entitled and cognitively able to access higher education, in order to get a position in a white collar career field; it is a clear reference to the duality encountered within the Brazilian educational system. Yet, incumbents do not tend to associate the choice of this horizontal educational advancement with superimposed impediments or other contours of events. The rationalizations justifying this educational pathway are focused on conveying the perception that this school track choice was practically part of one's primary post-high school educational aspiration. Thus, the findings regarding former apprentices reveal a very intriguing phenomenon. One's perception of the outer events embarked on has demonstrated a determined inconsistency between educational decision and one's perception of secondary level VET derived from the behavior of other group members. Thus, undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship became a source of cognitive dissonance for its apprentices. Gorman (2005) explains that dissonance occurs where there is incompatibility between and among what I am capable of doing, that which I must do, and that which I want to do. Essentially, different conditions may trigger an incongruent perception-behavior concerning one's educational pathway leading to the dual system: (a) critiques, self-theoretical commentaries and reflections assigned to different educational modalities in a range of alternatives within the educational system, which is heavily influenced by significant others and also event carriers, human and also non-human, such as the labor market's qualification demands. (b) Primary post-high school educational objective within one's biographical development. (c) Perception of "self" within a social frame is equally important, given that the incumbent generally intends to further develop a consistent identity. (d) Discernment of the expectation and perception of significant actors upon his/her educational choices regarding school track choice, especially regarding the incumbent's family milieu. (e) Decision concerning an educational modality and its occupational area in relation to what is regarded as socially and biographically appropriate.

Any permutation or even an entire accumulation of conflicting aspects regarding the conditions named above are determinant in a process leading to incongruent perception-behavior regarding school track choice. This concatenation of cognitive dissonance pre-requisites has become a precondition for post hoc rationalizations in the rendering of the informants. This educational action-discernment incongruence can be resolved in one of three basic ways: change beliefs, change actions or change perception of action, and this third resolution pathway is usually accompanied by rationalizations; see Festinger (1957). These are the points of distinctiveness used by the biography incumbent to resolve dissonance in the cases of former IFPA apprentices: (a) The school is not popular and this makes it unique. (b) IFPA's apprenticeship is essentially taught in the German language, which establishes a point of positive distinctiveness; (c) IFPA's dual system apprenticeship structure and its practical in-company training aspect. (d) IFPA is aimed at those individuals who will do the intellectual work, while other secondary level VET courses offered in Brazil are aimed at those who will operate machines in factories. (e) IFPA is aimed at those who are culturally and socioeconomically privileged and possess skills that are highly appreciated in the labor market; in this case the German companies that are engaged in the dual system offered by IFPA School. (f) Due to a flexible permeability within the educational system in Brazil, undergoing IFPA's dual system does not mean one won't access higher education. (g) It is superior to other regular secondary level VET institutions given the fact that it is taught in the subsequent modality. This consonant rationalization mechanism appears to protect their identities and also helps resolve any inner conflict that can possibly arise from a perception of "what I am capable of doing, that which I must do, and that which I want to do". However, other non-human world social units can also serve as agents of influence, equally contributing to the shaping of one's perception of this educational program, and even reinforce one's cognitive dissonance. For instance, the location of the school, which used to be situated in what was considered to be a poorer neighborhood of Sao Paolo, or even having to use public transportation to commute to school or to the company – rather unusual for individuals coming from more privileged backgrounds in a Brazilian context. It could be observed that formulating post-hoc rationalizations, based on aspects of distinctiveness regarding IFPA's apprenticeship modality within a horizontal educational advancement with the purpose of diminishing cognitive dissonance, assists the incumbent in dealing with and confronting his or her social world regarding this school track choice. In addition, the educa-

tional action-discernment incongruence experienced by the incumbent seemed to have been intensified in case of inappropriate apprenticeship course choice.

There is clear evidence that IFPA and its apprenticeship function as a temporary or initial educational level, which will compulsorily have to be supplemented by a vertical advancement. Regardless of socioeconomic background, individuals assume that secondary level VET is an insufficient qualification, despite any of the distinctive characteristics of IFPA's apprenticeship, which are also used in post-hoc rationalization processes by the incumbent. It assists in establishing that the duality structure within the Brazilian educational system can hardly be by-passed by a dual system apprenticeship. Image is not necessarily associated with the structure of secondary level VET itself, but rather with the general stigmatization this educational modality has as a whole in the country. It also helps comprehend the motives that led individuals to experience cognitive dissonance while undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship and the difficulties one had to experience in relation to other social actors and also oneself concerning this school track decision.

Even though it is regarded as a potential secondary level VET school, which entails a variety of atypical characteristics due to its VET structure, informants still assess and assign meaning to it using the general duality structure present in the Brazilian educational system as a reference point. IFPA is generally regarded by the former-apprentices as: (a) It does not replace a college degree. It is regarded as a transitional educational modality prior to accessing higher education, characterized by a horizontal educational advancement aimed at gaining sufficient time to decide about a more adequate higher education degree leading to a determined occupation. Yet, it is also referred to as a manner in which to achieve early financial independence through an apprentice's salary, an aspect which is equally important for different incumbents, regardless of socioeconomic profile and family milieu. Lastly, it also means direct access to the labor market, which would fundamentally occur much later in case of a vertical educational advancement.

In addition, it could be identified that IFPA and its dual system apprenticeship work as very specific functional mechanisms for the incumbents. These are the main mechanisms that could be identified in the data analysis, respectively: (a) IFPA School and its apprenticeship as a tool in the search for upward mobility. (b) The functional mechanism seeking permea-

bility: IFPA also serves as a functional mechanism boosting permeability within the Brazilian educational system, thereby promoting a vertical educational advancement. (c) Gaining work orientation as a mechanism to avoid premature occupational orientation. (d) A countermeasure mechanism aimed at obtaining new post-vertical educational advancement occupational orientation. (d) A supplementary educational achievement to an alternative-less vertical educational advancement, which is also related to an “insurance” function mechanism related to potential redundancies; see Soskice (1994). The functional mechanisms used by the incumbents regarding IFPA’s apprenticeship call attention, for none of them relates to undergoing a dual system VET program to acquiring the necessary qualification to pursue a professional career in a determined vocational field. The intentions observed in general secondary level VET apprentices undergoing the subsequent modality, typically, do not directly align with the functional mechanisms observed by apprentices that underwent IFPA’s apprenticeship.

Concerning the incumbent’s individual experience within IFPA’s apprenticeship, there are different conditions that lead the incumbent to experience IFPA’s dual system apprenticeship, either within a more negative or more positive appraisal. These are the main conditions which made the incumbent prone to perceive this process as an action of endurance that demanded a considerable physical and psychological effort: (a) Need for hybridity regarding identity development: One might develop a need for hybridity; see Appel (2001, p.156). (b) Sense of social disconnectedness: This can arise from a perception of social unfit, especially strengthened by the presence of event carriers of biographical importance during the dual system internship. These event carriers may be human or non-human. (c) Language barrier: The language in which IFPA’s apprenticeship is taught can become a problem for its apprentices leading to, inclusively, identity development conflicts. It may be one of the main sources leading to a need for hybridity, as observed above. Moreover, it may also impact apprentices who do not have any identity relation with the German culture per se. (d) Regret concerning inadequate VET course choice and negative appraisal: As already mentioned, previous non-overcome superimposed structural impediments concerning one’s primary post-high school educational intentions may trigger fear of failure that can have an impact on future educational decisions. Hence, one can end up opting for a pathway that seems to be the easiest and not the most appropriate regarding personal cultivation and self-fulfilling motives. The lack of intrinsic identification with the vocational course chosen can arouse a

negative appraisal of one's experience given that, in addition to being a second order choice, it is also rather personally and biographically inadequate⁶⁴. (f) The apprenticeship's curriculum and its lack of popularity: A curriculum specifically focused on the German market is also a source of negative appraisal by the incumbent, who perceives it as a shortcoming in case one needs to apply for employment at Brazilian companies. This aspect also accounts for a fear of future employability. (g) Cultural marginality and ethnic origin: Individuals coming from ethnic minorities or more socioeconomically underprivileged backgrounds may experience cultural marginality while undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship, which can have an impact on one's identity development.

On the other hand, the main conditions which make the incumbent prone to perceive this process more positively and as a potential educational pathway entailing the role of a functional mechanism are: (a) The opportunity to gain occupational orientation for the first time within a multinational. This positive discernment is shared by incumbents from different socioeconomic backgrounds. (b) The school represents an opportunity for upward mobility, attaining positive distinctiveness for those originating from more socioeconomically underprivileged backgrounds. (c) IFPA School and its apprenticeship modality can circumvent superimposed structural impediments regarding one's primary educational intentions. (d) IFPA serves as an instrument that ameliorates a combination of contours of events and the concatenation of non-overcome superimposed impediments regarding one's primary post-high school educational intention. (e) The apprenticeship is a crucial instrument used to circumvent the recurrence of the financial hardship, and this aspect can have a diverse set of ramifications. (f) Ethnic origin and identification with the German culture: The school represents an extension of a cultural exposure and even an identity development for the incumbent. (g) Being a rather unknown secondary level VET school offering vocational training in the subsequent modality is not directly regarded as a positive aspect by the informants. However, it can be regarded as an extremely important factor, as IFPA's dual system apprenticeship entails distinctive aspects in relation to other regular secondary level VET. These aspects made post-hoc rationalization processes more feasible for the incumbent, who used these arguments to justify the motives that led him or her to make an "unusual" hori-

⁶⁴ This aspect is another vital proof that only through a comprehensive biographical analysis of process is it possible to ascertain the impact of previous experiences on school track decision and one's perception of this choice.

zontal educational advancement by accessing secondary level VET in the subsequent modality. However, as observed in the negative aspects, it can also be a source of fear of future employability. It is a very remarkable paradox related to the popularity and image of the vocational school. It can serve as a potential tool fostering future employability within German companies in Sao Paolo, and it can also concomitantly become a source of bother for the incumbent.

A further interesting finding regarding the experience of the incumbent within the dual system apprenticeship is the fact that one had to engage in an effort justification paradigm, which is related to one's inclination to attribute and focus more on the outcome of a determined process than the effort one had to put into achieving objectives therein; see Festinger (1957). Interestingly, the incumbent may experience this paradigm regarding IFPA and its apprenticeship modality regardless of socioeconomic background or family milieu. This paradigm is closely related to the interrelation between the functional mechanism associated by the incumbent with IFPA's apprenticeship and the cognitive dissonance intensity or one's sense of cultural marginality and/or hybridity. One may focus on the outcomes, despite the considerable effort needed to accomplish it, in this case to undergo IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. Yet, it appeared to be worth enduring this process, considering that its outcomes could lay the foundation for achieving one's primary educational objectives, more specifically, accessing tertiary education to reestablish harmony regarding one's post-high school educational intentions, as well as concretizing a dominant institutional expectation pattern within one's biographical development.

The incumbent's individual experience within IFPA's apprenticeship has also demonstrated that the educational institution has an impact on the apprentices' identity development in relation to distinct aspects. It was detected that individuals coming from minority ethnic groups, the German colonies as well as individuals who attended German schools during their entire basic schooling and have, therefore, developed a cultural identification, may undergo a process of hybridity⁶⁵ within the educational institution. Moreover, a further aspect regarding one's experience of undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship is related to the clash of socioeconomic classes within the institution. There seems to be an apparent tendency lead-

⁶⁵ see Appel (2001).

ing to social segregation within the school dividing groups according to socioeconomic background. It is rather remarkable that there could be an existence of cultural marginality within the educational modality that is already subjected to educational structural duality: VET x propaedeutic education.

8.3 IFPA' dual system and its biographical impact

The process of undergoing IFPA' dual system apprenticeship has demonstrated to be determinant in the post-VET biographical impingements in the development of the incumbent. The vocational school impinged one's vocational orientation, and constituted a key social arena for a genesis of a metamorphosis of biographical identity. It has also heavily contributed to the former-apprentices' current dominant biographical processes, and has equally affected one's further educational achievements. One of the most remarkable findings is that the school and its VET program can represent the bridge reconstructing the connection between a secondary order choice and one's primary educational orientations. It can enable an, at first, unreached permeability, and individuals can access higher education so as to achieve even further career goals. Data has made clear that incumbents, regardless of socioeconomic background, encountered the possibility to access higher education. Yet, despite the distinctive characteristics entailed by the dual system apprenticeship, the perception of the duality structure within the Brazilian educational system remained unaltered. Former-apprentices still perceived that accessing higher education upon graduating from IFPA's apprenticeship was nearly compulsory, and that IFPA had simply laid down the foundation of one's educational pathway, serving as a transitional education modality. Former-apprentices' access to university within a vertical educational advancement, post-horizontal one, was closely related to the following motives: (a) Executing one's functional mechanisms related to IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. (b) Fear of future employability (c) The labor market as an event carrier. (d) Protecting one's identity development. (e) Complying with expectations of significant others, especially those of the parents', due to their educational action scheme for the incumbent. (f) Complying with the influence of another non-human event carrier, namely, the company where the practical part of the dual system apprenticeship took place. IFPA and its dual system have also greatly impacted incumbents' post-VET professional developments through the following outcomes: (a) Rapid professional development; (b) Immediate labor market access as an opportunity to gain work orientation; (c) Enhanced future em-

ployability; (d) Rapid integration and identification with the company (e) Widened future employability, both nationally and internationally; (f) Future professional and educational development through impulse or financial assistance from the companies.

IFPA's dual system apprenticeship also served as the basis for the development of a determined occupational orientation, be it either directly related to the dual system VET course undergone by the incumbent or not, and leading one either to the development of an occupational orientation based on personal cultivation and self-realization or to a self-alienating occupational orientation. It calls attention though, that an unsteady, unfruitful relationship with the company has influenced the non-achievement of an occupational orientation and the continuation of an indecision process that had initiated prior to IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. In addition, a sense of disconnectedness with the company and the perception that IFPA's dual system VET course is not related to one's interest regarding a determined occupational orientation has also had a twofold impingement. Parents may continue to be reluctant to invest in private universities, which could enable the incumbent's vertical educational advancement, and the incumbent might make an educational choice rather incongruent with his or her personal interests leading to a self-realization in a professional field. Data has also made clear that IFPA can provide a new occupational orientation for the incumbent who suffered a loss of previous occupational orientation due to the concatenation of superimposed structural impediments. However, even though undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship provided incumbents with occupational orientation, it has also equally made it very difficult for the biography incumbents to establish an action scheme to steer professional development away from an undesired occupational orientation. It occurred essentially due to an inappropriate VET course choice, or due to a lack of relationship between the VET course and one's previously biographically developed occupational orientation.

The results of the narrative analysis have shown that there is a clear tendency of discrepancy between the perception of the narrator through his or her reflective assessments concerning IFPA's apprenticeship and the biography incumbent. IFPA's apprenticeship modality has confirmed to be a genesis for a metamorphosis of biographical identity for different biography incumbents, regardless of one's socioeconomic background or family milieu. Furthermore, IFPA has demonstrated to have a heavy influence on the post-VET biographical development of the incumbent. Essentially the vocational school has been the genesis for a

continuation of an institutional expectation processes in the biography of the apprentices. Even though further educational objectives were sought, the autobiography of the incumbents reveals that IFPA School and its apprenticeship were a central mechanism enabling their current professional development and normal life cycle patterns. There couldn't be identified any trajectories of unemployment following one's post-IFPA biographical developments. As a matter of fact, it can be observed that these individuals developed above-average professional careers, and climbed the career ladder within the companies where the practical part of the dual system VET took place or within other institutions. Even individuals who were undergoing contours of events have steered biographical development toward an institutional pattern expectation.

8.4 A brief contrastive comparison of the final results

Schütze (2008) argues that within a last step of contrastive comparison of autobiographical narrative interviews, it is necessary to compare the results of the analysis of the empirical collected renderings with other interviews involving the same cases or circumstances under study. Due to a lack of data available through other research projects concerning the explanation of the process that led one to undergo a dual system apprenticeship in Brazil, it is not feasible to make such a contrast. However, it is possible to make a brief comparison between the results of this theoretical model with the profile, as well as basic conditions that led one to undergo regular secondary level VET courses in Brazil, especially within the subsequent modality; the same one IFPA's dual system apprenticeship belongs to. Based on the information disclosed in the initial chapters, the biggest share of secondary level VET in Brazil occurs in a subsequent modality, at private educational establishments. The socioeconomic profile of secondary level VET students in Brazil attending the subsequent modality, which accounts for 62% of enrollments, is substantially different from that of the apprentices who underwent IFPA's dual system VET program in Sao Paolo. Regular secondary level VET apprentices attending the subsequent modality are, in general, individuals who didn't attend basic schooling at private, costly schools. Krüger (2007) revealed in his findings that the vast majority of the secondary level VET students analyzed in his research came from public schools. In addition, these individuals are generally older. Biagini (2005) has verified that the average age increased after 1996, demonstrating that the new VET reform started attracting older students, who are interested in undergoing VET for qualification purposes. In addi-

tion, these individuals generally come from low or very low-income families and they either pay themselves for their own VET or have the employers finance it; given that the vast majority attends private vocational schools. These individuals are seeking better qualification in order to enter or to be re-inserted in the labor market. Costa (2008) explains that these individuals are seeking better qualification in order to “have a better future”. It demonstrates an opposite motive if compared to that of former IFPA apprentices, who associated the dual system with a very specific functional mechanism, and not solely as an educational tool aimed at obtaining a professional qualification that could provide one with enough income to be self-sufficient. Regular VET apprentices undergoing the subsequent modality do not generally use it as a bridging mechanism to achieve one’s educational aspiration of making a vertical educational advancement. Tavares (2005) also points out that the most significant reason given by individuals for undergoing secondary level VET was the acquisition of better qualification, which could mean better chances to enter labor market, and that 30% intend to access tertiary education after passing their higher education entrance examinations. However, the students declared that they would need to work in their VET field in order to be able to afford paying for university. IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship indeed attract individuals whose objectives within the educational modality clearly differ. It shows that a VET within the subsequent modality with a differentiated structure is able to attract participants whose profiles, as well as educational aspirations, are different from the stigmatization with which this educational modality is associated, which could be the initial pathway to detach it from its historically negative image. However, it does not mean that regular VET apprentices who ended up attending the subsequent modality haven’t faced the exact same dense set of superimposed impediments regarding their primary post-high school educational advancement, which equally led them to a search for second order alternatives within a horizontal advancement. Unfortunately, within the studies revised, it couldn’t be identified whether these individuals had a different primary post-high school educational aspiration or if secondary level VET was indeed a second order school track choice. A further comparison could be made to the findings of Freitas (2004, p.269) who points out in his findings that nearly 42% of the secondary level VET students examined by the author in Brazil claimed they started the program due to family influence. Yet, it remains unclear whether this influence occurred within a primary or secondary post-high school educational pathway aspiration. In addition, parental influence may differ depending on the VET modality, as could be observed in the initial chapters of this dissertation.

Even though this dissertation is not aimed at proving the veracity of determined theories, a few studies draw one's attention due to the fact that their results show a few peculiarities. Hoelscher, Hayward, Ertl and Dunbar-Goddet (2008, p.140) suggest that a VET pathway is an alternative chance for those deemed 'unsuitable' for progression in the academic pathway. Within a Brazilian context, Santos (2011, p.12) has a very harsh description of the finality of VET at secondary level in Brazil. The author suggests that VET at secondary level serves an underprivileged class of society who cannot afford private universities and are not intellectually prepared to pass an entrance examination at a public university. Nonetheless, the empirical data analyzed in this dissertation has demonstrated that, in a Brazilian context, individuals coming from different socioeconomic backgrounds can wind up undergoing secondary level VET at the subsequent modality, as it depends on myriad conditions, be they individual or structural. As could be seen in the theoretical model, there is a potential concatenation and permutation of hindrances one needs to overcome to make a prompt post-high school vertical advancement in Brazil. The theoretical model has also demonstrated that the dual system apprenticeship is, in fact, capable of attracting individuals coming from different socioeconomic contexts. Thus, it cannot be generalized that a pathway leading to secondary level VET within the subsequent modality is exclusively a matter of financial constraint or cognitive capability, nor is it based only on one isolated condition. It is related to a concatenation of superimposed impediments, and conditions such as event carriers, dominant biographical process during decision process as well as self-chosen or erected impediments. It could also be observed in the data that the pathway leading to secondary level VET at IFPA School follows a process. Individuals firstly make a primary post-high school educational school track choice based on a determined aspiration, which is essentially shaped and established through a number of conditions. This initial intention will have to confront superimposed impediments, and if these are not overcome a second order choice decision making process initiates. Opting for an alternative pathway can lead to difficulties in dealing with other actors of one's social world. However, this pathway could assume functional objectives which may catapult one back to a primary post-high school educational intention. Yet, undergoing this process may turn into an effort justification paradigm, entailing inclusively numerous post-hoc rationalization processes.

It is important to bear in mind, though, that making a choice means not opting for a second pathway. In that case, opting for a VET pathway meant these individuals, for a number of motives, didn't opt for a vertical educational advancement. Thus, the sudden need to undergo a previously declined educational pathway can certainly lead one to perceive secondary level VET as a mere alternative of inferior value, given one's primary educational aspiration was aimed at making a post-high school vertical educational advancement. It could be observed that, indeed, a general primary post-high school aspiration is typically aimed at accessing higher education. However, each biographical development is unique and one may face a diverse set of permutations of accumulations of superimposed impediments, be they individual or structural. Hence, it is necessary to make clear that opting does not mean achieving.

Seeking an alternative educational pathway other than a prompt post-high school vertical educational advancement is not uncommon in Brazil. In 2009 about 1 million candidates did not pass the entrance examination and could not access higher education. These numbers do not count those who followed the process suggested by this theoretical model, which also entails individuals experiencing superimposed self-erected barriers, in which one does not even attempt to overcome structural impediments, because he or she is not convinced of being capable of accomplishing this objective. Moreover, these numbers don't take into account the self-chosen barriers, in which one does not wish to expose him- or herself to the physical and emotional effort of trying to access a public university in Brazil. These are individuals whose primary post-high school educational aspiration is equally aimed at accessing higher education, but due to self-imposed hindrances they do not even attempt to accomplish such an ambition. As a result, these individuals have private universities at their disposal. However, additional concatenations could arise, and a crucial condition is of course financial constraint, which could be worsened by a dominant biographical process, interlinks of biographical importance or even, as observed in the theoretical model, by an indecision process regarding a determined occupational orientation and the subsequent parentally superimposed hindrance. In this case, VET emerges as an option, or one can try direct access to the labor market without any professional qualification. It could be observed that the dual system has a strong potential to ameliorate such concatenations of impediments regarding one's post-high school educational pathway. The dual system could represent not only an opportunity to make a subsequent vertical educational advancement through a bridg-

ing mechanism, but it can equally enable one to acquire work as well as occupational orientation, thereby making more appropriate tertiary level educational choices, while immediately accessing the labor market. In addition, the dual system can also represent a potential mechanism eliminating self-imposed impediments regarding a subsequent vertical educational advancement, given it won't necessarily involve a pathway through a public higher education institution; companies might be willing to further invest in the individual by paying one's university tuition fees. Thus one won't need to privately pay for it, for instance. These are crucial positive aspects concerning the dual system, which are not even clearly elucidated in the Brazilian Decree 9.394 in article 39 (Brazil, 2010a, p.33), where it reads that "vocational education and training (*"Educação Profissional"*) should create courses that ensure employability prospects for young people and facilitate their labor market access, or as an effective tool for the re-insertion of the worker into the labor market. It can be observed that, from a political perspective, VET is not openly regarded as an educational pathway aimed at enhancing occupational orientation and permeability between secondary and tertiary level.

Even though the Brazilian constitution states that education shall be based on the principle of equal conditions of access to everyone (Brazil, 1996e, p.34), reality depicts a different scenario. Camargo and Ferman (2004, p.1) verified that, in Brazil, over 70% of the students attending public universities come from families whose members are among the richest 20% of the population. The socioeconomically privileged have access advantages, especially considering the parents' long-term education action scheme for the incumbent. Nonetheless, as could be observed in the empirical data analyzed in this dissertation, parents' influence can be neutralized by concatenations of superimposed impediments that go from structural to even self-imposed or self-chosen. It could be verified that parents indeed tend to focus an action scheme aimed at a more propaedeutic educational pathway, but it didn't mean the incumbent could achieve or carry on with the expected post-high school vertical advancement immediately after high school graduation. In addition, parents can even become an additional impediment obstructing a prompt post-high school vertical educational advancement, despite a long and costly educational action scheme. It becomes clear that making a prompt vertical educational advancement does not only depend on the parents' educational action scheme for the incumbent, who can have attended high quality schools. Rather, he or she can be equally hindered from making a vertical advancement as someone who attended

his or her entire basic schooling at public schools; even though the concatenation of impediments may vary in its permutation of conditions. As a matter of fact, the parents' educational action scheme for the incumbent may even backfire in cases where superimposed impediments hinder one from accomplishing a primary post-high school intention of making a prompt vertical educational advancement.

8.5 Relevant remarks regarding the empirical results of this study

Concerning some general observations regarding the results of this dissertation, a few remarks can be made on the basis of the analyzed empirical data and the outcomes presented in the theoretical model. The dual system has the potential to enhance crucial aspects within the Brazilian secondary level VET system, in relation to one's biographical development, be it educational or professional. It could represent an opportunity for work orientation which is generally not offered in regular high school education, prior to a vertical advancement, which, as a result, can lead to more appropriate assessments concerning one's higher educational major leading to a determined occupational orientation. Gaining work orientation and possibly clearer occupational orientation not only may lead the individual to a more self-fulfilling development of his or her professional pathway, but also serves as an important instrument that can eliminate impediments superimposed by parents, who were previously unwilling to invest in a post-high school vertical educational advancement due to indecisiveness. In addition, a more biographically adequate occupational orientation can lead to doing one's occupational work as means for self-realization; see Schütze (2008). The work orientation provided by the dual system is a clear opportunity to experiment with a determined occupational orientation from both a theoretical and practical approach. It is vital for one to be able to determine whether an orientation can be further developed or whether it can potentially lead to self-alienation and potential re-orientation within one's future biographical developments.

Moreover, the biographical development of the biography incumbents has demonstrated that the dual system is capable of assuring a high post-VET employability success. It could represent a significant attractiveness in the Brazilian VET system. This VET modality has the strong potential to provide the apprentice with permanent post-VET employment, which in turn will enable one to afford, for instance, a vertical educational advancement by accessing

a private university, thereby promoting permeability within the educational system as well⁶⁶. In addition, this permanent employment will represent a fundamental mechanism marking the beginning of a possibly dominant institutional expectation pattern, in which the incumbent will follow a normal cycle life pattern. The dual system can also be a fundamental educational modality avoiding trajectories of unemployment in the biography of the incumbent by providing the incumbent to establish a connection with the company from the beginning of the VET program. Yet, the income disparity compared with higher education degrees still deteriorates one's desire to steer a primary post-high school aspiration at this educational modality within the subsequent modality. The adjustment of income difference in the two educational pathway options may result in higher participation, which could also reduce fear of future employability related to single horizontal educational advancement. The biographical development of the individuals analyzed has demonstrated that the dual system can at first provide the biography incumbent with a lesser income compared to that of a university graduate. However, the combination of both educational levels has demonstrated to be fundamental in one's professional development within the companies, also resulting in higher positions, which naturally led to higher income. It becomes clear that in a Brazilian context one's post-high school primary educational aspiration is heavily oriented at a vertical educational advancement to comply with labor market expectations, by raising future employability levels, which can in turn guarantee a higher source of income for one's self-existence within a normal cycle biographical development.

The dual system apprenticeship modality can circumvent superimposed structural impediments regarding one's primary educational intentions. It can be utilized as an instrument steering one's biographical development away from an educational limbo of being impeded from making a vertical advancement and the unwillingness of making a horizontal one by accessing a regular vocational school to undergo VET in the subsequent modality. It may also serve as an instrument that ameliorates a combination of contours of events and the concatenation of non-overcome superimposed impediments regarding one's primary post-

⁶⁶ In the DA-CH countries (Germany, Switzerland and Austria), where the dual system is adopted, youth unemployment is significantly lower than in many other states. According to do IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Research) in 2009 there were 2.1 million people between 15 and 24 years old without a job in the country.

high school educational intention. Trajectories caused by macro or micro-individual structural conditions and accumulation with structural impediments may be alternatively suppressed by making a horizontal educational advancement by undergoing a dual system apprenticeship. Firstly, it provides an educational second order choice option for the biography incumbent and it can provide one with a source of income alleviating outcomes of interlinks related to financial constrain, or it can provide the incumbent the distance from contours of events within his or her family social frame. Another important aspect is that the dual system apprenticeship modality can provide the incumbent with financial independence though an apprentice's salary, regardless of the apprentice's socioeconomic profile. The more socioeconomically underprivileged individuals need it for self-existence and the financial relief of the family. The more privileged may equally need it for the same motives due to outcomes of interlinks of biographical importance and their impact on financial constraints, or they may foster financial responsibility and independence, which can also be heavily influenced by the parents' basic biographical orientation concerning the matter.

Nevertheless, the dual system has also shown to be facing a number of difficulties within a Brazilian context, which could be observed through the perspective of the biographical development of its former apprentices. Despite its distinct structure, it became clear that the dual system is not capable of serving as a unique instrument altering the image of one's discernment regarding the structural duality and value assigned to higher education in Brazil. The duality structure also perceived by the biography incumbents is heavily influenced by the social context in which they live and the other social actors who belong to these arenas. Biagini (2005, p.157) comments that overcoming this situation of low prestige associated with secondary level vocational education and the duality found in the education system depends on the "elimination of the stereotypes that assign value and prestige only to propaedeutic high school education and higher education". The dual system, as it could also be observed, can enable the incumbent to compose a post-hoc rationalization based on distinct arguments, which may serve to diminish cognitive dissonance in relation to the self and other actors within one's social world, and it can also serve as a basis for change in perception concerning this educational modality. A change in perception, however, would demand conveying information about the dual system in a productive manner, and detaching it from an older perception of VET aimed at more socioeconomically disadvantaged individuals; it is extremely necessary to provide not only potential participants, but also parents, with clarity

regarding the *modus operandi* of the dual system VET and its structure. Parental involvement may lead to better comprehension of the dual system within a Brazilian context, which can enhance participation and diminish the need for processes of rationalization among significant others. Yet, changing this negative image should be ideally done through the participation of companies within the labor market, for it is not only a political matter. After all, it could also be observed in the biographical development of the incumbents that a vertical educational advancement is perceived as compulsory due to the influential role played by the labor market as a non-human event carrier. It could be seen that accessing higher education is not necessarily driven by an inner motivation, but rather through an outer obligation. This perception only assists in deteriorating the image of secondary level VET and leaving tertiary education as the “normal” pathway to be taken. As a result, any second order educational choice won’t comply with this societal expectation, and not even the dual system will be capable of altering this image. In addition, it should not become a mere second alternative school track ameliorating superimposed impediments. An image enhancement would depend on making this VET modality one’s primary post-high school educational aspiration.

Another relevant question that should be raised is the fact that the dual system as it is offered by IFPA School in Sao Paolo is rather unknown. This is exactly the aspect that has made post-hoc rationalization processes more feasible for the incumbent, who used a variety of distinct arguments to justify the motives that led him or her to make an “unusual” horizontal educational advancement by accessing secondary level VET in the subsequent modality. The incumbent had to rationalize his or her choice to social actors who were essentially not acquainted with the VET modality. Making it a vastly known modality may eliminate this characteristic of the apprenticeship, and might make rationalization processes more difficult to deal with.

A number of aspects are also related to VET policy transfer, which is not the focus of this dissertation, but to which equal attention should be paid within a Brazilian context. A curriculum focused on the German market is also a source of negative appraisal by the incumbent, who perceives it as a shortcoming in case one needs to apply for employment at Brazilian companies. This aspect also helps contribute to a high level of distress towards the end of the dual system apprenticeship, when companies may or may not permanently hire the apprentice. There is a concern that a curriculum focused on the German market needs could

hinder one from making a professional advancement within a Brazilian context. This aspect also accounts for a fear of future employability. This fear is usually accompanied by another aspect, namely, the fact that IFPA's dual system is not popular in Brazil. It puts the incumbent under pressure because one assumes that it will not be a recognizable qualification on the labor market in Brazil. This, as a result, serves as a precondition for an early concomitant vertical and horizontal educational advancement. In other words, the incumbent may access higher education while undergoing his or her secondary level VET, which can substantially affect performance in all three areas involved; namely, college, the school and the company. In addition, it only helps reinforce the image that higher education is indeed an alternative-less pathway, which in turn ends up fostering the structural duality within the educational system.

A few last remarks that should also be taken into consideration are related to the school itself and the process presented and described in the theoretical model: (a) The vocational school offering the German dual system apprenticeship should play an important role in the decision making process by leading the biography incumbent to opt for more appropriate VET courses and not the easiest one to be accessed due to potential structural impediments or offer. An inadequate VET course choice can influence behavior in the company and image of the vocational training offered by the educational institution. From a biographical development perspective, adequate decisions can only be reached when subjectivity is not ignored or completely obfuscated during decision making. (b) A solid cooperation between the school and the company is needed in terms of supervision. Weak apprentice-company relationships can lead to loss or continuing lack of occupational orientation. (c) The option of making a post-high school horizontal educational advancement by accessing such dual system apprenticeships should be made clear much earlier in one's biographical development, with the aim of providing one with more time to consider such an option. Making this option available and known during the last year of high school leaves very little time to regard it as potentially a primary educational pathway, unless one cannot accomplish a vertical advancement due to a concatenation of hindrances. (d) It is also crucial to create awareness of cognitive dissonance prior to one's access to the dual system. The biography incumbent should be prepared to deal with post-hoc rationalization processes that may arise, through clear explanation and justification of the aspects of distinctiveness regarding IFPA's apprenticeship, and these should be clear to potential apprentices and parents. Review mechanisms

associated with IFPA and using them as means for justification can also assist in the process of attracting participants. It is also necessary to establish that a dual system apprenticeship can provide one with an initial work experience in different departments, through its job rotation, which may serve as a fundamental asset complying with labor market requirements. Furthermore, awareness regarding a potential effort justification paradigm may lead to positive perception during the program and not only reflectively. (e) Teachers and educational institutions would have to address horizontal educational advancement as possible and worthy, given they are crucial significant others playing influential roles for the biography incumbent regarding his or her primary post-high school educational advancement. (f) An adequate adjustment of the VET course to a Brazilian context could also help diminish fear of future employability and avoid premature concomitant educational advancements that can impinge outcomes in both accomplishments.

8.6 Limitations to this study approach

There are a few noteworthy limitations to this study - methodological limitations, as well as limitations of the researcher, which may have influenced the application or interpretation of the results of this study. Hence, these limitations will be briefly presented in this section. Firstly, it is necessary to remind the reader that the scope of this research was limited to a certain extent. Seeking to comprehend the conditions and mechanisms in the process that led former apprentices to undergo the German dual system, the research examined the biography of incumbents' discernment and experiences within this VET program, as well as the biographical impingements this educational modality had on subjects' post-VET development, within an exclusively Brazilian context. While this approach has led to outstanding results equally it has made contrastive comparison limited, as IFPA is the only German School offering this VET program in the secondary level subsequent modality in Brazil. In addition, there is a lack of prior research studies on the topic within a Brazilian context, especially studies using a biographical approach, which could possibly lead to a more concrete comparative analysis. Furthermore, this study did not focus on the different VET levels in Brazil, or on its different modalities but rather on the German dual VET system within a Brazilian context. In addition, this study did not approach the perception of the school itself, or of the companies involved in this VET modality in Brazil, or of individuals currently undergoing the dual system in Brazil. The collection of such data was beyond the scope of the

current study and the sampling of this research was undertaken by former apprentices who had previously undergone the VET program in Brazil so as to be able to ascertain the impact it had on subsequent biographical processes in the lives of the informants. In other words, it wouldn't be prudent to judge the effectiveness of such a vocational system within the Brazilian context without a proper triangulation considering the other variables mentioned above. Moreover, it would be relevant to interview other apprentices attending different secondary level VET modalities and even at different levels in order to comprehend the motives that have led those to enroll in secondary level VET in Brazil using the same methodology adopted in this study within a representative sampling including all different modalities and VET levels. To sum up, considering the scope of this study and the results that were presented in the theoretical model, it is still necessary to approach results with caution, especially if addressing the Brazilian VET system in general. It is equally crucial to bear in mind that the methodology and methods adopted in this study also have limitations:

(a) Limitations of the data collection method: Given this research was undertaken with the assistance of autobiographical narrative interviews, and has also employed the narrative analysis for interpretative purposes, it is important to consider methodological limitations the results of this study might entail. Firstly, considering the data collection method, it must be taken into account that participants may not have disclosed every aspect of their life stories, due to the fact that they didn't or couldn't remember or simply that they did not want to remember. Another common assumption related to this method is that informants may have been economical with the truth. However, it is assumed that researcher is aware of the fact that autobiographical narrations are not unproblematic mirror-like one-to-one depictions (Schütze, 2008). Schütze (2008) has explained that the research cannot take the formulations of the narrator just for granted and at face value and that these formulations should be regarded as a facilitating instrument to the comprehension of the biographical work of the incumbent. Another aspect of the biographical narrative approach that must be taken into consideration is that researchers should attempt to establish trusting relationships with informants. Establishment of a rapport allows the informant to feel at ease and to open up and tell his or her life story. For instance, in the case of this study there were potential participants that declined to participate as they were reluctant to expose their life story to someone they did not know well. Another aspect that limited this study was time and resource constraints. For instance, potential participants argued they didn't have the time for such an interview

when told that it would take on average from one hour and thirty minutes to three hours; which can also be described as a limitation access. Hence, the negotiation phase was crucial and needed to be carefully conducted by the researcher. Eventually this problem was addressed by dividing the interview into different contact phases, as explained in the methods and methodology chapter.

Nonetheless, it is also important to highlight that this beyond the question-answer schema data collection method, also had a particular benefit in this study apart from the other aspects previously explained in the methods and methodology chapter. It was chosen due to the fact that it exerts minimal influence from the researcher and also served as a crucial method to avoid cultural bias. In other words, this data collection method not only suited the research questions appropriately, but it also served as a necessary measure to avoid perpetuating bias. The participants told their life story without any interruption of the interviewer who simply actively and attentively listened and concomitantly jotted down notes on the rendering provided by them. It was a very important to the research process, given that the researcher was also born in Brazil and could have influenced any particular narrative given by the informants. Even during the questioning phase, the researcher was required to follow strict steps so as to avoid any biased renderings. For instance, the stimulus questions needed to be carefully and skillfully posed by the interviewer. There are cases in which the formulation of the initial topic is inadequate, and it fails to engage the story-teller (Jovchelovitch and Bauer, 2000).

(b) Limitation of the narrative analysis method: As for the data analysis method, it must be reminded that it is very laborious and time consuming, which resulted in a substantially smaller number of interviews as well as sampling limitations. Not only were the number of interviews considerably reduced, but also the informants were also carefully selected, especially due to the fact that this study used purposive sampling. However, it is important to mention that the theoretical model of this study was established with the assistance of Grounded Theory, meaning that the data collection process ended with the theoretical saturation. In the case of this study, only individuals who underwent the German dual system at IFPA School in Brazil were selected, and the set of criteria were later narrowed down in the research process, as explained in chapter 5. Thus, participants weren't simply chosen at random from within the secondary level VET former apprentices' pool of potential informants

in Brazil. Nonetheless, the results of this study and its theoretical model are crucial to comprehend results regarding the German dual system in Brazil, which is offered by IFPA School in the secondary level subsequent modality. This study must be taken into consideration in case of expansion or enhancement of this VET modality within a Brazilian context, paying particular attention to the perspective of former apprentices.

(c) Translations limitations: Another limitation that must be considered by the reader is the language limitation. In this research project, interviews were conducted in Portuguese, given that its apprentices Brazilians, the school is located in Sao Paulo, Brazil, and that the researcher is also a native speaker of the target language. However, for scientific as well as orientation purposes, as well as the possible publication of this dissertation, the interviews had to be translated from Portuguese into the English language. This translation process was very laborious and had to be done very carefully. The translations done in this research project were particularly preoccupied with a *verbum pro verbo* translation. However, this direct translation can also impede a full comprehension of the intended sense behind the message being conveyed by the informant. Therefore, adjustments had to be made in order to make the textual sections comprehensible. As previously stated, Tarozzi (2013) precisely reminds us that the semantic power of a translation that ignores cultural settings is impoverished and it loses dramatically its semantic power.

(d) Limitations of the Grounded Theory and a quantitative approach: These must equally be taken into account. Glaser & Strauss (1967) emphasize that the researcher should have “no preconceived ideas” when collecting and analyzing data. However, the researcher does not embark on such a study naively. He or she has a determined insight into the topic and has already read other similar studies regarding the matter at hand. It is particularly challenging not to refer to these studies so as to avoid any preconceived perceptions. In addition, it must also be stated that potential informants tended to be rather curious about the “real agenda” of the interviews they were participating in. Interviews were therefore focused using open stimuli and informants were told the interviewer was interested in the life story of former apprentices who underwent the German dual system offered by IFPA School in Brazil. They were told that the aim of this study was to understand the life story of these individuals and that their entire biography was equally important, taking into account the time before, during and after their dual system apprenticeship at IFPA.

(e) Potential for generalization and longitudinal effects: The generalizability of these research findings are also limited to a certain extent. The research design was not intended to produce results that account for or predict the behavior of a wide classification of people relating to any hypothesis-testing. However, the theoretical model described in this study generated a relatively clear and specific Grounded Theory that can be applied to the comprehension of the proposed research questions. Secondly, time and budget limitations made it impractical to conduct all interviews face-to-face. Conducting interviews with the assistance of VoIP and Skype wasn't particularly a problem. However, face-to-face interviews left more room for the interviewer to establish a positive trusting atmosphere which may have had an influence on the rapport established with the informant. A further aspect that needs to be mentioned in this section relates to the longitudinal limitations. The theoretical model presented in this study also takes government measures and educational policies, educational decisions from the perspective of the informant and the impediments superimposed by structural conditions into account as factors that affect biographical process. Conducting this research process over a much longer period of time could potentially alter certain variables of the theoretical model due to educational policy alterations.

8.7 Recommendation for further studies

There is a significant lack of prior research studies on this topic within a Brazilian context, particularly those adopting a biographical approach and this limitation is evidence of the need for further research regarding this matter. A remarkable VET system such as the German dual system needs to be carefully examined before being further expanded within a Brazilian context, especially considering that its acceptability and functionality are heavily embedded in a cultural system, as was observed in the theoretical model of this study. As such, in order to establish a more concrete ground for analysis of this VET program in a Brazilian context, further work needs to be done. It is necessary to address the process for leading companies and schools to engage in this educational modality as well, which would certainly provide the necessary triangulation for a more concrete understanding of the impact of this VET system within a Brazilian context. However, such studies would certainly demand a different approach to the one used in this dissertation. Moreover, future research should concentrate on the investigation of the process, experience and impingements that

would constitute a theoretical model explaining how former apprentices in Brazil underwent regular secondary level VET programs other than the German dual system. These studies would help us establish a greater degree of accuracy and determine whether there are any differences and/or similarities to the process that have led former apprentices to enroll in the German dual system at IFPA School in Sao Paolo. In addition, future studies should consider further biographical and narrative-based data collection and analysis which are followed up with longitudinal check-ups for a longer period of time. It would certainly help explore if and how educational policy changes affect the process leading individuals to enroll in the German dual system in Brazil and, consequently, culminate in the alteration of determined variables presented in this theoretical model, such as the superimposed structural impediments.

Finally, an important plea is that what is now known through this study not be ignored. International comparisons of the German VET system within different countries should take this study into account as it points toward possibly fruitful sources of comprehension and shall serve as a vital tool toward furthering this understanding. Thus, it is hoped that this research model will be useful as researchers seek deeper insight into the German dual VET system within a Brazilian context over the years to come. In addition, the findings of this study have a number of important implications for future practice regarding VET policies in Brazil. It is necessary to understand that not even the perception associated to the German dual system in Brazil by former apprentices is capable of overcoming the structural duality that can be observed in the Brazilian educational system. In addition, policy makers need to comprehend the profound biographical impingent that a determined concatenation of superimposed structural impediments has on the educational choices made by Brazilian individuals. Yet, it is also crucial to comprehend that the pathway leading to the educational modality under investigation in this study does not exclusively depend on educational policies and eventual structural impediments. It is also necessary to understand that a series of potential impediments hindering primary aspirations rely heavily on other self-imposed, self-chosen and/or event carriers, which cannot be ignored.

9. References⁶⁷

- Alheit, P., 1994.** *The 'Biographical Question' as a Challenge to Adult Education.* International Review of Education.
- Alves, F., 2008.** *Escolhas familiares no contexto da estratificação educacional e residencial da cidade do rio de janeiro.* Fátima Alves. Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro. Departamento de Educação Abril de 2008.
- Andrada, P. C., 2010.** *Sentidos atribuídos pelos alunos ao ensino superior: um estudo sobre valores no ambiente acadêmico.* Paulo costa de Andrada. In: III Congresso Brasileiro Psicologia Ciência e Profissão, 2010, São Paulo. III Congresso Brasileiro Psicologia Ciência e Profissão, 2010. *Meio de divulgação:* Digital; Homepage: <http://www.cienciaeprofissao.com.br/III/> =6465
- Andreason, C. N., 1999.** *Interactive report: Schizophrenia the fundamental questions.* University of Iowa, Hospital Clinics, Mental Health Clinical Research Center. On Brain research interactive, reviews (31), 2000, 106 – 112.
- ANPEI, 2008.** *Instituições públicas concentram as pesquisas científicas.* Associação Nacional de Pesquisa, Desenvolvimento e Engenharia das Empresas Inovadoras. [online] Available at: <http://www.anpei.org.br/imprensa/noticias/instituicoes-publicas-concentram-as-pesquisas-cientificas/>
- Apitzsch, U., Siouti, I., Wolfgang, J., 2007.** *Biographical Analysis as an Interdisciplinary Research Perspective in the Field of Migration Studies.* Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main. April 2007.
- Appel, M., 2001.** *Indianische Lokalkultur und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Mexiko.* Leske und Buchdruck, Opladen 2001.
- Ball, S., 1995.** *Mercados educacionais, escolha e classe social: o mercado como uma estratégia de classe.* Stephen Ball. In: Gentili, p. (coord.). *Pedagogia da exclusão.* Petrópolis: Vozes. Tradução de Vânia P. Thurler e Tomaz T. da Silva.
- Bamberg, M., 2010.** *Narrative Analysis.* Clark University. In H. Cooper (Editor-in-chief), *APA handbook of research methods in psychology* (3 volumes). Washington, DC: APA Press.
- Barbosa, F. and Pessôa, S., 2009.** *Educação, crescimento e distribuição de renda: a experiência brasileira em perspectiva histórica.* Versão Final – 10 de Fevereiro de 2009.
- Becker, R. and Hecken, E. A., 2009.** *Higher Education or Vocational Training?: An Empirical Test of the Rational Action Model of Educational Choices Suggested by Breen and Goldthorpe and Esser.* Rolf Becker and Anna Etta Hecken. [online] Available at <http://asj.sagepub.com/content/52/1/25>
- Bertrand, C. and Bourdeau, L., 2010.** *Research Interview by Skype: A new data collection method.* ECRM 2010 - 9th European Conference on Research Methods - Madrid, Spain.
- Biagini, J. A., 2004.** *Materialidade e a discursividade da prática de ensinar no ambiente do Ensino Técnico.* Dissertação de Doutorado em educação. Universidade Católica de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2004.

⁶⁷ According to Harvard Referencing System.

- Boudon, R., 1974.** *Education, Opportunity and social inequality*. John Wiley and Sons.
- Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J. C., 1977.** *Reproduction in education, society and culture*. Sage Publications.
- Bourdieu, P., 1986.** *The forms of capital, J. G. Richardson (szerk.): Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*. Greenwood Press.
- Braga, B. A., Pereira, A. S. and Cunha, A. L. R., 2004.** *The profile of the students of SENAC*. Rio de Janeiro. SENAC. DN. Perfil do Aluno do SENAC / Ana Beatriz Braga; Sirlei Alves Pereira (Co-lab.); Rogério Luiz de Almeida Cunha. Rio de Janeiro: SENAC/DIPLAN/CAEP, 2004. 44 p. Tab. Graf.
- Brazil, 1996e.** *Lei nº 9.394, de 20 de dezembro de 1996*. Congresso Nacional, Brasil. [online] – Available at http://www.cp2.g12.br/alunos/leis/lei_diretrizes_bases.htm [Accessed 01.11.2011].
- Brazil, 1999d.** *Parecer 16/99, 05 of October 1999*. Documento, Brasília, n. 457, p. 3-73, out. 1999. Fixa as Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais para a Educação Profissional de Nível Técnico. [online] Available at http://portal.mec.gov.br/setec/legisla_tecnico_parecer1699.p f [Accessed 06 July 2011].
- Brazil, 2006h.** *Brazilian Federal Constitution*. From 05.10.1998. Brasilia, 2006. [online] – Available at <http://www.amperj.org.br/store/legislacao/constituicao/crfb.pdf> – [Accessed 25 July 2011].
- Brazil, 2007g.** *Plan for the Development of Education (PDE)*. MEC Brazil. [online] – Available at http://portal.mec.gov.br/arquivos/livro/livro_ingles.pdf – [Accessed 1 July 2011].
- Brazil, 2010a.** *Decree 9.394 from 20.12.1996. LDB – Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional*. 5 Edicao. Biblioteca Digital da Camara dos Deputados. 60 p. – (Série Legislação ; n. 39). [online] – Available at atbd.camara.gov.br/bd/bitstream/handle/bdcamara/2762/ldb_5ed.pdf [Accessed 10 August 2011].
- Brazil, 2010a.** *Decree 9.394 from 20.12.1996. LDB – Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional*. 5 Edicao. Biblioteca Digital da Camara dos Deputados. 60 p. – (Série Legislação ; n. 39). [online] – Available at: atbd.camara.gov.br/bd/bitstream/handle/bdcamara/2762/ldb_5ed.pdf [Accessed 10 August 2011].
- Brazil, 2010b.** *Censo da Educação Superior de 2011*. Decree 6.425 from 4 of April 2008. Brasilia, 2010. [online] – Available at http://portal.mec.gov.br/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_download&gid=11799&Itemid=. [Accessed 10 November 2012].
- Brazil, 2010c.** *ENEM, High School National Exam results*. Inep - Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira [online] – Available at <http://sistemasenem2.inep.gov.br/enemMediasEscola/> [Accessed 06 August 2011].
- Brazil, 2010d.** *Censo Escolar 2010*. INEP (Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira). MEC Brazil. Preliminar Version [online] – Available at http://download.inep.gov.br/educacao_basica/censo_escolar/resumos_tecnicos/divulgacao_censo2010_revisao_04022011.pdf [Accessed 7 August 2011].

Brazil, 2010i. *PNE - Plano Nacional de Educação para o decênio 2011-2020*. Brasília. [online] – Available at <http://www.todospelaeducacao.org.br/comunicacao/mec-divulga-plano-nacional-de-educacao-2011-2020> – [Accessed 21 September 2012].

Brazil, 2012f. *Censo Escolar 2012*. INEP (Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira). MEC Brazil. Version [online] — http://portal.mec.gov.br/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_download&gid=12219&Itemid= [Accessed 7 January 2013].

Breen, R. and Goldthorpe, J. H., 1997. *Explaining Educational Differentials. Towards A Formal Rational Action Theory*. *Rationality and Society* 9: 275–305.

Brennan, L. and Marriott, T., 1996. *Career counselors Influence on decision making*. *Australian Journal of Career Development*.

Bueno, B. et al., 2006. *Histórias de vida e autobiografias na formação de professores e profissão docente*. CHAMLIAM, Helena C.; SOUSA, Cynthia P.; CATANI, Denice B. *Educação e Pesquisa*. São Paulo, v. 32.

Bunning, F. and Schnarr, A., 2009 (in Kasipar et al 2009). *Linking Vocational Training with the Enterprises - Asian Perspectives*. UNEVOC. On behalf of Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development.

Camargo, M. J. and Ferman, B. (2004). *Cotas e desigualdade*. José Marcio Camargo e Bruno Ferman São Paulo, Folha de São Paulo, 22 jun. 2004.

Campos, R. M., 2007. *Modalidades de cursos técnicos e desempenho escolar: Um estudo comparativo do perfil socioeconômico e resultados escolares de alunos e egressos de modalidades diversas de cursos técnicos do CEFET-MG sob a perspectiva da equidade, eficácia e eficiência do sistema escolar*. Rubens Martins Campos 2007. 317 f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Administração Pública) – Programa de Pós-Graduação de Administração Pública: Gestão de Políticas Sociais, Fundação João Pinheiro, Belo Horizonte, 2007.

Castro, C. M., 2001. *Educação superior e equidade: inocente ou culpada?* Ensaio: avaliação de políticas públicas em educação, Rio de Janeiro, v. 9, n. 30, p. 110-120.

Colégio Humboldt, 2012. *Colégio Humboldt Sao Paolo*. [online] Available at: <http://novo.humboldt.com.br/>

Costa S. F., 2008. *Jovens afro-brasileiros: expectativas sobre o ensino técnico e o mercado de trabalho de alunos da ETE Dona Escolástica Rosa*. Fabiana Santos Costa. Tese de Mestrado – Universidade Católica de Santos.

Culhari, P., 2010. *A escolha do ensino técnico : o que revelam as trajetórias de seis ex-alunos concluintes do curso de eletrônica (1984 – 1995) sobre a Escola Técnica Estadual Paulino Botelho*. Patrícia Polizel Culhari. -- São Carlos : UFSCar, 2010. 66 f. Dissertação (Mestrado) – Universidade Federal de São Carlos, 2010.

Cunha, A. L., 2004. *Desenvolvimento igual e combinado no ensino superior*. Luiz Antônio Cunha. *Educ. Soc.*, Campinas, vol. 25, n. 88, p. 795-817, Especial - Out. 2004 [online] Available at: <http://www.scielo.br/pdf/es/v25n88/a08v2588.pdf> [Accessed 11 September 2011].

Cunha, L. A., 2000. *O ensino de ofícios artesanais e manufactureiros no Brasil escravocrata*. São Paulo, Brasília: Editora da Unesp, Flacso, 2000

Detka, C., 2011. *Dimensionen des Erleidens - Handeln und Erleiden in Krankheitsprozessen*. In: Zugl.: Magdeburg, Univ., Fak. für Geistes-, Sozial- und Erziehungswiss., Diss., 2010 u.d.T.: Budrich, 2011; 363 S.; 21 cm - (ZBBS-Buchreihe Studien zur qualitativen Bildungs-, Beratungs- und Sozialforschung), ISBN 3866494327.

Detka, Carsten., 2005. *Zu den Arbeitsschritten der Segmentierung und der Strukturellen Beschreibung in der Analyse autobiographisch-narrativer Interviews*. In: ZBBS (2), S. S.351-364. *Differentials in Educational Attainment*. British Journal of Sociology.

Dowbor, L. (1996). *Educação, tecnologia e desenvolvimento*. In L. Bruno (Org.). *Educação e trabalho no capitalismo contemporâneo*. São Paulo: Atlas, 1996. p.17-40.

Educafro, 2011. *Rede de Pré Vestibulares Comunitários*. Educação para Afrodescendentes e Carentes. [online] Available at: <http://www.educafro.org.br/> [Accessed 15 September 2011].

Erikson, R. and Jonsson O. J., 1996. *Explaining Class Inequality in Education*. Colorado: Westview Press.

Escola Suíço Brasileira, 2012. *Escola Suíço Brasileira*. [online] Available at: <http://www.esbsp.com.br/>

ETEC, 2010. *Processo Seletivo Vestibulinho 1º semestre 2010*. Escolas Técnicas Estaduais do estado de São Paulo [online] – (Last updated n. d.) Available at <http://www.vestibulinhoetec.com.br/demanda/ano=2010&sem=1> [Accessed 10 of June 2011].

Evangelist, M. and Sather, V., 2006. Brazil's 1998-1999 currency crisis. Mike Evangelist and Valerie Sather. [online] Available at: <http://www-personal.umich.edu/~kathrynd/Brazil.w06.pdf> [Accessed 01 March 2012].

Ferreti, C. J. and Júnior, J. R. S., 2000. *Professional education in a society without employment*. Cadernos de Pesquisa, nº 109, p. 43- 66, março/2000.

Ferreti, C. J., 2002. *A pedagogia das competências: autonomia ou adaptação?* Educ. Soc. vol.23 no.81 Campinas Dec. 2002

Ferreti, C. J., 2008. *A reforma do ensino técnico da década de 1990 e a prática de professores na sua implementação*. In: Ivanise Monfredini. (Org.). *Políticas educacionais, trabalho e profissão docente*. 01 ed. São Paulo: Xamã, 2008, v. 01, p. 101-114.

Festinger, L., 1957. *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*. Stanford University Press. Stanford, California. Renewed 1985 by author. Original printing 1957.

Filho J., 2007. *Política de formação profissional do SENAI e a qualidade de vida no trabalho: o olhar dos egressos*. José do Egypto vieira soares filho. Universidade federal do Pará. Mestrado acadêmico em educação. Belém, Agosto, 2007. [online] Available at: <http://www.ppged.belemvirtual.com.br/arquivos/File/dissertacaodejoseegypton.pdf> [Accessed 20 September 2011].

Flick, U., 1998. *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.

Folha, 2010. *Escolas públicas top no Enem têm seleção mais disputada do que a USP*. Folha de São Paulo UOL [online] – (Last updated 07h58 AM on 19th July 2010) Available at

http://media.folha.uol.com.br/saber/2010/07/17/enem-por_escola-2009.pdf [Accessed 25 of July 2011]. Information also available at <http://www.inep.gov.br/>

Franco, C., Alves, F. and Bonamino, A., 2007. *Qualidade do ensino fundamental: políticas, suas possibilidades, seus limites*. Crespo franco, Fátima Alves, Alicia Bonamino. *Educ. Soc.*, Campinas, vol. 28, n. 100 - Especial, p. 989-1014, out. 2007. [online] Available at: <http://www.cedes.unicamp.br> [Accessed 14 September 2011].

Freitas, S. C. M., 2004. *Educação profissional da juventude na crise do emprego*. Maria da Conceição da Silva Freitas. Dissertação de Doutorado – Universidade de Brasília. UnB. Departamento de Sociologia.

Frommberger, D. and Holger, R., 2004. *Between school and company – features of the historical development of vocational education and training in the Netherlands and Germany in a comparative perspective*. In: *European journal of vocational training*. - Thessaloniki : CEDEFOP, 32, S. 26-31, 2004.

Gatti, A. B., 2009. *Formação de professores: condições e problemas atuais*. Bernardete A. Gatti - Fundação Carlos Chagas. *Revista brasileira de formação de professores – RBFP*. ISSN 1984-5332 - Vol. 1, n. 1, p.90-102, Maio/2009 90.

Germano, I. and Serpa, F. A., 2008. *Narrativas autobiográficas de jovens em conflito com a lei*. *Arquivos brasileiros de psicologia*. Rio de Janeiro, v.60, n.3.

Glaser, B. and Strauss, A., 1967. *The discovery of Grounded Theory*. Chicago. IL: Aldine.

Glaser, B., 1998. *Doing Grounded Theory: Issues and Discussion*. SociologyPress, Mill Valley, CA.

Goldthorpe, J. H., 1996. *Class Analysis and the Reorientation of Class Theory: the Case of Persisting differentials in educational attainment*. Article first published online: 14 JAN 2010
DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-4446.2009.01248.x

Gomes, C. S., 2006. *Uma inserção dos migrantes nordestinos em São Paulo: o comércio de retalhos. Migração*. USP – Universidade de São Paulo. [online] Available at: <http://www.revistas.usp.br/ima/article/view/42421/46090>

Gorman, A.P.F., 2005. *Cognitive Dissonance Theory for Inspiring Social Change*. [online] Available at: www.manasclerk.com/assets/CDTSocialChange.pdf

Hamze, A. (2007). *Articulação do ensino médio e ensino técnico*. [online] <http://www.educador.brasilecola.com/politica-educacional/.htm> (accessed on 04.06.2010).

Handfas, A., 2008. *O processo de escolarização dos alunos das escolas técnicas: O caso da FAE-TEC, RJ*. Anita Handfas. Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro. Faculdade de Educação/ UFRJ. Available at http://www.fe.ufrj.br/artigos/n7/numero7_13_o_processo_de_escolarizacao_dos_alunos_das_escolas_tecnicas_o_caso_da_faetec.pdf

Hannover Messe, 2012. *Hannover Messe*. [online] Available at: <https://www.hannovermesse.de>

Hoelscher, M., Hayward, G., Ertl, H. and Dunbar-Goddet, H., 2008. *The transition from vocational education and training to higher education: a successful pathway?* Michael Hoelscher, Geoff Hayward*, Hubert Ertl and Harriet Dunbar-Goddet, *Research. Papers in Education*, 23:2, 139 — 151
To link to this Article: DOI: 10.1080/02671520802048679.

Hoffmann-Riem, C., 1980. *Die Sozialforschung einer interpretativen Soziologie - Der Datengewinn.* In: Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie 32, 337-372.

Holland, J. L., Daiger, D. C., & Power, P.G. (1980). My vocational situation: Description of an experimental form for the selection of vocational assistance. Palo Alto, CA.: Consulting Psychologists Press.

House, J., 2006. *Text and context in translation.* Journal of Pragmatics, 38, 338-358.

IBGE, 2010. *Síntese de Indicadores Sociais Uma Análise das Condições de Vida da População Brasileira.* Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística – IBGE Ministério do Planejamento. [online] Available at: http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/populacao/condicaodevida/indicadoresminimos/sinteseindicociais2010/SIS_2010.pdf [Accessed 01 August 2011].

IBGE, 2011. *O Brasil em síntese.* Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. [online] Available at: <http://brasilemsintese.ibge.gov.br/en/>

IBGE, 2012. *Estatísticas do Cadastro Central de Empresas.* Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística – IBGE Ministério do Planejamento. [online] Available at: http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/pesquisas/pesquisa_resultados.php?id_pesquisa=9 [Accessed 01 July 2012].

IBGE, 2012a. *Cidades @ RS.* Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística – IBGE Ministério do Planejamento. [online] Available at: <http://www.ibge.gov.br/cidadesat/painel/painel.php?codmun=432145>

IFPA, 2011. *Instituto de Formação Profissional Administrativa.* [online] Available at: <http://www.humboldt.com.br/ifpa/port/index.asp> [Accessed 15 August 2011].

Jornal Estadão, 2012. *MP move ação contra aumento de mensalidades do Colégio Porto Seguro.* [online] Available at: <http://www.estadao.com.br/noticias/vidae,mp-move-acao-contra-aumento-de-mensalidades-do-colegio-porto-seguro,860278,0.htm>

Jovchelovitch, S. and Bauer, M., 2000. *A entrevista narrativa.* BAUER, Martin; GASKELL, George: Pesquisa qualitativa com texto, imagem e som. Petrópolis: Vozes - (p. 90-113).

JusBrasil, 2010. *O plano Collor.* [online] Available at: <http://www.jusbrasil.com.br/>

Kallmeyer, W. and Schütze, F., 1977: *Konversationsanalyse.* In: *Studium der Linguistik* 1, S. 1-28.

Klugman, J. et al., 2010. *Human Development Report, 2010. The Real Wealth of Nations: Pathways to Human Development.* Published for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Editing and production: Communications Development Incorporated, Washington D.C.

Kowal, A. Krull, J. and Kramer, L., 2004. *How the Differential Treatment of Siblings Is Linked With Parent-Child Relationship Quality.* By Kowal, Amanda K.; Krull, Jennifer L.; Kramer, Laurie. Journal of Family Psychology, Vol 18(4), Dec 2004, 658-665.

Krüger, E., 2007. *O resgate histórico da função social da educação profissional brasileira, à luz do decreto 2.208/97: um estudo do perfil socioeconômico do aluno do Cefet-RS.* Edelbert Krüger. Tese de Mestrado. Universidade Federal de Pelotas. Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação Faculdade de Educação.

Kuenzer, A. Z. , 2002. *Capitalismo, trabalho e educação*. Exclusão includente e inclusão excludente: a nova forma de dualidade estrutural que objetiva as novas relações entre educação e trabalho. [online] Available at: forumeja.org.br

Kuenzer, A. Z., 2000. *O Ensino Médio agora é para a vida: Entre o pretendido, o dito e o feito*. Acácia Kuenzer. Educação & Sociedade, ano XXI, nº 70, Abril/00. [online] Available at: <http://www.scielo.br/pdf/es/v21n70/a03v2170.pdf> [Accessed 19 September 2011].

Lamnek, S., 1989. *Qualitative Sozialforschung II. Methoden und Techniken*. Volume 2 of Qualitative Sozialforschung. Beltz, Psychologie-Verlag-Union.

Larsen, L., 2003. *Life history, youth and identity*. Life History and Biographical Research Network Conference Canterbury 6-8 March 2003, England. [online] Available at: <http://rudar.ruc.dk/bitstream/1800/5606/1/Life%20history%20youth%20and%20identity.pdf> [Accessed 15 August 2011]

Larson, L., 1998. *Meaning-Based Translation: A Guide to Cross-Language Equivalence*. 2nd edn University Press of America; New York, NY.

Looker, D. and Lowe, G.S., 2001. *Post secondary access and student financial aid in Canada: Current knowledge and research gaps*. [online] Available at: www.millenumscholarship.ca/en/foundation/publications/pareport/cprn-bkgnd.pdf.

Maciel, M. C. (2005). *O lugar da Escola Técnica frente às aspirações do mercado de trabalho* Claudia Monteiro Maciel. Tese de Mestrado – Programa de Pós-graduação em Sociologia e Antropologia – Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Sociais da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro.

MDS, 2011. *Programa Bolsa Família*. Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome. [online] Available at: <http://www.mds.gov.br/bolsafamilia/beneficios> [Accessed 10.11.2011].

MEC, 2011a. *FIES (Higher Education Student Financing Fund.)* Ministério da Educação e Cultura. [online] Available at: <http://portal.mec.gov.br/index.php?Itemid=303&id> [Accessed 07 September 2011].

MEC, 2011b. *FUNDEB (Fund for the Development of Basic Education and Appreciation of the Teaching Profession)*. Ministério da Educação e Cultura. [online] Available at: <http://portal.mec.gov.br/index.php?Itemid=725&id=12407&> [Accessed 08 September 2011].

MEC, 2011c. *ENADE (National Student Performance Exam)*. Ministério da Educação e Cultura. [online] Available at: <http://portal.mec.gov.br/index.php?Itemid=313&id=181&option=> [Accessed 09 September 2011].

MEC, 2011d. *PROUNI (University for All Programme)*. Ministério da Educação e Cultura. [online] Available at: <http://prouniportal.mec.gov.br/> [Accessed 15 September 2011].

MEC, 2011e. *Prova Brasil (“Test of Brazil”) and SAEB (National Assessment of Basic Education)*. Ministério da Educação e Cultura. [online] Available at: <http://provabrasil.inep.gov.br/> [Accessed 15 September 2011].

MEC, 2011f. *IDEB (Index of Basic Education Quality Index)*. Ministério da Educação e Cultura. [online] Available at: <http://portalideb.inep.gov.br/> [Accessed 17 September 2011].

MEC, 2011g. *SISU (National Unified Admissions System)*. Ministério da Educação e Cultura. [online] Available at: <http://sisu.mec.gov.br/> [Accessed 18 September 2011].

Meyer, M., 2009. *Deutsch ou Deutch? Macroanálise pluridimensional da variação do Hunsrückisch Rio-grandense em contato com o português.* Trabalho de conclusão de curso – LET. Departamento de Letras Clássicas e Vernáculas – UFRGS, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul.

Nascimento, E. C. (2009). *Ensino Médio Integrado: Um Estudo sobre o Curso de Informática da Rede Pública Estadual do Paraná.* Tese de Mestrado – Universidade Tecnológica Federal do Paraná. Programa de pós-graduação em tecnologia ensino médio integrado: um estudo sobre o curso de informática da rede pública estadual do Paraná.

Nogueira, A. M., 1998. *A escolha do estabelecimento de ensino pelas famílias. A ação discreta da riqueza cultural.* Maria Alice Nogueira Faculdade de Educação, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais. Jan/Fev/Mar/Abr 1998 N ° 7.

Nogueira, M. A., 2003. *A construção da excelência escolar – um estudo de trajetórias feito com estudantes universitários provenientes das camadas médias intelectualizadas.* In: Família e escola: trajetórias de escolarização em camadas médias e populares. Orgs: Nogueira, Maria Alice; Romaneli, Geraldo e Zago, Nadir. Petropolis: Vozes.

OECD, 2011. *Programme for International Student Assessment. (PISA) Results 2000 – 2009.* OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development). [online] Available at: http://www.oecd.org/document/61/0,3746,en_1_1_1_1,00.html [Accessed 22 September 2011].

Osipow, S. H. (1999). *Assessing career indecision.* Journal of Vocational Behavior, 55, 147–154.

Penrod, J., et al., 2003. *A Discussion of Chain Referral As a Method of Sampling Hard-to- Reach Populations.* Janice Penrod, Deborah Bray Preston, Richard e. Cain, Michael t. Starks. Journal of Transcultural Nursing, Vol. 14 No. 2, April 2003 100-107 DOI: 10.1177/1043659602250614 © 2003 Sage Publications.

Pierro, C. M. and Graciano, M., 2003. *Educação de jovens e adultos no Brasil.* Maria Clara Di Pierro and Mariângela Graciano. Informe apresentado à Oficina Regional da UNESCO para América Latina y Caribe Maria Clara Di Pierro1 Mariângela Graciano2 São Paulo, Brasil. [online] Available at: <http://www.acaoeducativa.org/downloads/relorealc.pdf> [Accessed 13 September 2011].

Pires, P. A., 2008. *As possibilidades e limites da modalidade de concomitância externa da educação profissional na perspectiva da inclusão de jovens trabalhadores.* Anselmo Paulo Pires. Tese de Mestrado. Centro Federal de Educação Tecnológica de Minas Gerais. Centro Federal de Educação Tecnológica de Minas Gerais, CEFET-MG. Diretoria de Pesquisa e Pós Graduação – DPPG.

Pitz, G. F., and Harren, V. A., 1980. *An analysis of career decision making from the point of view of information processing and decision theory.* Journal of Vocational Behavior, 16.

PNAD, 2011. *Pesquisa por Amostra de Domicílios.* IBGE [online] Available at: <http://www.ibge.gov.br/00000010135709212012572220530659.pdf>

Portal da Revista Educação, 2011. *O ensino médio e seus caminhos.* (Hitting the headlines article) [online] (Updated 28.04.2011) – Available at <http://revistaeducacao.uol.com.br/codigo=13118> [Accessed 10 September 2011].

Portal do Governo do Estado de São Paulo, 2009. *Especial 40 anos do Centro Paula Souza: empregabilidade ultrapassa 90% entre formados.* [online] (Updated 38.09.2009) – Available at <http://www.saopaulo.sp.gov.br/spnoticias/lenoticia.php?id=204838&c=6> [Accessed 05 July 2011].

Porto Seguro, 2012. *Escola Porto Seguro*. [online] Available at: <https://www.portoseguro.org.br/>

PUC, 2013. Pontifical Catholic University. [online] Available at: <http://www.pucsp.br/>

Queiroz, C. M. et al., 2008. *Evolução do ensino médio no Brasil*. Cintia Marques de Queiroz, Lidiane Aparecida Alves, Renata Rodrigues da Silva, Kássia Nunes da Silva, Ricardo Veiga Modesto. [online] Available at: <http://www.simposioestadopoliticas.ufu.br>

Ramos, L. M. I., 2008. *O trabalho de conclusão de curso no ensino técnico – um olhar sobre o processo de implementação*. Ivoni Marchi Lainetti Ramos. Tese de Mestrado – Centro Estadual de Educação Tecnológica Paulo Souza.

Rauner, F. and Maclean, R., 2008. *Handbook of Technical and Vocational Education and Training Research*. Published: Berlin, Germany: Springer, 2009. Physical description: 1103 p.

Reay, D., et al., 2001. *Making a difference? Institutional Habitus and Higher Education Choice*. Sociological Research Online.

Regattieri M. and Castro M. J., 2010. *Ensino médio e educação profissional: desafios da integração*. Marilza Regattieri e Jane Margareth Castro. 2.ed – Brasília : UNESCO, 2010. 270 p. ISBN: 978-85-7652-135-83 1. Educação secundária 2. Educação Profissional 3. Educação Técnico 4. Políticas Educacionais 5. Brasil I. © 2009, 2010 Organização das Nações Unidas para a Educação, a Ciência e a Cultura (UNESCO).

Riesman, C. K., 1993. *Narrative Analysis*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Rosenthal, G., 2004. *Biographical research (as a contributor)*. Encountering method in Qualitative Research Practice. Seale C. et al 2004.

SAE, 2011. Classe C ocupa 63% das vagas de universidades. Secretaria de Assuntos Estratégicos. [online] Available at: <http://www.sae.gov.br/site/?p=9390#ixzz2m9eBAznn> [Accessed 30.11.2011].

Samuel H. Osipow (1999) *The Ohio State University Journal of Vocational Behavior* 55, 147–154 (1999) Article ID jvbe.1999.1704, available online at <http://www.idealibrary.com>

Santos, H. A., 2011. *A difícil luta pela formação profissional ensino técnico versus ensino superior: a difícil luta pela formação profissional*. Hebison Almeida Dos Santos. Publicado em: 02/06/2011 [online] Available at: <http://www.artigonal.com/educacao-artigos/ensino-tecnico-versus-ensino-superior-a-dificil-luta-pela-formacao-profissional-4853404.html> [Accessed 2 September 2011].

Schindler, S. and Reimer, D., 2008. *Primary and Secondary Effects in Class Differentials: The Transition to Tertiary Education in Germany*. Steffen Schindler and David Reimer. First draft, prepared for the EQUALSOC Midterm Conference, 11-12 April 2008, Berlin.

Schneider, T., 2006. *Does the Effect of Social Origins on Educational Participation Change Over the Life Course?* Thorsten Schneider. Discussion-Paper. January 2006. Überarbeitete Fassung erschienen in: *European Sociological Review* 24 (4): 511-526.

Schütze, F., 1977. *Die Technik des narrativen Interviews in Interaktionsfeldstudien – dargestellt an einem Projekt zur Erforschung von kommunalen Machtstrukturen*. *Arbeitsberichte und Forschungsmaterialien*. Bielefeld: Fakultät für Soziologie (unveröff.)

Schütze, F., 1983. *Biographieforschung und narratives Interview*. Schütze, Fritz In: *Neue Praxis*, 13(3), S. 283–293.

Schütze, F., 2001: *Rätselhafte Stellen im narrativen Interview*. In: *Handlung Kultur Interpretation*.

Schütze, F., 2008. *How to analyze autobiographical narrative interviews-Part 1 and Part 2. Module B.2.1. INVITE-Biographical counseling in rehabilitative vocational training further education curriculum*, [online] Available at: <http://www.biographicalcounselling.com/download/B2.1.pdf> [Accessed 15 August 2011].

Seligman, M.E., 1975. *Helplessness*. San Francisco: W.H. Freeman.

SENAC, 2010. *Annual Report*. SENAC. DN. Relatório geral, 2010. Rio de Janeiro, 2011. 112 p. Il. Rio de Janeiro Tab. [online] Available at: <http://www.senac.br> [Accessed 22 September 2011].

SENAI, 2010. *Annual Report*. Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Industrial. Departamento Nacional. Relatório anual 2010 / SENAI/DN. – Brasília, 2011. 76 p. : il.Tab. [online] Available at: <http://www.senai.br> [Accessed 22 September 2011].

Silva, P. E. and Stefanini, M. D., 2008. *As expectativas de formação profissional e trabalho de jovens e adultos de uma escola técnica*. Eduardo Pinto e Silva and Deborah Maria Stefanini. Dissertação de Mestrado intitulada *As relações entre educação e trabalho nas trajetórias de alunos de uma escola técnica: uma análise a partir de Bourdieu (2008) defendida no Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Federal de São Carlos*.

Soskice, D., 1994. *Reconciling Markets and Institutions: The German Apprenticeship System*. Chapter URL: <http://www.nber.org/chapters/c8776>. Chapter pages in book: (p. 25 - 60).

Stefanini, D., 2008. *As relações entre educação e trabalho nas trajetórias de alunos de uma escola técnica: uma análise a partir de Bourdieu*. Deborah Maria Stefanini. Tese de Mestrado. Universidade Federal de São Carlos. Centro de Educação e Ciências Humanas.

Stephen, G. et al., 2006. *Review of widening participation research: addressing the barriers to participation in higher education*. A report to HEFCE by the University of York, Higher Education Academy and Institute for Access Studies. Stephen Gorard, Emma Smith, Helen May, Liz Thomas, Nick Adnett and Kim Slack.

Strauss, A. and Corbin. J. M., 1998. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. SAGE, Sep 22, 1998 - Social Science.

Stulzer, J. and Vilde, L., 2003. *Sistema Dual Aplicado ao Curso Profissionalizante Técnico Têxtil em Blumenau*. Trabalho de Conclusão de Pós Graduação em Consultoria Empresarial do SENAI/UFSC, em agosto de 2003.

Tajfel, H. and Turner, J. C., 1979. *An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict*. The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations. Monterey, CA.

Tajfel, H., 1978. *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*. London: Academic Press.

Tarozzi, M., 2013. *Translating and Doing Grounded Theory Methodology. Intercultural Mediation as an Analytic Resource*. Volume 14, No. 2, Art. 6 – May 2013.

- Tavares, G. M., 2005.** *Formação de trabalhadores para o meio rural: os impactos da reforma da educação profissional no ensino técnico agrícola*. Moacir Gubert Tavares. Tese de Mestrado – Universidade Federal do Paraná. Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação, Setor de Educação, Universidade Federal do Paraná.
- Temple, B and Young, A., 2004.** *Qualitative Research and Translation Dilemmas*. SAGE Journals. Qualitative research.
- Turbin, J., 1995.** *Policy Borrowing: Lessons from European Attempts to Transfer Training Practices*. Centre for Labour Market Studies.
- Turner, J. C. et al., 1987.** *Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self-Categorization Theory*. New York: Basil Blackwell. Michael A. Hogg, Penelope J. Oakes, Stephen D. Reicher, and Margaret S Wetherell.
- UNICAMP, 2011.** *Anuário estatístico*. University of Campinas. [online] Available at: http://www.aeplan.unicamp.br/anuario_estatistico_2011/index_arquivos/marcador2011_port.pdf
- Van de Werfhorst, H. G. and R. Andersen., 2005.** *Social Background, Credential Inflation, and Educational Strategies*. *Acta Sociologica* 48: 321-40.
- UPA (2013).** *Cada vez mais pública*. [online] Available at: <http://www.upa.unicamp.br/revista/cada-vez-mais-publica>. [Accessed 24 April 2013].
- Vieira, A. J and Deitos, S. M., 2009.** *Educação profissional e o desafio da integração no ensino médio*. José Aparecido Vieira and Maria Lúcia Melo de Souza Deitos. [online] Available at: <http://www.diaadiaeducacao.pr.gov.br/portals/pde/arquivos/2368-8.pdf> [Accessed 24.11..2011].
- Walton, M. G. and Cohen, L. G., 2007.** *A Question of Belonging: Race, Social Fit, and Achievement*. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 2007, Vol. 92, No. 1, 82–96
- Weller, W., 2007.** *Tradições hermenêuticas e interacionistas na pesquisa qualitativa: a análise de narrativas segundo Fritz Schütze* – UNB. Agência Financiadora: UNB.
- Whitaker, D., 1998.** *Escolha da carreira e globalização*. São Paulo: Moderna.
- Whitley, S. and Neil, C., 1998.** *Queensland Year 12 students' experiences about post-school options: Are there equity issues?* Paper presented at the AARE conference.
- Wittaczik, S. L., 2008.** *Histórico da educação profissional no Brasil*. Lidiane Soares Wittaczik. SENAI, SC-Jaraguá do Sul. *Atualidades Tecnológicas para Competitividade Industrial*, Florianópolis, v. 1, n. 1, p. 77-86, 1º. sem., 2008

10. Appendix

10.1 Transcription of single case (1): Lisa Steinway

- 1 *I: so, Lisa /ehm/ (-) I'm interested in your life story (,) I'm interested, as a matter of fact*
2 */ehm/ in the life story of people who studied at IFPA, in Brazil (,) So=so I'm interested in*
3 *your life story and (-) I would like you to tell it (,) (-) The best way to tell a life story /ehm/ is*
4 *to begin with the grandparents (-) and tell you is important to me (,) I will not interrupt you*
5 *and will be making some brief notes (-) after you finish telling your life story, I'll (-) ask you*
6 *some more detailed questions based on what you told me (,) (-) and I /ehm/ I would like to ask*
7 *your permission to record our conversation too (2)*
- 8 B1: ok, sure (,)
- 9 *I: ok, so let's begin (-) Lisa (,)*
- 10 B1: well (-) I probably won't (-) give you too many details about my grandparents (,) because
11 I don't know :so: much about their life story (,) anyway (2) I'll start with my paternal grand-
12 parents (-)
- 13 *I: uh huh*
- 14 B1: my grandfather has always been a shopkeeper (-) in São Paulo (-) in fact (‘) both of my
15 grandfathers (,)
- 16 *I: uh huh*
- 17 B1: my grandfather has always had his own business (-) his parents had a pharmacy there in
18 São Paulo (,) but today they don't have the pharmacy anymore (-) they sold it (,) (2) But my
19 grandfather has always had his own business (,) they lived in Sao Leopoldo for some years (-)
20 and that's why my youngest aunt was born in Sao Leopoldo (,) :But: the other brothers /ehm/
21 my father and one of his brothers and his sister were all born in São Paulo (,) (-) My grand-
22 mother (-) his wife (-) has always been a housewife (,) She did work when she was single (,)
23 (2) I think she used to work in sewing and embroidery (,) But after she got married (-) she
24 became a full-time housewife (,) (2) At that time /ehm/ women were actually full-time
25 housewives /ehm/ (2) and my paternal grandparents even knew my maternal grandparents (,)
- 26 *I: uh huh*
- 27 B1: they've always been friends (,) my grandfathers (-) I don't know exactly where my
28 grandparents met (2) but my grandfather and my maternal grandmother (-) they are from
29 /mhm/ São Paulo too (,)

30 I: *uh huh*

31 B1: my maternal grandfather /ehm/ his (-) how do you say it again (-) :roots: (?) (-) his family
 32 came from Italy (,)

33 I: *uh huh*

34 B1: my paternal grandparents' families came from Portugal (,)

35 I: *uh huh*

36 B1: no German roots in the family (((laughs)))

37 I: *uh huh (((laughs)))*

38 B1: and (-) in short (-) my grandfather worked initially in a theater in São Paulo (-) doing the
 39 bookkeeping (‘) for a film company (,) after a while he opened his own bookkeeping business
 40 (-) here in São Paulo (-) called Steinway (-) which is our last name (,) (2) Then (-) I don't
 41 know how they knew each other (,) (-) My maternal grandmother and grandfather (,) But they
 42 used to hang out and so on (,) That's why my parents met (,)

43 I: *uh huh*

44 B1: My mother and father met because their parents were already friends at that time (,) :And:
 45 (-) it wasn't only my parents who met because of this friendship (‘)

46 I: *uh huh*

47 B1: my father's older brother is married to my mother's eldest sister (,) (((laughs))) So every-
 48 thing came from this friendship (,)

49 I: *uh huh*

50 B1: Our family is very close (‘) my mother has six siblings (-) I have /ehm/ (-) four aunts and
 51 one uncle and my mother (‘) so there were six children in all (,)

52 I: *uh huh*

53 B1: My father (-) has three siblings (,) /ehm/ it was my father and a brother and two sisters (-)
 54 I have many cousins :and: we're always together (‘) we always have family parties or we
 55 meet on Mother's Day and Christmas (,) The entire family comes together and everyone has
 56 this Italian blood (,) (interviewee's phone rings) (-) just a minute please (,)

57 I: *uh huh*

58 B1: "hello (?)" (pause)

59 B1: (Returns to interview) so (-) /mhm/ where was I again (?) (-) family (,) My family is very
 60 close (,) And I'm very close to my cousins (-) my father's brothers and my mother's sister's
 61 daughters (,) (-) We're very close and we're all about the same age (,) (-) Everyone's in São
 62 Paolo (-) well most of us are in São Paolo (,) :But: Sao Paolo is /ehm/ for those that don't

63 mind it is close (,) So we're always seeing each other (,) (3) Well (-) I think this is what I
64 know about my grandparents on/about their families :and: their lives before my parents met (,)
65 (2) So (-) my parents met and got married (-) /mhm/ we always lived in São Paulo until=until
66 I was about 16 or 17 years old (,) (3) My father is an economist (-) he went to PUC University
67 in São Paulo and majored in economics (,) He's always worked for companies (-) first he
68 worked at Phelps (-) then at a another computer business (,) And (-) the=the crisis during
69 Collor's presidency happened back (-) in 1990 :or: 1980 or something (,) So he became un-
70 employed (‘) and decided to move to Silver Bay (-) where the cost of living were lower than
71 in=in São Paulo (,) (2) There /ehm/ he started his own business (-) a computer school here in
72 Silver Bay (-) a franchise named Super Computers (,) So, he left for Silver Bay /ehm/ (-) and
73 went with his entire family (-) I was still going to school :and: (-) my sister was also trans-
74 ferred from Porto Seguro School in São Paulo to Porto Seguro School in Silver Bay (,) (-)

75 *I: uh huh*

76 B1: my brother had already (-) /ehm/ had just finished high school that year (‘) and began his
77 *vestibular* (university entrance examination) here in=in Campinas (,) (2)

78 *I: uh huh*

79 B1: so (-) my mother came also (,) she is an architect (,)

80 *I: uh huh*

81 B1: But after my brother was born (‘) my mom stopped working (,) She used to work on a
82 self-employed basis /ehm/ from home (-) on some projects that the family had asked her to
83 work on (-) and so forth (,) They asked her when they wanted to build a house on the beach (-)
84 or something like that (,) So she had/still had some contact with architecture (-) because she
85 likes it (,) (-) :But: /ehm/ she didn't work outside our home with it (,) (2) It was after the chil-
86 dren were born that she became a housewife (,)

87 *I: uh huh*

88 B1: After that (-) when we moved to Silver Bay /ehm/ my mother didn't work with my father
89 either (,) She stayed at home (,) (-) The one who started working with my father was my
90 brother (-) at the=the computer school (2) /ehm/ They opened other schools in other cities too
91 (‘) and now there's one in Bayfield and one in Ashland (,) They take care of both schools (,)

92 *I: uh huh*

93 B1: after I finished high school :I:=I started attending IFPA (-) at the time I kind of threw a
94 tantrum (‘) because I was dating a boy from São Paulo (-) and didn't like the idea of moving
95 to Silver Bay very much (,)

96 I: *uh huh*

97 B1: so (-) I wanted to find something to do there in São Paulo (,) :And: ended up passing the
 98 admission test at IFPA (,) So I went back to São Paulo (-) and moved in with my maternal
 99 grandmother /ehm/ who by then was a=a widow (,)

100 I: *uh huh*

101 B1: I started living with my grandma (-) /mhm/ and lived with her in Harbor Springs during
 102 the two years I went to IFPA (,) (2)

103 I: *uh huh*

104 B1: The school was kind of far (‘) because at that time IFPA was in Interlagos (‘) it was in
 105 Santo Amaro (,) (-) So I went by bus to IFPA (-) I started to take busses in São Paulo (-) be-
 106 cause until then (-) I had a good life (‘) my mom drove us to school and picked us up (-) I had
 107 never taken a bus in São Paulo before (,) /mhm/ (-) the two years I went to IFPA were kind of
 108 complicated (‘) because it was all very new to me (,) I had to wake up at 5:00 in the morning
 109 /ehm/ to catch a bus at Largo do Treze (‘) I don’t know if you know this place here in São
 110 Paolo (?) but it’s not a very :nice: place (,)

111 I: *uh huh*

112 B1: I had to go to Largo Treze de Maio /ehm/ where IFPA was located (,) so I had to go from
 113 one side of town to the other (‘) it took me about an hour to get there by bus (‘) (-) in short it
 114 wasn’t something that a girl who went to Porto Seguro was used to (,) I wasn’t used to it (,) do
 115 you understand (?) (2)

116 I: *uh huh*

117 B1: but /ehm/ that’s fine (‘) because it was logical (-) my father didn’t give me a car
 118 (((laughs))) (-) but it was very good (,) (2) It was the first point (,) That I had to wake up very
 119 early :and: I was alone /ehm/ and no longer had my mother to wake me up (,) So I became an
 120 adult during the time I went to IFPA (,) (-) At IFPA (-) /ehm/ the teachers spoke only German
 121 (-) everything was in German (‘) and it was hard (-) especiallly for me (-) because at Porto
 122 Seguro I had one German lesson among all other subjects that/which were taught in Portu-
 123 guese (,) (-) at IFPA it was a little different /ehm/ (-) actually /ehm/ it was totally different (-)
 124 in the office clerk course I chose (‘) most subjects were taught by the same teacher (-)

125 I: *uh huh*

126 B1: By Müller (-) a guy who didn’t like Brazil very much (‘) so it was difficult for me be-
 127 cause I think he didn’t like me very much (-) because I didn’t come from a German :family:

128 and I didn't speak German (‘) everything I said was wrong (,) I didn't understand what he said
129 (‘) and he wasn't the type of person /ehm/ who did everything in order to be understood (‘)

130 *I: uh huh*

131 B1: understand (?) he thought everyone had to understand him (,) (-) And most people in my
132 class did understand him (,) because they came from German families (,) (-) I was the only
133 one who didn't (-) and was a fish out of water (,)

134 *I: uh huh*

135 B1: so that's why I went to Germany (‘) when I finished the first year (‘) because I said (-)
136 “there's no way I'm going to pass (,) (-)” the first year was catastrophic (((laughs))) (-) several
137 times I had to think (-) “my God (‘) what am I doing here at this school full of Germans (?) I
138 have to cross the entire city on a bus with a lot of (-) /ehm/ well /ehm/ I'll say it (-) people
139 from the northeast region” you know (?) (-) that kind of thing (,) It didn't seem to be a place I
140 should be (,) Anyway (‘) this was very good after all /ehm/ because then I started to create and
141 shape my personality (-) in order to create a basis for a professional life (-) do you under-
142 stand (?) I had to grow up (-) because that was the time I started to realize that life /ehm/ is
143 hard for everyone (-) do you understand (?) (-) sooner or later we always do (,) (-)

144 *I: uh huh*

145 B1: I always thought it was too much for me (,) Why (?) because my big brother didn't have
146 to go through this (,) (-) My big brother worked with my father (-) :and: his life was calm (-)
147 he didn't have to wake up at five in the morning to catch the bus and ride through the entire
148 city (,) (2) Anyway (-) I didn't see my family very much because I was living in São Paulo
149 and stayed there more than in Silver Bay /ehm/ (-) we only talked about it when we argued (,) (-)
150 Plus /ehm/ at the time it wasn't very easy (,) But when I had to go to IFPA (‘) it was a real
151 pain in the neck (-) let's say (,) But working at the company was excellent (,) (-)

152 *I: uh huh*

153 B1: so at KLS (-) I actually had the opportunity to get to know :all: the departments of the
154 company (‘) because this program IFPA offers (-) is very interesting (,) We spend three
155 months at each department in the company /ehm/ doing an apprenticeship (,)

156 *I: uh huh*

157 B1: It is only three months (-) so you start to wonder about what kind of things you will have
158 to do there (,) In the end /ehm/ you had to make copies and send faxes (‘) filing documents (‘)
159 and so on (,) But we ended up getting to know a little bit of each department (,) and today it's
160 been more than ten years that I've worked at KLS (‘) and I know people here (,) (2) So I

161 found a way /ehm/ to be accepted by the whole family to go back to São Paulo (,) It wasn't
162 because I loved the office clerk course or because I loved IFPA (-) nor was it because it was
163 all I wanted to do in life (,) It was more because I wanted to go back to São Paulo (,) But in
164 the end I got used to it and today I can see that if it weren't for IFPA (') I probably wouldn't
165 be where I am today (-) with my professional maturity (')

166 I: *uh huh*

167 B1: because I started at KLS because of
168 IFPA (,) (3)

169 I: *yes, and then what happened (?)*

170 B1: then (2) /ehm/ my apprenticeship ended at KLS (-) and they didn't have a position to offer
171 me right when I finished the apprenticeship (,) :and: I understood (,) It didn't depend only on
172 the apprentice (') but/it also depended on being in the right place at the right time (,) (-)

173 I: *uh huh*

174 B1: At that time there was no job for me (') so I left (,) :So: /ehm/ in December 1998 (-) I
175 think :or: maybe 1995 or 1996 (') in December 1996 (,) Then the next month in January and
176 February 1997 (') I started sending out job applications (') because I was unemployed and had
177 no college degree (,) (-) I /ehm/ started working at a company in Campinas called ORD (')
178 which was a German company that imported orthopedic products (,) I started there as a secre-
179 tary (') it was not :all: I wanted to do in life (') (2) :and: worked there until /ehm/ August 1997
180 /ehm/ when I started college and studied foreign trade (,)

181 I: *uh huh*

182 B1: So (-) I kept working at this company for about seven months (,) Until November of that
183 year (-) or something like that (,) Then (') another crisis came /ehm/ (-) since we imported a
184 lot of materials (') (3) :my goodness: (-) it's raining a lot here right now (3) ok (-) so /ehm/ the
185 dollar was so high that people stopped importing what/:the:/what they had been importing (,)

186 I: *uh huh*

187 B1: They also had to reduce their employee numbers (') so they dismissed me (,) And that's
188 when I started an internship at the Chamber of Industry Brazil-Germany (,) I went back to São
189 Paolo (') and I was attending college at night in Campinas (,)

190 I: *uh huh*

191 B1: I went back to that kind of life (,) The life of waking up at five in the morning :and: tak-
192 ing buses and so on (,) I had to take a bus to Sao Paolo (-) and spend the whole day there at
193 the Chamber of Commerce doing the internship (-) then I would go back to Campinas to go to

194 college in the evening (,) I left at five in the morning and got back home at eleven at night (,)
195 You need a :lot: of energy for that (((laughs)))

196 I: *uh huh*

197 B1: then (-) the year 2000 came along (,) And that year AHK sent me to Germany to work at a
198 Brazilian stand (‘) I mean /ehm/ the=the stand was in the Brazilian pavilion at the Expo in
199 Hannover (,) (-) This was a pretty cool time (,) It was great (-) because AHK /ehm/ basically
200 prepared two groups to go to Germany (,) And I was in the first group because the fair lasts
201 quite a while (,) (-) The first group of people went there /ehm/ in June /ehm/ well in/from
202 March until June (-) more or less (‘) the other group would be there until October (-) is that
203 right (?) I don’t remember (-) in July August September and October (-) yeah that’s it (-) the-
204 se were the five months (-) people would be there from June until August (,) And then the
205 next group from August until October (,) I was in the first group (‘) and really liked it (,) (2)
206 Ten Brazilians lived in one apartment there and we had everything (‘) we had a salary (-) our
207 travel costs were covered (-) food (‘) we got it all paid (,) And we received our salary on top
208 of that (-) because we worked (,) And we had a lot of freedom at work too (-) we had to work
209 and do our job (‘) but being there at the Expo was a real party (,) :We: had several parties to
210 go to every day (-) so we made the most of every single day (,)

211 I: *uh huh* (-) so you enjoyed it (?)

212 B1: yeah I really enjoyed this time in Germany (‘) because nobody in this group of people had
213 ever met before (,) It was kind of /ehm/ you had to participate in the selection process of the
214 Chamber of Commerce (‘) and from each one who was hired (‘) (-) we only met when we got
215 there /ehm/ and everyone lived and shared the same apartment (‘) but we all got along really
216 well (,) We worked in shifts at the Expo (-) because it was open from /ehm/ 8:00 in the morn-
217 ing until 10:00 at night (,)

218 I: *uh huh*

219 B1: we /ehm/ on weekends (-) on weekends there were more people there (‘) the groups were
220 slightly bigger (,) (-) But we had enough time to take :trips: and to :travel: (-) we swapped
221 shifts when we had a day off (-) we swapped shifts a lot (‘) this way we could travel a lot
222 through Europe (,) Anyway (-) it was a lot of fun (,) We worked (-) and earned some money
223 :and: on top of that we could travel a lot (,) (((laughs)))

224 I: *uh huh*

225 B1: And when the first two and a half months were over (‘) the group was about to go back to
226 Brazil because the next group of 10 people would come to Germany in August (,) But Carl

227 our boss at the time said (-) “since you are already here (-) you already know what to do (-)
228 you are already /ehm/ committed to the work (-) if you want to stay /ehm/ you/let me know (-)
229 then we won’t bring ten extra people (-) perhaps we’ll only bring five more (,) If you want to
230 spend the next two months here (-) let me know” (,)

231 *I:* *uh huh*

232 B1: I wanted to stay (,) And so did a friend of mine (,) Since we shared the same apartment (‘)
233 we became very close friends Carol and I (,) She said (-) “/ehm/ let’s stay (?)” (-) later /ehm/ I
234 even thought (-) I took a leave of absence from the university anyway (-) actually I hadn’t
235 taken a leave of absence yet (,) I did everything from Germany /ehm/ I sent my mother a
236 power-of-attorney (‘) and she did everything for me (‘) so I could stay two more months in
237 Germany (,) (-)

238 *I:* *uh huh*

239 B1: so (-) I ended up staying there until October (‘) Carol and I /ehm/ decided to stay (,) (2)
240 The rest of the group returned to Brazil in August :and: then another group came to stay and
241 work with us (,) And that too was easygoing (,) Everyone got along (-) everything was all
242 right (-) everyone was young /ehm/ being more or less the same age (‘) (-) so we did not have
243 problems there in this/living in the same apartment (-) Even though we had to live with people
244 we didn’t know (,) (-) It was very easygoing (,) (-)

245 *I:* *uh huh*

246 B1: it was also a very good time (-) because I practiced my German a lot (‘) I also practiced
247 my English a lot too (‘) (-)

248 *I:* *uh huh*

249 B1: I spoke in English with many people (‘) and I practiced a lot of Spanish (,) (-) Because we
250 got (-) /ehm/ our booth was in the /ehm/ located in the Brazilian pavilion /mhm/ and the Bra-
251 zilian pavilion was in the Latin American area (‘) so I had a lot of contact with people from
252 Panama, Paraguay (-) we made a :large: circle of new friends (,) We went out together (-) we
253 traveled on weekends with people from Panama (-) Paraguay or Cuba (‘) (-) a lot of people (,)
254 It was very pleasant (,) (-) I met a lot of new people and we did a lot of really nice things there
255 (,) And I was always speaking Spanish with them (,) The little Spanish I knew got much bet-
256 ter (,) And that helped me professionally later too (,) (2)

257 *I:* *uh huh*

258 B1: So (‘) when the fair ended in October (‘) Carol and I wanted to stay longer in Germany (,)
259 so we talked to our boss there at the fair (-) and said “Carl (-) what do you think (?) Do you

260 think we can write our CV's in German so we can stay and try to find an internship here (?)”
261 (-) since we had a leave of absence from the university in Brazil anyway (‘) we wouldn't do
262 anything until February of the next year (-) and it was only October (,)

263 I: *uh huh*

264 B1: so he helped us /ehm/ (-) we wrote our CV's in German in order to find an internship
265 /ehm/ a two to three month internship (,) And then (-) we sent them out to several companies
266 we'd have liked to work for (,) We sent them to all the German companies we knew (-) for
267 example /ehm/ Schenker (-) Bayer and BASF (-) KLS and Volkswagen (‘) and so on (,) (-)

268 I: *uh huh*

269 B1: Then (‘) Carol did an interview at Bayer (-) and started working in Hamburg (,) (-) I did
270 an interview at KLS (‘) because I was also very fortunate to have my resume received by a
271 German man (-) from the marketing department who had already lived in Brazil (-) and
272 worked at KLS in Brazil (,) (2) I don't know how my CV ended up on his desk (,) But he
273 thought it was interesting and made an appointment with me to meet there at the Expo (,)

274 I: *uh huh*

275 B1: We started sending out CV's a month before /ehm/ the fair ended (,) (2) He went to Han-
276 nover (-) and talked to me there and said “look (‘) you can do this internship here with us
277 :and: (‘) I've seen here on your resume that you already did an internship with KLS in Brazil
278 (,) I have worked there too” (-) in the end he could relate to my experience /ehm/ he was kind
279 enough to offer me this internship (((laughs))) (2)

280 I: *uh huh*

281 B1: so I started doing the paperwork to change my visa (‘) because I=I only had a visa that
282 allowed me to work at the Expo (,) (-)

283 I: *uh huh*

284 B1: In the end (‘) I was able to get a new visa to work at KLS (,) But it wasn't easy (,) I had to
285 go to Bochum several times /ehm/ before I finally moved (,) (2) But in the end thank God
286 /ehm/ it worked out (,)

287 I: *uh huh*

288 B1: then I moved to Bochum (-) and /ehm/ I shared an apartment there with a German girl (,)
289 When I started looking for apartments there/in the newspapers (-) I realized that where I was
290 going to live (-) Bochum is a university town (‘) and because of that (-) there were a lot of
291 people looking for /ehm/ other people to share apartments with (,) I moved in with a German
292 girl /ehm/ with Karen (,) She studied physical education (,)

293 I: *uh huh*

294 B1: She lived alone (-) in an apartment with two rooms (,) We decided /ehm/ that I'd live with
 295 her for three months (,) (-) At that time my parents came to Germany on vacation to visit me
 296 (') because I had (-) gone to Germany to spend just two and a half months (,) (-)

297 I: *uh huh*

298 B1: At the beginning of June (-) I said I'd be back in August (-) then I decided I'd go back in
 299 October (-) so I called home and said "look /ehm/ I'm staying longer because an opportunity
 300 came up" (,) Then in October I decided I'd go back /ehm/ in January of the next year (,) So
 301 my parents thought "we'd better go visit her (,) She may never come back" (((laughs)))

302 I: *uh huh*

303 B1: so they /ehm/ spent a month in Germany (-) I think (-) it was more or less 20 days (') and
 304 it was during this transition time (-) between the end of the expo and my internship at KLS in
 305 Bochum (,) I couldn't start right away (-) because my visa wasn't ready (,) :And: it took
 306 roughly 20 days (-) or a month before I could start on the first of November (,)

307 I: *uh huh*

308 B1: /ehm/ no (-) it was the 30th of November (,) So I spent November traveling with my par-
 309 ents in Europe (-) we went to southern Germany (') my father rented a car (') so we did some
 310 sightseeing as well (,) (2) My aunt was also there (-) and in the end it all worked out pretty
 311 well (,) You know (?)

312 I: *uh huh*

313 B1: after that (,) /ehm/ I started working at KLS (') it was an internship in
 314 the marketing department (-) everything related to economy /ehm/ and which cars would be
 315 /mhm/ be launched in 2001 (,) That's what I did there (-) this was the end of 2000 (,) So I had
 316 to find out which cars would be launched (-) which models would be released by :each: manu-
 317 facturer (') and if these cars would have parts made by KLS (,) Anyway /ehm/ it was a nice
 318 job (-) but it was more artistic than (-) statistical (,) I had to work with pictures and photos (-)
 319 and prepare presentations (-) in the end (') it was great (,) because I had /ehm/ the opportunity
 320 to get to know KLS in Bochum (-) all the people who worked there (,)

321 I: *uh huh*

322 B1: This was /ehm/ really good (-) because of all the contacts I made (,) But I didn't keep
 323 working with the marketing department when I came back to Brazil (,) After the internship
 324 /ehm/ I=I didn't work with marketing at all (,) But these three months in Bochum were really
 325 good (-) because I was at KLS and (-) I was able to further improve my language skills (,) (-)

326 I: *uh huh*

327 B1: So (‘) after the internship (‘) following my time there (-) I did have some contact with
328 KLS from Brazil (-) with their sales department (,) But that was just coincidence (‘) this
329 /mhm/ this was /ehm/ I think /ehm/ in January (-) KLS Brazil called me (‘) on my home num-
330 ber in Brazil (‘) and my mother told them (-) I was doing an internship in Germany (‘)

331 I: *uh huh*

332 B1: *uh huh* that I
333 was at KLS in Bochum (,) and their HR staff said “wow (-) she is there in Germany (?)” (-)
334 /ehm/ “Yes she is” :and: my mother said (-) “oh it’s just that we wanted to talk to her (-) to
335 see if she is eventually interested in starting to work with us again” (-) my mother gave me
336 their phone number and I called them (-) and talked with HR here in Brazil (,) I was told that
337 they had a secretary who was pregnant (‘) and they wanted me to replace her (-) during her
338 maternity leave (‘) because I had already worked in that department as a secretary before (-)
339 as an intern (,) This worked out (‘) because I said “look (‘) I’m going back to Brazil at the
340 beginning of February” (,) And they said “that’s great (-) and will you be /ehm/ available then
341 (?)” I said yes (‘) I/because I wouldn’t be /ehm/ working for AHK anymore (,) (-)

342 I: *uh huh*

343 B1: I would be looking for jobs or internships (-) or something like that (,) Because I’d be
344 going back to college (,) (-) So (‘) I was kind of set then (-) that I’d go back and would have
345 an interview with the manager of KLS Brazil (,) So (‘) that’s what I did (,) (2) But /ehm/ the
346 thing is :that: I=I knew the manager (-) Mr. Wilson (-) already (-) and he was about to take a
347 new position with the company (,) He’d no longer be the quality manager (-) the production
348 manager (,) And /mhm/ then (-) a new quality manager would be coming (,) Which is also
349 why they waited until I came back (-) because I already knew the people in the department
350 there and the daily office work (,) They opted to wait until I came back (‘) (-) because I came
351 back a week before their secretary would leave for maternity leave (,) (2) So (‘) I had only a
352 week to work with Lea (,) To find out what I had to do before she went on maternity leave (,)

353 I: *uh huh*

354 B1: But (-) in the end everything went well (‘) and I stayed there /ehm/ for six months (‘) be-
355 cause it was just a temporary contract (,) (2) After those six months (‘) I began working in
356 their logistics department (,) (-) Because at the time Mr. Wilson was a director and he con-
357 tacted me and invited me to join the logistics department (-) he said (-) “Lisa (-) would you
358 like to keep working at KLS (?)” (-) I said I would (-) of course (,) I loved the company (‘)

359 and /mhm/ I wanted to keep working in my area (-) I didn't want to pursue a career as a secre-
360 tary (') I was going to college majoring in international trade (,) And if he had any positions in
361 one of the import or export departments (-) then I'd like to try (,) I'd like to stay (,) (-)

362 I: *uh huh*

363 B1: So (') he kind of /ehm/ (-) he didn't pull strings (') but he referred me to two managers for
364 an interview with the purchasing manager (') who was at the time in charge of the import de-
365 partment (,) :And: the=the logistics and supply chain manager (-) who was in charge of the
366 export department (,)

367 I: *uh huh*

368 B1: So (') I ended up staying at KLS and working in the export department (,) (2) After a few
369 years /ehm/ (-) I finally started to work in the area I was studying (,) (2) I was already in my
370 fourth year of college (-) when I started working (-) in my preferred area (,)

371 I: *uh huh*

372 B1: So I started doing the daily export work (') I contacted shipping companies such as
373 Hamburg Süd (-) for example (,) I had to book shipments (') I started to get acquainted with
374 the kinds of products and loads we worked with (-) and how we had to transport them (') what
375 destinations we had to deliver to (') the customers who placed the orders (-) and /ehm/ all the
376 logistical activities (,) So (') during these years in the export department I learned a lot (,) (-)
377 Then (') in 2006 or 2007 (-) two departments at KLS merged (-) /ehm/ (-) because the pur-
378 chasing manager had just retired and /mhm/ the supply chain manager /ehm/ who was now the
379 logistics manager (') had started taking care of the purchasing department (,) (-) As a result (')
380 the logistics and purchasing departments were merged to become one single department (,)

381 I: *uh huh*

382 B1: So (') imports and exports were handled together in one single department (') and we
383 created an international trade division (,) In 2007 (-) I became the boss of the international
384 trade department (,) (2)

385 I: *uh huh*

386 B1: This was a very significant professional growth (,) We didn't know anything about import
387 (') /ehm/ neither I nor the others (,) because despite merging /ehm/ the idea was to reduce the
388 number of employees (,) In other words (') not everyone from the import department and not
389 everyone from the export department had the opportunity to join the new department (') we
390 had a workforce reduction (,) Consequently (') basically /ehm/ everyone had to learn every-
391 thing about export and import (,)

392 I: *uh huh*

393 B1: Everything was very new to us and (-) it was a big challenge (,) /ehm/ today thank God (‘)

394 the group working in the foreign trade division (-) has already mastered both import and ex-

395 port (,) (-)

396 I: *uh huh*

397 B1: Well (-) in short (-) that’s what happened (((laughs))) that’s what happened in my life

398 (((laughs))) since 2007 I could really see a significant professional growth at KLS (,) (2)

399 I: *uh huh*

400 B1: And (-) /mhm/ actually (‘) at the beginning of 2012 (-) I changed divisions again (,) I’m

401 still /ehm/ working within the supply chain department (-) /ehm/ (-) because after I became

402 the head of the international trade division (‘) I kind of stopped dealing with the daily tasks of

403 this department (,) (-) And began taking care almost exclusively of our logistics contracts (,)

404 And /ehm/ price renegotiation (-) freight and contract agents (‘) I’m in charge of the commer-

405 cial part now (,) (2) Within the supply chain department of KLS (-) there is a division that

406 only takes care of contracts (-) the purchasing department (,) And it is responsible for /ehm/

407 cost reductions (-) and a lot of other things that should be part of my daily work (‘) but since I

408 spent most of the time doing daily operations (‘) I ended up not doing it (,) Then (‘) this year

409 (-) the manager decided to leave me out of the daily operations division and I moved to this

410 contracts division (,) It is still closely related to supply chain (-) but I am no longer in charge

411 of the international trade operations (,) (-)

412 I: *uh huh*

413 B1: But (‘) I’m still in the commercial area (,) I have contract services (-) that are related to

414 the international trade of the company (,) This is my job today (‘) and it’s logically directly

415 linked to cost reduction (-) price reduction and completion of activities (‘) so /ehm/ that’s

416 what I do today at KLS (-) in my opinion it is also a very strategic position (‘) because any

417 cost saving project we present (-) goes to directors and so on (,) (-) That’s why I said at the

418 beginning that /ehm/ I believe I’m in the right place here at KLS (,) (2)

419 I: *uh huh*

420 B1: Sometimes people say “I don’t like what I do” (-) and so on (-) but I think I’m in the right

421 place (,) /ehm/ I still have a lot to learn /ehm/ (-) we’re always learning a lot of things (,) But I

422 believe I’m on the right path (-) to grow even more in my profession (,) (-)

423 I: *uh huh*

424 B1: So (‘) that was it (,) (3) As a matter of fact (‘) it all started with IFPA (-) because if it
425 wasn’t for IFPA (‘) I wouldn’t be at KLS today (-) I wouldn’t be in such a position (,) I still
426 think I am a young person (-) I’m only 33 years old (-) and everything went very well (-) very
427 fine for me (,) I was of course very fortunate (-) to be in the right place at the right time (‘) to
428 be /ehm/ prepared (-) well (‘) at least someone believed I was prepared at the time (,) (-)

429 I: *uh huh*

430 B1: :But: it=it also /ehm/ depended very much on my own effort (-) everything that happened
431 up to today (‘) because sometimes /ehm/ if you are tested and /mhm/ don’t do well (‘) you end
432 up having to leave (,) Nobody will keep you in your position if you’re not performing well (,)
433 (-) Thank God it didn’t happen to me (((laughs))) (-) people gave me this position here (‘)
434 and I thank God I could contribute and (-) /mhm/ and meet their expectations (,) The manag-
435 er’s expectations (-) the expectations of the entire board and so on (,) (-)

436 I: *uh huh*

437 B1: But (-) at KLS (‘) actually (-) I’d like to have something more (,) I’d like to do an intern-
438 ship (-) I mean (-) not an internship (-) but some kind of professional exchange program at
439 another KLS unit somewhere else (,) (2) But (‘) they don’t give too much importance to this
440 kind of thing here in Brazil (,) The senior managers and the board of directors don’t care
441 much about exchange programs (-) about programs involving people and culture (,)

442 I: *uh huh*

443 B1: But (‘) I’d like to do it if I had the opportunity (-) the opportunity to work at another KLS
444 unit (,) (2) Actually (‘) I had an opportunity to do some projects (‘) so I worked at KLS in the
445 United States in 2007 (,)

446 I: *uh huh*

447 B1: we had a big project /ehm/ the implementation of a new trade (,) Because we sell to a
448 KLS unit in the U.S. (,) (-) KLS USA imports all the products (-) and we keep the parts in a
449 warehouse (‘) where customers can go to get the parts they need (,) (-) And we simply charge
450 them for it (-) we actually charge KLS in the U.S. (,)

451 I: *uh huh*

452 B1: We were kind of changing this process in the U.S. (‘) from a unit in Detroit to one in Illi-
453 nois (,) I participated in the transition process of the warehouse and all (,) It was really nice (,)
454 it was also good (‘) because I was able to improve my English a lot (‘) /ehm/ since I spent
455 three months there and almost an entire year going back and forth (,)

456 I: *uh huh*

457 B1: So (‘) it was kind of good (-) I learned a lot /ehm/ (-) about the company (,) (2) I also
458 participated in the six sigma process (,) I don’t know if you know about six sigma (?) (-) it is a
459 problem solving methodology /ehm/ within an organization (-) (,) Then /ehm/ I did a training
460 at KLS (-) so I could help implement six sigma tools (,) It was a logistics project (-) and it
461 was very well accepted at the organization (‘) I had done other six sigma projects at KLS (-)
462 but all of them were more about production (,) When we produce /ehm/ parts (-) for the auto-
463 motive and truck industries (‘) so the projects were always aimed at scrapping and so (,)
464 That’s why I had never done a project in management before (,) (-) This project that I did was
465 more about logistics and everyone liked it (-) it was very well accepted by the board of direc-
466 tors and we reached a \$300,000 reduction in that year (,) It was super great (-) very nice (,)

467 *I: uh huh*

468 B1: So KLS gave me many opportunities (,) And I’m extremely grateful to this company (,)
469 (2) It all originated at IFPA (-) so it was very good (,) (2) We currently have some projects in
470 India and in China too /ehm/ we’re building new units there (‘) and I also got to go to India (-)
471 for thirty days last year (-) or the year before last year (,) (3) I don’t know if that’s what you
472 wanted to hear (‘) but my life story is pretty much about my professional achievements (,) (2)
473 I think it’s a characteristic (-) /ehm/ modern women have (,) We are now much more focused
474 on work (,) So (-) work is actually our priority (-) and that’s what I did over the past ten years
475 (-) I just worked (((laughs))) (2)

476 *I: uh huh*

477 B1: Apart from my work (-) /mhm/ what am I doing now (?) (-) well (‘) I’m also doing some-
478 thing that came from this work that I did over the past ten years (,) Something that is part of
479 this professional growth (,) (-)

480 *I: uh huh*

481 B1: I am (-) /mhm/ building a new house here in the same condominium where I live today
482 with my mother (,)

483 *I: uh huh*

484 B1: /ehm/ my house looks great (-) and it is about 50 meters away from my mother’s house (,)
485 (-) So my challenge now is to finish the house (((laughs)))

486 *I: uh huh*

487 B1: So I can finally have my own place (,) (3)

488 *I: uh huh*

489 B1: but I don’t know what else to tell you (,) (2) help me (,)

490 I: *uh huh* (-) *is there anything that you may have forgotten that you'd like to add (?) Perhaps*
491 *there's something related to the beginning or more about the end of your story (-)*

492 B1: /mhm/ (2) I don't know (,) (2) well (‘) I didn't say much about my family (,) I just talked
493 a bit about my brother at the beginning (-) that he worked with my father at this Microcamp, a
494 computer school (,) Well (‘) he is still working there (,) (-) My father is practically retired now
495 (-) because he only works part time (,) My parents got divorced in the meantime (-) shortly
496 after they came back from Germany (-) I told you they went to Germany to visit me (-) and
497 they got divorced after (‘)

498 I: *uh huh*

499 B1: so, now I live with my mother and my youngest sister (,)

500 I: *uh huh*

501 B1: But my father (-) he /ehm/ he lived for a while in Ashland (-) and then he came back and
502 bought a house in the same condominium where we live (,) He did it to stay close to us (-) to
503 stay close to us and to /mhm/ his parents (-) who also live here (,) actually (‘) a lot of people
504 from our family live here in the same condominium (((laughs)))

505 I: *uh huh*

506 B1: And he has had another child (‘) so we have a little brother (-) who is six years old (,) He
507 lives here in the same condominium too (-) not in our house (‘) but we spend a lot of time
508 together (-) and he is practically our next door neighbor (,)

509 I: *uh huh*

510 B1: As for my sister (-) /ehm/ she majored in tourism (-) here at the Catholic University in
511 Campinas (,) (-)

512 I: *uh huh*

513 B1: She also went to New Zealand and lived there for three years (‘) /mhm/ and as soon as I
514 finished my project in 2004 (-) this six sigma project (‘) I was able to take two months off (-)
515 because I hadn't had any vacation in the previous years because I was working the whole time
516 on this project (,) Since my vacation was at the same time my sister was in New Zealand (‘) I
517 went there to visit her (,) I was there for two months on vacation (-) just resting and doing
518 some sightseeing (,)

519 I: *uh huh*

520 B1: This was two thousand and (-) the end of 2004 (,) I spent Christmas and New Year's Eve
521 with her and came back in February of 2005 (,) (-) I had finished my six sigma project at KLS
522 (-) and after that (-) I went back to the export logistics department (,)

523 I: *uh huh*

524 B1: While I was involved in this project, I left my department (-) because I was 100% focused
525 on the project (,) (2) What else (?) (2) now (‘) my sister is back in Brazil (-) she isn’t working
526 with tourism anymore (‘) in New Zealand she did (-) she worked at SH Hotel (,)

527 I: *uh huh*

528 B1: But when she came back (‘) she didn’t continue working at hotels (,) Now (‘) she’s work-
529 ing in logistics as well (,) She works at a company here (-) in the import department (,) (2)

530 I: *uh huh*

531 B1: So (‘) I think that’s it (,) (3) that’s my life so far (((laughs)))

532 I: *uh huh (((laughs))) (-) that’s all, right*
533 (,)

534 B1: Ok (,) (3)

535 I: *uh huh (-) I’d like to thank you very much Lisa /ehm/ as I told you (-) and I just want to re-*
536 *peat (-) your whole life story (-) our interview was recorded and I hope that’s ok (,) I hope*
537 *you agree to that (-)*

538 B1: No (,) it’s no problem at all (,)

539 I: *uh huh (-) Lisa (‘) thank you very much (-)*
540 *thanks for your life story (,)*

541 B1: I’m glad to help and hope you’ll be able to use the material (-) everything I’ve said (,)

542 I: *Sure (-) that’s an interesting life story (-) it’s interesting (-) what has happened so far (,)*
543 *You said you’re thirty-three years old (-) well (‘)it’s very interesting (,) (pause)*

544 > End of the main narration <

545 I: *well then (-) Lisa /ehm/ (-) as I said before /ehm/ we have finished (-) in fact with the first*
546 *part of the interview (-) the part where you told me your life story (‘) and everything that has*
547 *happened in your life until now (,) I’d like to ask a few questions I have about what you told*
548 *me (,) So (-) first I’d really love to ask some questions about what you said (,) And I have oth-*
549 *er questions (-) /ehm/ a little more detailed (-) about a few things you said during the inter-*
550 *view (,) (2) Good /ehm/ first I’d like to ask your permission to record the second part (-) Lisa*
551 *(,) I hope that isn’t a problem for you (,)*

552 B1: No (,)

553 I: *No problem for you (?)*

554 B1: There is no problem (,)

555 *I: Great (((laughs))) then (-) I wanted to ask you (-) where were you and your brothers born*
556 *(?)*

557 B1: *uh huh (-) well (‘) we’re all from São Paulo (,) My parents are too (-) all three children*
558 *are from São Paulo too (-) /mhm/ I mean children (-) my father’s and mother’s children (,) (2)*
559 *I have a brother who is only my father’s son (‘) who was born later (,) So (‘) he was born*
560 *when we already lived here (-) and was born in Ashland (-) but, my first brother was born in*
561 *1977 (‘)*

562 *I: uh huh*

563 B1: */mhm/ he was born (-) I don’t remember at which hospital (-) but in São Paulo (,) (2)*
564 */mhm/ and I was born in 1978 (,) At American Hospital in Harbor Springs (,) (2)*

565 *I: uh huh*

566 B1: *My sister was born in 1981 (,) I think she was born at Cremation Hospital (‘) or at a hos-*
567 *pital in Cremation (district of São Paulo) (,) but we lived almost my entire life in São Paulo (,) (2)*
568 *(-) I lived in Morumbi (a district of São Paulo) my entire childhood as well (,) So (‘) we ended*
569 *up studying at Porto Seguro School because it was close to where we lived (,) (2)*

570 *I: uh huh*

571 B1: *The years we lived in São Paulo /ehm/ we lived in Morumbi (,) (2)*

572 *I: Right (,) and where were your grandparents born again (-) Lisa (?)*

573 B1: *Also in São Paulo (,) (2) My paternal grandparents were from São Paulo (,) (2)*

574 *I: uh huh*

575 B1: *They always lived between two cities (-) they lived in São Bernardo do Campo (,) But*
576 *also lived in Moema (,) (-) So after my siblings (-) my cousins and I were born (‘) my grand-*
577 *parents lived in Moema (,) (-) We used to visit them there (,) (2)*

578 *I: uh huh*

579 B1: *My maternal grandparents too (‘) /ehm/ (-) let’s see (2) my maternal grandfather has al-*
580 *ready passed away (-) (,) But he had an accountancy office (‘) which actually still exists (‘)*
581 *nowadays my uncle owns the office (-) which is located in Alto de Harbor Springs (,) (-)*

582 *I: uh huh*

583 B1: *My maternal grandparents always (-) lived in Harbor Springs (,) (2)*

584 *I: uh huh*

585 B1: *My mother (-) in her childhood (-) lived /ehm/ how is this neighborhood called again (?)*
586 *(-) well, it’s near Morumbi (,) It’s closer to Francisco Morato (‘) I don’t know if it is Butantã*
587 *(-) but it is near Butantã (,) (-) That’s where they lived before (,) (2)*

588 *I: uh huh (-) /mhm/ (-) and this district of São Paulo (-) Morumbi /ehm/ can you tell me a little*
589 *bit more about this district (?) How would you describe this neighborhood (?)*

590 B1: Well (‘) when we moved there (‘) when my father decided to /ehm/ (-) to buy a home
591 there (‘) there was nothing there (,) It was far away from everything (‘) (-) everything that
592 happened /ehm/ happened at Morumbi Shopping (,) /mhm/ the only thing is that Morumbi
593 Shopping is on one side of Morumbi Avenue (-) and we lived on the other side of the avenue
594 (-) there weren’t many buildings (-) there weren’t many shops (‘) but it was starting to grow
595 (,) (-) The first condominiums were actually being built (,) (-) And that’s how it was when my
596 father decided to move to Morumbi (,) (-) I lived close to the soccer stadium (-) /ehm/ to São
597 Paulo Morumbi Stadium (,) it’s close to xxx Avenue (,) Then (‘) shortly afterward (-) the
598 neighborhood started to grow significantly (,) It’s now a very busy neighborhood (‘) (-) it has
599 even gotten another mall (-) pretty close actually to where I lived (,) but (-) this mall was build
600 after we left São Paulo (,) When we moved there it was like (-) countryside roads and streets
601 (,) The streets of the condominium were actually dirt roads (‘) part of the condominium was
602 paved (,) (-) But the access road was a dirt road (-) so (‘) I don’t remember (‘) but I see pic-
603 tures of the time occasionally (,) /ehm/ it was a very green neighborhood (-) with a lot of big
604 parks (,) (-) It had several parks (‘) it still has a few parks (,) But at that time it had more (-) it
605 was a very green part of the city (,) But nowadays, oh my God (‘) there are only very tall
606 buildings (-) it’s the southern part of the city (,) Nowadays (‘) it’s a very expensive neighbor-
607 hood (,) It has millionaire constructions and buildings (-) both commercial and residential (,)
608 :And: is quite beautiful (,) When we lived there (‘) it was very different (((laughs)))

609 *I: uh huh*

610 B1: civilization hadn’t reached that place yet (((laughs))) (-) but we lived there for a long time
611 (,) I was sixteen or seventeen years old when we left there (-) and during all those years the
612 neighborhood developed significantly (,)

613 *I: uh huh*

614 B1: Now /ehm/ it’s very busy and there are a lot of buildings there (,)

615 *I: uh huh*

616 B1: It’s /ehm/ a good neighborhood to live in (,) But you don’t have many shops close by (-)
617 and you need a car to go anywhere (‘) there wasn’t a real downtown anywhere (-) and it
618 wasn’t a place where we could walk to the store or to school or a pharmacy (‘) no (-) it was
619 exactly the opposite (‘) /ehm/ everything was far away (-) and there was no subway in
620 Morumbi (,) (-) It’s only now that they are building everything so they can have a subway

621 there (,) (-) At that time, anywhere we needed to go (-) either our father or mother had to drive
622 us (,) My mother took us to school and picked us up (,) We depended on them whenever we
623 wanted to go out (,) We spent most of our time though (-) inside the condominium /ehm/ (-) in
624 our childhood (,) (-)

625 I: *uh huh*

626 B1: I didn't go out very much (,) (2)

627 I: *uh huh (-) and you said you lived there until you were sixteen or seventeen years old (-) and*
628 *if I understood it well (-) this was the time you started attending IFPA (-) right (?)*

629 B1: Yes (‘) before I started attending IFPA (‘) I moved to Silver Bay (,) In fact (‘) I studied at
630 Porto Seguro in São Paulo (-) which is a German school (,) until tenth grade (-) I was there
631 from first grade until my second year of high school (,) During this whole time I lived in
632 Morumbi (,) Then /mhm/ my parents decided to move here to Silver Bay (,) We moved and I
633 went to Porto Seguro in Silver Bay for a year (-) it was my third and last year of high school
634 (-) and Porto Seguro has a unit here in Silver Bay (-) so I finished school here (,) I studied a
635 year here (‘) and then went back to São Paulo go study at IFPA (‘)

636 I: *uh huh*

637 B1: *and I lived with my*
638 *grandmother in Harbor Springs (,)*

639 I: *that's exactly what I wanted to ask you (,) (-) Ok (-) that's fine /mhm/ and Lisa (-) can you*
640 *tell me a little bit more about your family's social and financial condition (?) (-) both before*
641 *IFPA and during the time you were at IFPA (?)*

642 B1: Of course (,) My father worked at Sony (-) when /ehm/ he bought the house and every-
643 thing (,) (2) But he didn't buy it just like that (,) He had to get a mortgage (,) but it was a
644 great home (-) in a condominium (-) it was a condo (-) but we've always been a middle class
645 family (,) (-) Only when Collor's plan came along (‘) then things start getting a little harder (,)
646 My father had three children going to Porto Seguro (-) which is an expensive school (,) /ehm/
647 just my father worked at the time (-) and my mother didn't (,) He had to manage everything
648 on just his salary (-) he managed to keep his three children in school (‘) /mhm/ pay the mort-
649 gage (-) utilities and so on (-) but I think things were a little easier back then (-) /ehm/ things
650 weren't so expensive (,) (2) even Porto Seguro (-) which is /ehm/ good (‘) wasn't so expen-
651 sive compared to other private schools in Morumbi (,) So (‘) we belonged to a normal middle
652 class (,) (-) but when Collor's plan came along (-) we had a lot of unemployment (,) And that
653 was when my father /ehm/ left Sony (,) (-) He even spent some time working at another com-

654 pany (-) an IT company (,) It was called LECA (‘) but that company closed down, too and he
655 couldn’t find another job (-) my father had a degree in economics from the Catholic Universi-
656 ty of São Paulo (-) but he couldn’t find another job (,) That was when he decided to come to
657 Silver Bay (,) We sold the house there in São Paulo /ehm/ it was worth a reasonable amount
658 of money (‘) so we sold it and with the money (‘) my father managed to buy a house in Silver
659 Bay (-) it was also a condominium (,) (-) And with the money left over he was able to start his
660 computer school (-) which is actually a franchise (,)

661 I: *uh huh*

662 B1: so (‘) we managed to keep the same standard of living (,) Because in São Paulo (-) my
663 father just couldn’t make ends meet anymore (,) In our last year there in São Paulo (‘) he had
664 to (-) my parents had to ask my grandparents for financial help so they could pay our school
665 tuition (,) Because they thought “oh my (‘) one is already in the third year of high school (‘)
666 and the other is in the second year (‘) changing schools doesn’t make sense” (-) our family
667 always helps out in times like these (,) (-) My grandparents kind of stepped up and helped my
668 parents with the school fees during our last year in São Paulo (-) things got a little ugly during
669 this year (,) And they (-) only got better again after we moved here (,) Thank God (-) the cost
670 of living is much lower (-) than in São Paulo (-) and with the money we had from the house
671 sale in São Paulo (‘) we could buy another one here (,) And on top of that (‘) we could start
672 the business here (,) So (‘) we kept the same standard of living as before (,) (2) /ehm/ so (‘) I
673 studied at Porto Seguro here for a year (-) and the following year I went to IFPA (‘) I started
674 becoming more financially independent (‘) because IFPA gives you some money (‘) so I
675 didn’t have to pay anything to study at IFPA (,) On the contrary (‘) I received a salary from
676 the company where I was doing my apprenticeship (-) which was KLS (,) so (‘) I lived with
677 my grandmother (-) and didn’t need to spend on rent (,) (-) in the end (‘) it was also /ehm/ a
678 way to help the family to not have even more expenses (,) (-)

679 I: *uh huh*

680 B1: my sister was still going to Porto Seguro though (,) (-) My brother started attending col-
681 lege (-) at PUC (-) which is a private university (‘) it wasn’t that difficult (-) because my fa-
682 ther was already earning something (‘) and we managed to maintain our standard of living (,) (-)
683 But (-) it wasn’t a high standard of living /ehm/ Porto Seguro was a school where a lot of rich
684 people sent their kids (‘) and we weren’t those kids (-) we didn’t belong to the rich kids’
685 group (((laughs)))

686 I: *uh huh*

687 B1: But was had a good standard of living (-) we were able to study there (,) But we have
688 never been a wealthy family (,)

689 I: *uh huh (-) and what was this rich kids' group like, Lisa (?)*

690 B1: what was it like (?)

691 I: *yes, what was this group like (?)*

692 B1: /ehm/ it was a group of people who had a lot of money (,)

693 I: *uh huh*

694 B1: I don't know (-) it was kind of (-) many of my classmates' parents had imported cars, you
695 know (?) (-) /ehm/ they were always wearing designer brands (') and the vast majority of stu-
696 dents at Porto Seguro were like that (-) I believe it's still like that nowadays, also (') because
697 the school tuition is very expensive (-) and I think it's an elite school (,) (-)

698 I: *uh huh*

699 B1: There were also some people who didn't belong to that elite group (') and this was my
700 case (-) because everything we had (') came from my father's hard work (,) (-) Back then (')
701 Brazil's economy was growing a lot (') (-) and we had plenty of jobs (-) middle class families
702 had actually /ehm/ made a lot of progress back then (,) Many people went from middle class
703 to upper middle class (,) Let's say (,)

704 I: *uh huh*

705 B1: This was my family's situation (,) We weren't born a wealthy family (') but everyone in
706 my family (-) even my uncles (-) my mother's siblings (-) my father's brothers (') everybody
707 had the means to send their children to good schools (,) Everyone had always had a job (,) (-)
708 Plus /ehm/ we never received an inheritance from our grandparents (-) or anything like that
709 before (,) (-)

710 I: *uh huh (-) and if I understand well, Lisa, after /ehm/ the children were born, and your
711 mother didn't go back to work, right (?)*

712 B1: My mother worked until my brother was born (,) (2) My mom did a technical course in
713 architectural drawing (') but she didn't go to college and doesn't have a degree in architecture
714 (') it's just a trade school technical course on architectural drawing (-) she still does some
715 drawings now and then for people who want to renovate their houses (,) Actually, she did my
716 new house here (,) (-) But (-) after my brother was born (') she stopped working (,)

717 I: *uh huh*

718 B1: She never went back to work (‘) even in times of crisis (,) When we came here (‘) my
719 mother took care of the housework and she didn’t start working with my dad or anything like
720 that (,)

721 *I: uh huh (-) and you also mentioned in the story (-) Lisa :that: your sister did her university
722 entrance examination (,) Which course and which university (?)*

723 B1: Yes (-) first (‘) my brother passed the entrance exam to study business administration at
724 PUC (,) He’s older than I am (-) having been born in 1977 (,)

725 *I: uh huh*

726 B1: then (‘) right after finishing school (-) we were already living here (,) And he passed the
727 entrance exam here in Campinas (,) (2) He finished high school in São Paulo and we moved
728 here (-) where he passed the university entrance exams (,) (-) /ehm/ he studied business ad-
729 ministration at PUC (,) Then (‘) after I finished high school (‘) I went to IFPA (-) and then to
730 college to study international trade (-) here in Campinas (,) (-)

731 *I: uh huh*

732 B1: As for my sister (-) after she finished school (‘) about three years after I did (-) she went
733 to college to study tourism at PUC in Campinas (,) (-)

734 *I: uh huh (-) uh huh*

735 B1: And she went to New Zealand (-) where she stayed for three years (‘) (-) but she is now
736 back (-) and living with us again (,)

737 *I: uh huh (-) and /ehm/ Lisa (‘) tell me about your life during
738 the time you lived with your grandmother (?) Tell me a little about this time (,)*

739 B1: My grandmother became a widow at age 60 /ehm/ (,) she was a widow for ten years or so
740 (-) I think (,) (-) So then (‘) I went to live with her in Harbor Springs (-) where she lived alone
741 in an apartment (,) (2) It was nice for her (,) You know (?) To have a companion (-) and have
742 someone there (,) (-) Even though I was out all day long (‘) it was still very pleasant (,) It was
743 very calm and quiet /ehm/ in terms of family (,) But /ehm/ it was also an awfully difficult
744 period (‘) because I had to wake up very early (‘) at five o’clock in the morning in order to go
745 to IFPA (,) (-) So (‘) /ehm/ everything in Sao Paulo is far (-) I lived in Harbor Springs and
746 IFPA was in Santo Amaro (‘) it’s not that far (‘) but by bus it took me over an hour to get to
747 school (,) I had to wake up at five-thirty or so (-) in order to be there at seven (,) (-)

748 *I: uh huh*

749 B1: It was a difficult period due to this /ehm/ but /ehm/ on the other hand (‘) my grandmother
750 was always at home and when I got there we always talked a bit and watched soap operas

751 together (,) (-) It was kind of (-) like I had a grandmother's life (((laughs))) (-) my grand-
752 mother is super quiet (-) nice and :super: active (,) You know (?) (-) She's actually even more
753 active now than she was back then (,) (2)

754 *I: uh huh (-) and what about the financial part of it all (?) How was that (?)*

755 B1: /ehm/ my grandmother doesn't have any financial problems (,) The apartment was (-)
756 very big (‘) but she doesn't live there in Harbor Springs (,) Now she lives in Morumbi so she
757 can be closer to my aunt (-) but her apartment at that time was huge (,) (2) My grandfather
758 /ehm/ had an accountancy office there in Harbor Springs (-) the one my uncle took over after
759 my grandfather died (,) (-) So (‘) my uncle had lunch every day with my grandmother (,) My
760 uncle actually manages all the money /ehm/ my grandfather's money (,) My grandmother had
761 this property (-) and she has income from rent and other things (,) (-) Anyway (‘) at that time
762 /ehm/ my grandmother's financial status was stable (,) Even though she's retired and a widow
763 (,) (-) My grandfather (-) during his life (‘) had also bought a couple properties (-) and she
764 ended up keeping them and now has a good income because of what my grandfather did (,) (2)
765 She had it easy (-) and it was like that when I lived there (-) really easygoing (,) (-)

766 *I: uh huh (-) and you said Lisa (-) in your life story (‘) you mentioned that taking the bus to*
767 *school was something /ehm/ (-) I'll reformulate it (-) you actually said "I began to take buses*
768 *(‘) because until then I had a good life" (,) And then you said a girl who studied at Porto*
769 *Seguro wasn't used to something like that and that these two years of apprenticeship at IFPA*
770 *were a little complicated (,) could you explain this part a little more (?) What do you really*
771 *mean by that (?)*

772 B1: ok /ehm/ the fact is that during the time I went to school /ehm/ we lived in Morumbi (‘)
773 and it is a good neighborhood (‘) my mother drove us everywhere (,) (-) When I went to
774 school (-) when I wanted to go shopping (‘) we just did it (,) At the time (‘) I just wanted to go
775 to the mall (-) to go out and all (,) (-) It's not that we had a very easy life (‘) my father didn't
776 give us everything we wanted (‘) but when I started going to IFPA /ehm/ I didn't have a car (-
777) I didn't have my mother around to drive and pick me up from school (‘) because she lived in
778 Silver Bay (‘) (-) at the time (‘) I actually asked my father for a car (,) But he couldn't afford
779 it (‘) he said "forget it (,) I can't afford a car (,) And can't give you one (,)" (-) in short (-) it
780 really changed my life (,) I didn't have the life of a princess (-) but it was different because (-)
781 we'd actually never gone through hardship (-) even during times of crisis and everything (‘)
782 we never dealt with real hardship (,) And having to take the bus to school wasn't really a
783 hardship either (‘) but /ehm/ in São Paulo (-) at five in the morning (-) who gets on the bus at

784 this time (?) only unskilled bricklayers (,) it's something different (,) (-) I had to take buses to
785 work with all the housekeepers and manual laborers (‘) people from a lower social status (,) It
786 was a shock in the beginning (-) because it isn't like it is in Germany (‘) where you take the
787 subway (-) the train or the tram (-) and see people from the same social class as you (,) In São
788 Paolo it is quite different (-) in São Paolo (‘) only people in a really low social class take the
789 bus (-) and my social class was quite different (,) (-)

790 I: *uh huh*

791 B1: It's not that I was from a very high social class (-) I was middle class (-) my family had a
792 car and so on (,) (-) And that's why I wasn't used to all that (,)

793 I: *uh huh (-) right (,)*

794 B1: We learn from these situations (,) We start to realize that money doesn't grow on trees (-)
795 anyway (,) We really have to grow up to get what we want (‘) (-) my father wasn't going to be
796 there for us (-) supporting us forever the whole time (,) (-) Anyway (-) sooner or later you
797 realize that (,) (2) But /ehm/ at the time (‘) during that time that I was going to IFPA /mhm/ I
798 began to realize that I also had to go for it (,) That I had to find an occupation (-) a profession
799 (-) I had to make my own money and start my own life (,)

800 I: *uh huh (-) right (2) /mhm/ what I*
801 *wanted to ask you too, Lisa, was in relation to Porto Seguro (-) you said you had German*
802 *class once per week (-) so, how was this as preparation for IFPA's admission exam (?)*

803 B1: At Porto Seguro /ehm/ I had German lessons (-) but it wasn't once per week (,) I think we
804 had one hour every day or so (‘) because we did have German every day (,) All classes were
805 taught in Portuguese (‘) we had math in Portuguese and geography and history (-) everything
806 in Portuguese (,) we just had one German class /ehm/ just like we had English class (,) /mhm/
807 and I did IFPA's admissions test with the German knowledge that I had (‘) which was basical-
808 ly only one hour per day (,) But I had German classes from first grade until high school (‘) so
809 I was good at grammar /ehm/ vocabulary and so on (,) I did the exam without studying or
810 preparing too much (‘) and I ended up passing (,) (2) I probably barely made it (((laughs)))
811 but I passed (,)

812 I: *uh huh*

813 B1: I like German (-) I like languages like German (-) like English (-) I always did well on
814 these subjects (,) As a matter of fact (-) fairly well (,) So (‘) I always passed with a grade of
815 eight or nine (,) It wasn't hard to pass IFPA's admissions exam (,) (-)

816 I: *uh huh (-) and can you tell*
817 *me a little more Lisa (-) about the daily routine there at IFPA (?)*
818 B1: /ehm/ we had to go to school two days per week (,) I went to IFPA two days per week and
819 then three days per week I was at the company (‘) so (‘) on Monday’s and Tuesdays I was at
820 IFPA (‘) and on Wednesday Thursday and Friday at KLS (,) When I had to go to IFPA (‘) I
821 had to get up earlier (‘) I took a bus and stayed there all day long (,) From seven in the morn-
822 ing (-) I think /ehm/ until five o’clock (-) it was kind of boring (‘) I had a lot of classes /mhm/
823 but it had to be like that (‘) because we only had class two days per week (‘) they had to con-
824 centrate all the classes (‘) and I had them all day long (,) (-) It wasn’t very easy (‘) because
825 everything was taught in German (‘) I was very concerned and worried that I wouldn’t pass
826 the year (,) (2) /ehm/ my class (‘) in this office clerk apprenticeship, there weren’t many peo-
827 ple (‘) we were eight students (-) six or eight /ehm/ (-) six or eight girls (-) I don’t really re-
828 member now (-) there were only girls in my class (,) Classes for other courses (-) like
829 *Industriekaufmann* or *Expedition* /ehm/ had fifteen or sixteen students (‘) and there were
830 males and females (,) I guess that was also nicer (-) my course wasn’t very interesting (,) It
831 was interesting in that it was what I chose (-) but /ehm/ I didn’t choose it to be a secretary (‘) I
832 chose it because I thought I’d learn more German (‘) I’d learn how to write better and so on
833 (,) I went to IFPA because I wanted to go on learning the language (-) and I didn’t want to
834 forget everything I had already learned up to that point (-) everything I had learned at Porto
835 Seguro (,) (-) I wanted to continue (,) that’s why I went to IFPA (,) (-) I wasn’t really think-
836 ing about getting professionally prepared or about becoming a secretary or anything like that
837 (,) But in the end (‘) one thing led to another and I started at KLS /ehm/ and worked as a sec-
838 retary there (,) (2) Then (‘) later (‘) I started working in my area (-) international trade (,) (-) If
839 I had known I’d go to college to study international trade later (‘) I’d have chosen the
840 *Expeditionkaufmann* course (,) (-) But I wasn’t thinking of what I wanted to do in college (,) (2)
841 So (‘) that’s how our daily routine was (-) we had lots of classes (,) I had typing classes
842 /ehm/ I had *Briefkunde* class (‘) we had to learn how to write letters in German (‘) and typing
843 was also in German (,) (-) I also had computer classes in German, too (,) (-)
844 I: *uh huh*
845 B1: We also had economics in German (,) (2)
846 I: *uh huh*
847 B1: what else (?) (-) I had a class called
848 *Protokollkunde* (‘) in this class we had to take the minutes of meetings (‘) (-) then (‘) we had

849 to use a special verb tense (-) a special past tense (-) you know (?) (-) So (‘) this class was
850 pretty difficult /ehm/ we dealt with a type of grammar that I didn’t have in school (,) So (-) I
851 didn’t do pretty poorly in this subject (,)

852 I: *uh huh*

853 B1: /ehm/ we had shorthand class (,) I don’t think you’d know what that is (-) I didn’t even
854 know (((laughs))) before I started doing it (,) /ehm/ shorthand is called *taquigrafia* in Portu-
855 guese (-) and it is a different writing method (‘) you transcribe what is being said in a meeting
856 (‘) so (‘) when a person was talking in a meeting (‘) we had to write down symbols (-) which
857 are very hard to remember /ehm/ so I had some useless subjects that were actually very diffi-
858 cult (-) you know (?) It was extremely difficult (-) you know (?) (-) I knew I’d never learn
859 these things and I’d never use them (‘) I’m talking about protocol and shorthand (,) But I had
860 to do them /ehm/ so I did (,) in fact (‘) I didn’t really enjoy going to IFPA (,) (2) It’s not really
861 good to say this (-) that’s not something you should write down there (((laughs)))

862 I: *uh huh*

863 B1: But /ehm/ everything was kind of weird to me (‘) I didn’t really feel like going to school
864 (,) However (‘) being at the company was nice (-) because that’s where we really learned (-)
865 you know (?) At the company we had an office routine (,) I did my apprenticeship at KLS (-)
866 a steel production company (‘) but I only worked in the office (,) (-) The routine /ehm/ the
867 daily office work /ehm/ is really good (‘) and I didn’t know anything at that time (-) so I
868 learned the basics (,) :And: it was very good (,) (2) If I had done the *Industriekaufmann* ap-
869 prenticeship at IFPA (‘) maybe I’d have learned more and perhaps I’d have been more inter-
870 ested in the school (,) But (‘) I think the office clerk apprenticeship isn’t really good, if you
871 want to pursue a career as a secretary (‘) (-) so (‘) I didn’t think it was that interesting (,) But
872 /ehm/ somehow things came together (‘) I had to go to school if I wanted to work at the com-
873 pany (‘) (-) so I ended up doing both (,)

874 I: *uh huh /mhm/ and you also mentioned (-) Lisa that you “felt like a fish out of water” in*
875 *your class at IFPA (-)*

876 B1: *yeah, I did (,)*

877 I: *and how was it (?) What was it like to be a fish out of water (?)*

878 B1: It was because /ehm/ as I said (‘) we were seven or eight girls (-) and they all spoke Ger-
879 man at home (‘) they all spoke German fluently (‘) and the teachers also spoke German flu-
880 ently (-) they were German (,) So (‘) I had tremendous difficulty (,) Not with the teachers (-)
881 actually (‘) most of the teachers I had no problem with (‘) I had problems with just one teach-

882 er (,) (-) The problem was that this teacher (,) He taught almost all the subjects (‘) (-) he
883 taught around four subjects (-) and so it /ehm/ it was hard because he didn’t help me very
884 much (‘) I couldn’t understand (,) (2) I didn’t speak German well (-) half of what I said was
885 wrong (‘) I could actually write in German (-) but I couldn’t speak very well (,) So I was
886 afraid of saying something wrong (-) which he would then complain about (,) Which is
887 what=what happened in class (,)

888 I: *uh huh*

889 B1: I wasn’t a child anymore (‘) but I was afraid of making mistakes because the teacher
890 didn’t really accept it /ehm/ didn’t accept that I couldn’t speak German (,) (-) The impression
891 I had was that he was always thinking “what is she doing here (?) (-) she doesn’t speak Ger-
892 man (-) doesn’t come from a German family (-) so what is she doing at a German school (?)”
893 (-) I had the impression he wondered these things (,) That he thought like that (,) /ehm/ I felt
894 the same way (-) I internally wondered about things, too (-) like “what is he doing here in
895 Brazil (?)” because (-) he lived in Brazil and couldn’t even say thank you in Portuguese (,)
896 (((laughs))) So, there was friction between us (,) (-)

897 I: *uh huh*

898 B1: Even though we never had an argument in class or anything (,) It was only inner thoughts
899 we had (,) I think (,) That’s how it was (((laughs)))

900 I: *uh huh*

901 B1: And it was very easy for them (-) for the other girls (,) Because they understood extreme-
902 ly well what he said and I couldn’t understand the lessons (,) But not because of the contents
903 (‘) but because I couldn’t understand what he said (,) My problem was with the language (-)

904 I: *uh huh*

905 B1: but it was the only real problem (,)

906 I: */mhm/ and maybe you can tell me a little more Lisa*
907 */ehm/ about this time at AHK (-) about the internship you did at AHK (,)*

908 B1: All right (-) let me think about it (,) (2) /ehm/ how did everything happen (?) /ehm/ while
909 I was going to IFPA (‘) I did an internship at KLS (,) And then I left the company when I fin-
910 ished my apprenticeship (‘) because they didn’t /ehm/ hire me after I finished the program (,)
911 So then I left KLS (-) and spent a few months looking for a job (-) I left KLS in December (-)
912 and then in February they called me again (-) KLS did (,) (-) In other words (‘) I went back to
913 KLS (-) about two months after leaving (,) I went back to replace a secretary (-) the secretary
914 for the quality manager (,) So (‘) I stayed at KLS for another four months (-) I sent out a lot of

915 resumes and then (‘) while I was replacing the secretary at KLS (‘) I got a call from ORD (-)
916 which was located in Campinas (-) it’s a German company (,) That works with orthopedic
917 materials (,) It produces /ehm/ pegs and so on (,) /mhm/ and it only imported from Germany
918 (‘) the company was located here in Campinas (-) near my house in Silver Bay (,) Then (‘) I
919 got to thinking about it (‘) /ehm/ “oh my God (-) what should I do now (?) Should I stay here
920 at KLS or go to Campinas (?)” (-) so I talked to the manager at the time and he said “look (‘)
921 Lisa (-) I can’t assure you a permanent job after these four months (‘) I won’t be able to hire
922 you (‘) because I don’t have a position that I could offer you (,) My secretary will return from
923 (-) maternity leave (‘) so I won’t be able to hire you (,) (-)” I said “ok (-) Mr. Wilson (,) Then
924 I can’t decline /ehm/ this opportunity (-) he said “of course (‘) sure you can go (,) (2) I can
925 still remember (,) He said “you have a bright future ahead of you (-) don’t worry (,) I’ll handle
926 the situation here” (-) because I was leaving before his secretary came back from her materni-
927 ty leave (,)

928 *I: uh huh*

929 B1: So (-) I had this honest talk with my manager and he wasn’t at all upset or anything (,) He
930 thought I was on the right path and that I had to move on (,) So I left KLS and went to Cam-
931 pinas (,) to work at the other company (-) which was rather small (‘) I think it had only about
932 30 employees (‘) it had two directors (-) who were also the owners (-) Lula and Ursula (,)
933 /mhm/ and they /ehm/ hired me as a secretary and translator (,) (2) So(‘) I started doing trans-
934 lations (-) I had to translate some pamphlets they received in English and in German (,) I
935 translated from and to Portuguese (,) (-) It was /ehm/ a challenge too (-) because I had to start
936 learning everything about orthopedics (,) But it was cool and I learned a lot in a very short
937 time (,) (-) It wasn’t easy (,) But it was very interesting (,) I worked at this company (-) at
938 ORD (-) for seven months (,) (-)

939 *I: uh huh*

940 B1: I took part in some market fairs (-) some orthopedic market fairs (,) And they were really
941 cool (‘) (-) I started to have contact with people /ehm/ who had lost a hand or a leg (-) and
942 they went to these fairs (,) (-) So (‘) it was another perspective (,) I’d never meet anyone who
943 had been amputated before (‘) (-) so this was also a nice time /ehm/ because it made me open
944 my horizons (,) It was kind of (-) a lot of people missing an arm or a leg (‘) people in wheel-
945 chairs (-) and it wasn’t a reason for them to not do anything (‘) these people go to work (-)
946 they work even more than many people who are perfectly fine (,) (-) So that was pretty inter-
947 esting (-) working there at this time (,) But (‘) unfortunately a crisis came (,) The dollar crisis

948 (-) in 2002 or 2003 (-) I think (,) That was when the dollar value really increased (‘) (-) I don’t
949 think it was before 2001 (-) and they /ehm/ imported a lot (-) so it became too expensive to
950 import products (‘) so they weren’t importing anything anymore and (-) of course (-) they
951 weren’t selling anything (,) (2) So (‘) they had to reduce staff (-) and I was dismissed after
952 only seven months (,) (2) /mhm/ so then I started sending out resumes and started going to
953 college (‘) (2) I had to pay for college by myself (‘) I got a job at a company here in Silver
954 Bay (-) at a company called SGAIN (‘) a French company (,) SGAIN produces glass /ehm/
955 abrasives (-) actually (,) (-) I worked in the internal logistics department there (-) but I didn’t
956 like it very much (,) because I wasn’t working in my area (-) international trade (,) So (‘) I
957 decided to take a shot again (‘) that was when I decided to start an internship here at AHK (,)
958 It was a great decision (‘) because after six months (-) I was already working in their financial
959 department (-) at AHK in São Paulo (,) That’s when I was chosen to represent AHK Brazil in
960 a fair in Hannover in 2000 (‘) /ehm/ it all happened in the year 2000 (((laughs)))

961 I: *uh huh*

962 B1: It all started in that crisis that happened in 1999 and I had to leave ORD (‘)

963 I: *uh huh*

964 B1: maybe it was in '98 or '99 (,) (-)

965 I: *uh huh (-) and if I understood it right (‘) after this fair in
966 Hannover (‘) you started working for another German company (,) Right (?)*

967 B1: *After Expo (?)*

968 I: *yes (,)*

969 B1: Yeah (,) Then I came back to KLS (,) Here in Brazil (,)

970 I: *uh huh*

971 B1: /ehm/ no (-) I’m sorry (‘) after Expo /ehm/ I worked at AHK for a little while before go-
972 ing to Expo (,) (-) So (‘) I worked at AHK /ehm/ (-) probably until June of 1999 or 2000 (,)
973 Then (‘) in June of the year 2000 I began working at Expo (-) I worked in Germany /ehm/
974 representing AHK in the Brazilian pavilion (,) (-)

975 I: *uh huh*

976 B1: Expo 2000 went from June 2000 until October 2000 (-) I think it was October 30th (,) (-)
977 I had already taken a leave of absence from college by then (‘) then (‘) before the end of this
978 fair (-) I made some contacts (,) (2) I sent out my resume to German companies /ehm/ to some
979 companies in Germany (-) and then I did an internship at KLS in Bochum (,)

980 I: *uh huh*

981 B1: But it was just a coincidence (,)

982 I: *uh huh*

983 B1: No one helped me here in Brazil (-) I got it without any help or anything (,) (2) I just
984 sent my resume to companies (-) and luckily my resume was received by a man who worked
985 there (-) at KLS in Bochum (,) He worked in the marketing department (‘) and had already
986 worked here in Brazil (-) his name was Dr. Frank (,) And he had already worked at KLS here
987 (‘) (-) I don’t know how he ended up receiving my resume (,) But he called me and asked
988 what exactly I was looking for (-) I said I’d like to have or find a three-month internship be-
989 cause /ehm/ I was already on a leave of absence from the university here in Brazil (,) (-) Then
990 (‘) he made it happen (-) he said “Ok (,) So I’d like you to do this internship here in Bochum
991 (-) can you come to Bochum (?)” (((laughs)))

992 I: *uh huh*

993 B1: Actually (‘) he went to Hannover (-) did an interview with me right there at the fair and (-
994) when the fair was over (-) I just got another visa and began my internship there in Bochum
995 at KLS (,) (-)

996 I: *uh huh (-) and did the company recognize your qualification (?)*

997 B1: /ehm/ (-) it was written on my resume that I had already worked for KLS in Brazil (-) my
998 internship in Brazil was written there (,) (-) So (‘) that’s why I was interested in it (-) when I
999 sent my resume to KLS in Germany (‘) it was written right at the top of the first page that I
1000 just wanted a three-month internship (,) (-) It was kind of (-) a summer holiday internship (,)
1001 So (‘) I assume he thought “I could help her with that (,)” (-) I can’t say they had me do a lot
1002 of things while I was there (,) It wasn’t too much of an advantage for them (,) I worked in the
1003 marketing department /mhm/ and I even worked with market research (‘) I had to do some
1004 market research in 2001(-) due to the fact that in 2001 (-) new cars would be launched (-) and
1005 parts of these cars were produced by KLS (,) (-) It was very interesting to do (-) but I can’t say
1006 that it was something I did that they really could take advantage of (,) It was more about this
1007 man who wanted to help me /ehm/ he wanted to help me get this internship so I could stay in
1008 Germany a little longer (-) three months longer (,) (-)

1009 I: *uh huh*

1010 B1: it was really nice (-) and everything kind of fit together (,) You know (?)

1011 I: *uh huh (-) and (-)*

1012 *did he ask you questions /ehm/ about your apprenticeship, for example (?)*

1013 B1: about what I had done at IFPA (?)

1014 *I:* *yeah*

1015 B1: No (,) nothing (,) I don't remember (,) (-) Maybe he did (‘) because it was on my resume
1016 (-) but I believe that what really caught his attention was the fact that it was written on my
1017 resume that I had already done an internship at KLS (,) (2) He had also worked here in Brazil
1018 and had a sympathy for Brazil (,) And of course /ehm/ had worked at KLS here in Brazil too
1019 (,) (-) So (‘) I think (-) that's what caught his attention (-) that's what made him consider my
1020 application (,) I don't know (,) I guess he thought "if she needs and if she want to do it (‘)
1021 why not here at KLS (?)" (-) so (‘) that was it (,) He even invited me to come visit him and
1022 his family on a weekend (-) which I did (,) So (‘) I got to know his home and met his family
1023 (‘) (-) so (‘) there was a kind of personal satisfaction (-) /ehm/ yeah (-) personal satisfaction (,)
1024 You know (?) Because he knew he was helping a girl from Brazil (,) (-) He completely en-
1025 joyed the time he lived here in Brazil and he had this soft spot for Brazil (,) (2) /ehm/ his
1026 youngest daughter was born here in brazil (-) and I even spoke with his wife in Portuguese (,)
1027 (-) It was very interesting too (,) (-) But I believe I was just very lucky (-) because /ehm/ I
1028 didn't send my resume to KLS on purpose (‘) I didn't know he worked there (-) I didn't have
1029 any help from KLS here (,) Actually (‘) when I was doing the internship there in Germany (‘)
1030 KLS here didn't even know about it (,) And in the end everything worked out well (,) (2) It's
1031 just very interesting that after some time I wound up coming back to KLS in Brazil (,) And at
1032 that time it didn't really cross my mind that this could happen (-) that I'd come back (,) (-)
1033 *I: uh huh (-) and then you said you were on a leave of absence from college (-) /mhm/ and*
1034 *what college was it (?) And now could you please tell me some more about this period (?) Did*
1035 *you try to get into other universities as well (?)*

1036 B1: I /ehm/ the first time I did an entrance exam (-) was when I was trying to get into veteri-
1037 narian school (‘) shortly before I got into IFPA (-) in fact (,) I didn't study veterinary medi-
1038 cine because I didn't pass the entrance exam (,) (-) At that time (‘) I did pass IFPA's entrance
1039 exam (‘) so I decided to attend IFPA (,) (2) After I finished IFPA (‘) I /ehm/ I didn't want to
1040 study veterinary medicine anymore (,) I realized it wasn't for me (,) (-) During the apprentice-
1041 ships at IFPA and KLS and everything (‘) I realized that the area for me was international
1042 trade (‘) I'd have more chances to grow in my career (,) And I'd have the chance to work at a
1043 logistics company (,) (-) /ehm/ I did the entrance exam only at UNIP (-) and that was the only
1044 one I tried to get into (-) because it was the middle of the year (,) So (‘) I started studying at
1045 UNIP in August of 1998 (,) In June I thought I'd try to pass UNIP's entrance exam (-) without
1046 taking a preparatory course or cramming for it (,) I had just finished IFPA /mhm/ (-) and

1047 thought I wouldn't pass the exam (((laughs))) (-) I did the exam (‘) but I didn't expect much (-
1048) I didn't think I'd pass (,) But in the end I did pass (‘) and went to college at UNIP (-) to
1049 study international trade (-) that's when I started college here in Campinas (-) near home (-)
1050 here in Silver Bay (,) (-)
1051 *I: it's a private university (-) UNIP (?)*
1052 B1: yes, it's private (,)
1053 *I: uh huh (-) and you mentioned Lisa :that: you tried to get into veterinary school to study*
1054 *veterinary medicine (,) Was that also a private university (?)*
1055 B1: no (‘) I tried to get into USP and UNICAMP (‘) (-) these are /ehm/ federal universities (-)
1056 *I: uh huh, right (-)*
1057 B1: they actually belong to the state of São Paulo (,) (-) USP is the University of
1058 São Paulo and UNICAMP is the University of Campinas (-) /ehm/ but since I didn't pass the
1059 entrance examinations (,) I gave up studying veterinary medicine (,)
1060 *I: uh huh, right (,)*
1061 B1: So I /ehm/ (3) What else (?) (-) /ehm/ I was selected by AHK to go to Germany (,) every-
1062 thing happened really fast at that time (-) really fast (-) because I participated in a selection
1063 process, but I didn't /ehm/ (-) start working right away (‘) I passed (,) But I was only on the
1064 waiting list (,) (2) Then (‘) a group of Brazilians went to Hannover (‘) but in the first week (-)
1065 the first week of the fair (‘) there was already a demand for extra personnel (,) So those of us
1066 on the waiting list had to go to Germany also (-) from here in Brazil (,) The fact is /ehm/ we
1067 would have only been hired if someone gave up (-) or if someone did something wrong (,)
1068 They had me and another girl still that they could send to Germany (‘) /mhm/ but the demand
1069 was really high (-) with a lot of people visiting and so on (-) the first week was already really
1070 busy and the staff in Germany said “oh my (-) just send these two girls over here (,) There's
1071 enough work here for everyone” (,) (-) Then /ehm/ it was the first (-) maybe the second (-)
1072 first or second week of June (,) /mhm/ and it was like “you're going next week” (-) I thought
1073 “oh my God” but ok then (,) I took my passport (-) because we needed to get a visa and so on
1074 (,) (-) I needed a work visa /mhm/ (-) it was actually only my first time in college (‘) since I
1075 had started college in August (-) my academic year went from then until June (2) I still had to
1076 go to class until the end of June and still had the exam period ahead of me (,) So (‘) I went to
1077 college (-) organized everything and took some exams early (,) I talked to my teachers (‘) and
1078 they allowed me to do it (,) :To:=to take two or three exams in advance (,) I asked them if I
1079 could do all my exams before the exam period (-) and I did my exams with another class (,) (-)

1080) I studied in the evening /ehm/ but they had me do the exams with another class in the morn-
1081 ing /mhm/ so I could travel on June 15th (,) (-) I think it was more or less the middle of the
1082 month (-) and I didn't exactly need a leave of absence (,) why (?) because /ehm/ at the begin-
1083 ning (-) the plan was to only stay two and a half months in Germany (,) The first group would
1084 be there in June or July (-) and until mid-August (,) Then (‘) a second group would work from
1085 mid-August until late October (,) (-) You need to consider that five months is a long time (‘)
1086 which is why /ehm/ people had only signed a two and a half month contract with AHK (,) (-)

1087 I: *uh huh*

1088 B1: since the management of AHK had offered us two and a half month contracts (‘) I didn't
1089 need to take a leave of absence from college (,) I thought /ehm/ I'd be back around mid-
1090 August (-) and then would simply go on with my academic year (,) I'd miss only fifteen days
1091 (-) which shouldn't have been a problem (,) So (‘) I didn't bother taking a leave of absence (,) But
1092 during my stay in Germany (‘) our manager Klaus said /ehm/ "so now it's about time this
1093 group goes back to Brazil (-) and another group will come to Germany (,) But if you want to
1094 continue (‘) you can go on working here (‘) because you are already trained" (-) I wanted to
1095 stay (‘) and another girl (-) Carol also wanted to (,) The two of us talked about it and we de-
1096 cided we would stay longer (,) (2) The rest of the group /ehm/ the remaining eight (-) returned
1097 to Brazil (-) while we both stayed (,) (-) However (‘) if I wanted to stay until October (‘) I
1098 needed to take a leave of absence from college (,) So (‘) I called UNIP (-) and said that I was
1099 abroad and I'd return in October (‘) I asked what I needed to do (-) and they told me I needed
1100 to give my mother a power-of-attorney letter (,) (-) I did that /ehm/ and she took the letter to a
1101 registry office here in Silver Bay to have my signature notarized (‘) so she managed to do it
1102 for me (-) to get the leave of absence taken care of (,) (2) Since I was there in Germany (‘) she
1103 said "don't worry (-) it's all good (,) I did it (-) your leave of absence process is done" (,) So
1104 (‘) I took a one-term leave of absence (-) even if I came back in October (-) November or De-
1105 cember (‘) I could only start university again in February of the following year (,)

1106 I: *uh huh*

1107 B1: Do you understand (?)

1108 I: *uh huh*

1109 B1: Because after the fair was over (‘) I said "oh my God (-) I'm not going back to Brazil (,)
1110 What will I do here now (?) (-) I'll try to do something else here" (((laughs))) (-) I wanted to
1111 do something else in Germany because my new semester at UNIP wouldn't start until Febru-

1112 ary (-) so I still had November (-) December and January to do an internship or something like
1113 that (,) So (‘) I tried to find something that would allow me to stay a bit longer (,) (-)
1114 *I: uh huh (-) and, a little later in the story, Lisa, you said that your parents spent twenty days*
1115 *in Germany with you (,) (-)*
1116 B1: Yes (,) It was during this transition (,)
1117 *I: And during this period (-) did you talk with your parents about your future (-) for example*
1118 *(?)*
1119 B1: what (?)
1120 *I: About your future (2)*
1121 B1: /ehm/ well (-) as a matter of fact (‘) my father was already thinking that I’d stay in Ger-
1122 many forever (((laughs)))
1123 *I: uh huh*
1124 B1: Because I was originally supposed to stay just two months (,) (-) Once I was there in
1125 Germany (‘) I called and said “look (‘) I spoke with the manager here (-) the manager of the
1126 fair here (-) and he invited me to stay a bit longer (‘) he invited me to stay two more months (-
1127) until the end of the fair (-) and I accepted his offer” and so on (,) Then (‘) when I got the
1128 internship at KLS (,) I told them about it (‘) but they were already planning a trip to Europe (-
1129) my parents had been planning a trip to Europe for a while (,) (2) And they had booked a
1130 flight and decided to go on this trip (‘) but they actually went on the trip because I was there
1131 too (,) You know (?) (-) This trip was more important to them /ehm/ (-) it wasn’t just about
1132 coming to Germany to visit me or anything like that (-) my parents were getting divorced (,)
1133 So I think the trip was somehow a way to get away from the situation (-) and get away from
1134 the difficult time they were going through (,) So (‘) they decided to take the opportunity to
1135 visit me :and: /ehm/ also break the news to me (-) that they were getting divorced (,) In short
1136 /ehm/ my mother (-) the poor woman /ehm/ she had depression and such (,) But my dad still
1137 came along (-) it had already been a long time that I had been away from home (-) four
1138 months (-) and it was during these months that everything happened here in Brazil (-) /ehm/
1139 that they had made the decision to get divorced and everything (,) (2) I guess since I just
1140 wasn’t there /ehm/ I simply didn’t go through this experience with them (,) So(‘) I think (-)
1141 (2) I don’t know (,) My father felt sorry about me not being there and this happening while I
1142 was away (,) (-) So (‘) they went to Germany together (‘) but they handled it pretty well (,) (2)
1143 Nowadays they get along well (-) thank God (,) They are divorced (‘) but they get along like
1144 civilized people (((laughs)))

1145 I: *uh huh*

1146 B1: My father comes over sometimes (,) And they aren't enemies (,) So (‘) this all happened
1147 when Expo was actually ending /mhm/ and I worked at Expo until October 30th (-) Expo was
1148 actually over (-) and I was starting work on November 30th (-) or November 20th (,) So (‘) I
1149 couldn't start working for another 20 days or so /ehm/ because my visa wasn't ready yet (,) (-)
1150 It was during this time that my parents were there (‘) and we took that time to travel around
1151 Germany (-) by car and so on (,) Everything went well (‘) and we wound up traveling to other
1152 countries (-) because my parents spent more than 20 days there (,)

1153 I: *uh huh (-) and /mhm/ soon*
1154 *after that (-) you said you went back to KLS (,) How was it Lisa /ehm/ to go back to KLS to*
1155 *work as a secretary (?)*

1156 B1: So (-) I was doing the internship at KLS in Bochum (-) while I was there (-) in November
1157 (-) December and January (‘) in December (‘) my mother (-) no/no /ehm/ it was the end of
1158 December (-) or beginning of January (-) my mom called and said “someone from KLS here
1159 in Brazil is looking for you (,) And they'd like you to give them a call (,) So I told them you
1160 are in Germany (-) and that you are doing an internship at KLS in Germany (,) They asked me
1161 to tell you that you should contact them” (,) (2) It was coincidence (-) because they didn't
1162 know I wasn't in Brazil (,) So (‘) I called their HR from Germany (-) I contacted the HR here
1163 at KLS in Brazil (-) and asked what they 'd like to talk to me about (‘) /mhm/ they told me
1164 that the same secretary I had /ehm/ already replaced once that secretary for the quality manag-
1165 er (‘) she was pregnant again and would soon go on maternity leave (‘) they wanted me to
1166 work there again temporarily (,) (-) I told them I was in Germany (-) and that I would be back
1167 in the first week of February (,) (2) It was still just the beginning of January (-) they said “ok,
1168 when you come back (-) on the day you arrive in Brazil (‘) please contact us (,) (-) Because
1169 this will be more or less the time our secretary will be out on maternity leave (,) We want to
1170 hire you (-) if you are interested (-) of course” (,) I said I was really interested /mhm/ and so it
1171 happened (-) at that time Mr. Wilson was the manager (-) the quality manager (-) but he was
1172 leaving this position (-) and was /ehm/ being promoted to industrial director (‘) and would
1173 become general manager (‘) their secretary wasn't going to be there (,) So I think they (,) (2)
1174 Yeah (-) I think that's the reason (-) why they really /ehm/ decided to hire me (,) It was be-
1175 cause I already had some experience and I knew the department office and so on (,) (2) The
1176 new manager who was coming, was actually coming from a KLS unit, but he was from the
1177 U.S. (-) he was at KLS in the U.S. (,) and was coming back to Brazil as the quality manager

1178 (,) (-) So (‘) I think there was a general concern (-) that they’d have a new manager and a new
1179 secretary (‘) and that’s why they chose me (-) because I had experience and had already
1180 worked in the department (,) (-)

1181 *I: uh huh*

1182 B1: And also I think (-) it was because what told them on the phone sounded just great (-) that
1183 I was doing an internship in Germany (((laughs)))

1184 *I: uh huh*

1185 B1: So (‘) they contacted me (-) and I think somehow facilitated the whole thing (,) (2) /ehm/
1186 I >missing word< (-) I think /ehm/ I don’t know (,) But I think it boosted my moral a bit
1187 (((laughs)))

1188 *I: uh (-) and then*

1189 B1: So (‘) when I arrived in Brazil (-) as soon as I arrived (‘) I called them and I started that
1190 same week (,) (-) I got there at KLS /mhm/ and within a week or two (‘) the secretary left on
1191 maternity leave (,) (-) She had a huge belly already (,) (-)

1192 *I: uh huh /mhm/ and then (-) I’d like to ask*
1193 *you about one more thing in your story (,) you said your sister went to IFPA (,) If I under-*
1194 *stood correctly (-) and that she majored in tourism but nowadays works in logistics (,) /ehm/*
1195 *is it possible that I didn’t understand that very well (?)*

1196 B1: (((laughs))) well (-) there is a mistake in there (,) She didn’t go to IFPA (,)

1197 *I: uh huh*

1198 B1: She studied at Porto Seguro (,)

1199 *I: uh huh*

1200 B1: It’s a regular school (-) Porto Seguro School (,) After she finished high school there (‘)
1201 she did her entrance exam and /ehm/ she passed and started studying tourism (,) She went to
1202 PUC (-) and that’s where she majored in tourism (,) (-)

1203 *I: uh huh*

1204 B1: Then (‘) she did a couple of internships at different hotels here in Campinas and she
1205 worked at a hotel here for a while (,) But she wanted to leave Brazil to go abroad /ehm/ and
1206 learn more English /ehm/ to become fluent in English and so on (,) (-) So (‘) she went to New
1207 Zealand (-) where she initially lived with a host family (‘) she was doing an English course (,)
1208 After that (‘) she changed her major to hotel management (-) so /mhm/ she stayed most of the
1209 time with a host family there (‘) but she also rented a flat with other Brazilians and ended up
1210 there for three years (,) (2) She was originally going to stay in New Zealand just six months

1211 (‘) but ended up staying for six years (,) (2) She worked there (-) she studied and worked (,)
1212 She worked at a SH Hotel (,) (-) So this job had something to do with her university study, her
1213 major in hotel management (-) but when she returned to Brazil (,) She didn’t find a job here
1214 (,) As a matter of fact (‘) she didn’t want and wasn’t willing to work at hotels anymore (‘)
1215 because she wanted a normal job (,) Let’s say (,) /mhm/ with normal working hours (-) from
1216 Monday to Friday and so on (((laughs))) (2) But that’s what she chose and what she studied
1217 (((laughs)))

1218 I: *uh huh*

1219 B1: Anyway (-) when she came back (‘) she worked for a while at NBack (‘) a restaurant here
1220 (,) (-) /mhm/ but she wasn’t very happy about it (-) because she had to work in the evenings (-
1221) sometimes until very late (,) then, she got a job at MGM /ehm/ a computer company (,)

1222 I: *uh huh*

1223 B1: In this new job she worked normal business hours (,) I think she started at eight or nine
1224 and worked until six or so (,) But she had to deal with Canada and the U.S. (‘) that’s why she
1225 was hired for the job at MGM in the first place (-) it was a lot more because she could speak
1226 English than because of her university degree (,) (-) Anyway (‘) (2) she began to work with
1227 contracts that were closed in the U.S. (,) She had to type these contracts here in Brazil (,) (-) It
1228 was kind of /ehm/ I don’t know exactly how (-) /ehm/ but all contracts were done and dealt
1229 with at MGM in Hortolandia (,) So (‘) some people dealt only with Asia (-) another group
1230 dealt with the USA and Canada (-) and another team with Europe (‘) (-) it meant too that they
1231 had to work in shifts (-) when my sister started (-) she was working with Asia (,) It meant she
1232 had to work at night (-) from home though (-) she worked remotely from home (,) But she
1233 was getting tired of it and I said /ehm/ “why don’t you try to get a job in logistics you know
1234 (?) (2) Because it was nice (,) You know (?) (-) /ehm/ there are many companies looking for
1235 people who speak English fluently and so on (,) This area of logistics has enough profession-
1236 als (‘) /ehm/ but most of them don’t speak English here in Brazil, you know (?)

1237 I: *uh huh*

1238 B1: So it’s hard (,) (2) I said “you speak fluent English (‘) take advantage of it (-) try to spe-
1239 cialize in logistics (,) (2) so then (‘) she took an international trade course (-) a fast course (-)
1240 a technical course (,) It was fast (‘) (-) I don’t know how it was exactly (-) how many hours
1241 /mhm/ but it was on Saturdays (-) /mhm/ it was enough for her to add to her curriculum (‘) to
1242 add there that she had some sort of qualification in logistics (‘) then she got a job at a compa-
1243 ny in Itapera (-) also near here (,) That was moving from São Paulo to the office here (,)

1244 /mhm/ (-) this company was moving from São Paulo to Itapera (-) actually (‘) they were
1245 building a warehouse here because they received a lot of imported material from Europe (,)
1246 They basically get material from /ehm/ I think Germany (-) Italy (-) Portugal and Spain (,)
1247 They needed someone here (-) someone who could speak English to communicate with peo-
1248 ple in Germany (-) Portugal (-) etc (, (-) /ehm/ even though it was Portugal (‘) she had to be
1249 careful with emails (-) and the colloquial language today is still English (-) both email and
1250 telephone (, (-) So (‘) she started working there (, and now she works in the logistics area
1251 (((laughs))) (, She didn’t major in logistics or international trade (-) but she works in logistics
1252 now too (-) with imports (-) so she’s learning by doing (((laughs)))

1253 I: *uh huh*

1254 B1: And she completely stopped working in the field of hotel management and tourism (,)
1255 I: *Right (-) /mhm/ and now a little bit more relating to what you told me about IFPA in*
1256 *your history (-) Lisa (‘) did you use or have access to any type of information (-) before you*
1257 *decided to take the IFPA admission test (, Before you /ehm/ (-) decided to do this course at*
1258 *IFPA (?)*

1259 B1: No (, (-) If I had any information about IFPA (?) If I already knew the course and so on
1260 (?)

1261 I: *uh huh (-) exactly (,)*

1262 B1: I already knew a bit (, Because I had gone to a German school (, I went to Porto Seguro
1263 (-) so we /ehm/ (-) because during our last year of high school (-) Porto Seguro offered
1264 presentations and lectures about /ehm/ you know (?) /ehm/ about what you could choose as an
1265 occupation (, I believe IFPA had a presentation there at the school (-) which was in our third
1266 year of high school (, (2) I had been wondering about what I was going to do (, So I suppose
1267 that’s where I became acquainted with IFPA (-) people also talked about it (-) like for instance
1268 the principal of Porto Seguro (-) who used to work at IFPA (, So (‘) we knew what it was all
1269 about (-) and what kind of education it offered (, But I didn’t know the details (, I knew it
1270 was vocational course (-) and it wasn’t a university degree (-) because here in Brazil we don’t
1271 have that (, It’s only in Germany that they have the *Berufsschule* (, (-) Here we don’t have
1272 that (, In Brazil (‘) we have technical courses and all (‘) but the technical courses are done
1273 together with high school (, That’s what we have (, (-) So (‘) this technical course between
1274 high school and university (‘) we don’t have here in Brazil (, So (‘) it’s really something that
1275 only those who understand about German schools would know (, Which is why I knew about
1276 it (‘) I knew about it because of Porto Seguro /mhm/ (-) and I couldn’t imagine how the ad-

1277 mission test would be (,) I simply didn't study or prepare for it (,) I just went in there and did
1278 it with what I already knew /mhm/ and it worked (,) (-)

1279 *I: uh huh (-) did anyone else help influence your choice, Lisa (?)*

1280 B1: what do you mean (?)

1281 *I: did anyone else influence your choice (?)(-) regarding the course you took at IFPA (?)*

1282 B1: no (2) in fact (-) ok (,) Let's see (,) When I was living in Silver Bay /ehm/ (-) I had come
1283 there to finish high school (-) and I knew I really wanted to go back to São Paulo (,) (-) At that
1284 time (‘) I was going out with a guy from São Paulo (‘) and /mhm/ I wanted to get back to São
1285 Paulo as soon as possible (‘) so I needed to find a course or a college in São Paulo (,) (-)
1286 However (‘) I didn't pass the entrance exam at USP's veterinary school and /mhm/ and I
1287 thought I would try IFPA (,) At least that way I would get back to São Paulo (((laughs))) (-)
1288 so (-) it was more with this intention (-) that I decided to do the test (,) (2) My parents sup-
1289 ported me (-) /ehm/ because they knew I'd also be doing a dual course (-) going to school and
1290 doing an internship at a company (,) They were the first ones to support me (,) (-) So I thought
1291 I'd go ahead and do it (‘) (-) my father had already worked at Phillips (-) and knew what it
1292 was like to work for this type of corporation (-) he liked it (,) (2) So I thought I'd do it (,) I
1293 had the chance to enter the labor market at the age of seventeen or eighteen (-) /ehm/ and I'd
1294 be entering the labor market at a multinational corporation (-) because I'd definitely do my
1295 internship at a German company (-) and multinational one at that (,) (-) So my parents sup-
1296 ported me (,) However (‘) after I passed the test (‘) I really didn't know if I still wanted to do
1297 it or not (2) but I said "all right ok (,) Let's go ahead and do it then (-) and let's see if I like it
1298 or not" (,) /mhm/ in the end everything went very well (,) (2)

1299 *I: so Lisa (‘) I also wanted to ask you if you considered other possibilities (,) Did you think of*
1300 *going to other technical schools (-) besides IFPA (?)*

1301 B1: /mhm/ I don't remember if I said anything about that (‘) did I (?)

1302 *I: No (-) this is part of a few additional questions I'd like to ask you (,)*

1303 B1: Ok /ehm/ (-) about if I thought at some point of /ehm/ going to another technical school
1304 (?)

1305 *I: Exactly (-)*

1306 B1: No (,)

1307 *I: You didn't (-) think of other schools then (?)*

1308 B1: No (,) I didn't (,)

1309 *I: uh huh (-) uh huh (-) I don't know if you (-) if you actually considered the possibility of do-*
1310 *ing a technical course with a high school (-) during high school (,) This wasn't a possibility*
1311 *for you (?)*

1312 B1: No (,) It wasn't (,) (-) When I was studying at Porto Seguro (-) after the eighth grade
1313 /ehm/ (-) we had the chance (-) to do this type of technical high school (-) it was a kind of
1314 high school teaching course (‘) which was supposed to train you to become a teacher (,) (-)
1315 But I didn't want to do that (,) And didn't choose that (,) Instead (-) I decided to go to regular
1316 high school, /mhm/ so that's what I did (,)

1317 *I: uh huh (-) and what did you think Lisa (-) of your office clerk course (?) (-) this was a ques-*
1318 *tion /ehm/ I wanted to ask you as well (,) How did you see the office clerk course (?) (-) Being*
1319 *someone from a middle class family (‘) How did you see the course from a socioeconomic*
1320 *perspective (?)*

1321 B1: /ehm/ (-) I really (-) don't know (,) I didn't see this course as /ehm/ (2) I didn't do it be-
1322 cause it was an office clerk course (,) I always had in my mind that I didn't want to be a secre-
1323 tary (‘) even though I worked as a secretary for a while and actually enjoyed it (,) /ehm/ we
1324 thought, or said “ah, secretary /ehm/ they only take phone calls and pay invoices” >ironic<
1325 (((laughs))) I didn't really care much about it (,) I didn't think about anything (‘) I just want-
1326 ed to do the course to continue learning German (,) I simply didn't think much about what
1327 other people said (-) like “ah, a secretary, you want to be a secretary (?)” >ironic< (-) I didn't
1328 worry about it (,)

1329 *I: uh huh (-) and, /mhm/ why did you go to college after all (-) if you were al-*
1330 *ready actually qualified (?) (-) this is a question I'm also interested in asking (,)*

1331 B1: /ehm/ because only this IFPA course (‘) is recognized by some companies (-) German
1332 companies (,) But it doesn't replace a college degree (,) (2) I always kept this in mind (,) So
1333 when I started college (-) I wasn't at KLS anymore (-) but was at ORD (-) I was working in
1334 ORD (,) And said “I need to go to college (-) and have a diploma in my curriculum” and so on
1335 (,) (2) It was also because I was really into learning and studying at the time /ehm/ I was still a
1336 student (,) So (‘) I wanted to keep studying (,) (2) Everybody was going to college (-) every-
1337 one does it right after high school (,) (-) I am actually the exception (,) I didn't take the typical
1338 path Brazilian students usually take (‘) going to college right after finishing high school (,) (-)
1339 I went to IFPA for two years before college (-) but IFPA is not college and isn't a college de-
1340 gree (,) It's a vocational certificate (-) it is just a plus (,) (-) But it does not replace college (,)
1341 (-) that's why I decided to still go to college (,) But also because I was working at a company

1342 that imported a lot (-) receiving many things (,) (2) I thought an international trade course
1343 would give me a good chance to get into a company (-) and /mhm/ it would be easier to enter
1344 the labor market (,)

1345 I: *uh huh (-) and, if you hadn't opted for IFPA, Lisa, what other options did*
1346 *you have at the time (?)*

1347 B1: oh my (') (2) then I might (-) maybe I'd have done a prep year for the entrance exams (-)
1348 because I had already tried to pass them (,) And /mhm/ I only tried twice and didn't pass (') (-
1349) I probably would have continued to prepare (,) And would have done a prep course (,) (2) I
1350 don't know if during the prep course I'd have changed my mind, but at that time I wanted it (-
1351) I wanted to study veterinary medicine (-) that's what I had in mind (((laughs))) (-) nothing
1352 like me (,) Right (?)

1353 I: *uh huh (-) and considering the professions of your parents (-) Lisa (-) what*
1354 *they did (-) considering them in general (') do you think you have already achieved more than*
1355 *they did (-) in relation to education as well as professionally (?)*

1356 B1: I believe so (,) (-) Professionally (') I can only relate to my father (,) Because he also
1357 worked for companies (,) He didn't work at a factory (') he worked for a big multinational
1358 company and all (,) I think I /ehm/ yes (-) maybe I'm on the same level, or maybe a little
1359 above (,) But only because he stopped working as an employee of a multinational company (')
1360 and started another profession (-) he started his own business (,) Today /ehm/ he is an entre-
1361 preneur (') he has a small business (-) a computer school (,) (2) So, in this aspect /ehm/ he has
1362 achieved more than I have (,) (-) But in terms of being a professional (-) working for a com-
1363 pany in the industry sector (-) I think I've achieved more (,) (-) Also because /ehm/ I can
1364 speak other languages and they can't (,) (-) My father speaks English a little bit (-) my mother
1365 (-) poor mom (-) she doesn't speak a word of English (,) (-) Nowadays speaking a foreign
1366 language (-) speaking a second language (-) or a third language is essential for you to enter the
1367 labor market (,) Not only in Brazil (') but anywhere in the world (,) and, it wasn't necessary
1368 some years ago (,) (2) My parents didn't develop their language skills (,) However (') I think
1369 about the intellectual level (-) or the educational level (2) and I don't know (-) it's difficult to
1370 talk about this (((laughs))) it's just difficult (((laughs)))

1371 I: *uh huh*

1372 B1: But I'm on my way to big things (-) I think

1373 I: *uh huh*

1374 B1: yet (-) for example (-) at my age (‘) my
1375 father was already providing for an entire family (‘) (-) and had three children in school (,) (-)
1376 Right now (-) I only take care of myself (-)
1377 I: *uh huh*
1378 B1: I still live with my mother (,) So (‘) in this
1379 aspect we are still far from achieving what they had already achieved (,) (2) I don’t have their
1380 financial conditions (-) I am not economically as stable (,) And at this point I can’t imagine
1381 having a family with three children in school (-) with my salary (‘) I can’t imagine having
1382 three children going to a private school like Porto Seguro (-) but the world is different nowa-
1383 days (,) And we live in a different time now (,) Today (‘) I don’t even think about having
1384 three children (,) (-) I’ll have one (,) Maximum (((laughs)))
1385 I: (((laughs)))
1386 B1: Because financially (‘) it’s very expensive to raise (-) a child (-) with education costs be-
1387 ing high and everything (,) /mhm we have to think that we will both have to work (-) my hus-
1388 band and I (,) We’ll have to be away from home very often (-) the time when a mother could
1389 be a full-time mother is simply over (-) the way my mother was (,) Today is not an option (‘)
1390 because both husband and wife need to make money these days (-) if you want to have a good
1391 standard of living (,) (-)
1392 I: *uh huh*
1393 B1: We see things differently now (‘) because we got used having a little better standard of
1394 living (,) My father (-) at the beginning of his life (-) lived in a tiny apartment (,) But now (‘)
1395 I’m going to move out of my mother’s house to get my own house (-) which is a big house
1396 with three suites (-) super nice (-) /ehm/ with a huge balcony (-) gourmet kitchen (-) and so on
1397 (,) (2) So (‘) it takes us a little longer to move out (-) because we want more (,) We /ehm/ we
1398 don’t want to start small (((laughs)))
1399 I: *uh huh*
1400 B1: So the situation is different (,)
1401 I: *uh huh (-)and, Lisa (-) this decision for IFPA’s program (-)in your opinion (‘) do you be-*
1402 *lieve it was a more ambitious choice compared to most people who are looking for qualifica-*
1403 *tion in Brazil (?)*
1404 B1: /mhm/ at the time I didn’t have in my mind that IFPA would open doors the way it did (,)
1405 (-) So (‘) when I made this decision I didn’t know (‘) (-) but today I can see that it was essen-
1406 tial in order for me to be where I am today (-) within an organization like KLS (,) (-) If I

1407 hadn't studied at IFPA (‘) I wouldn't be here today (,) I'd probably be working at another
1408 company (‘) but very unlikely at a company like KLS (,) And the internship I did at KLS (-) I
1409 did because of IFPA (,) But at that time (‘) I didn't know the significance IFPA had (,) (2) So
1410 /ehm/ no (,) I wasn't very ambitious (-) But now I see that this decision made all the differ-
1411 ence (,) (-)

1412 *I: uh huh (-) and you (-) as a former IFPA (-) student (‘) do you believe the school has a (-)*
1413 *how do you see the school's reputation (?)*

1414 B1: /ehm/ it is very good (‘) especially after they left the Lago Treze district (-) where they
1415 used to be located (,) There it was a small school (,) But they moved to Interlagos (,) To a
1416 much bigger school (-) I only went to Interlagos once (-) when my sister did the IFPA admis-
1417 sion test (-) but in the end didn't study at IFPA (2) I don't remember if she passed or didn't (,)
1418 (2) But she decided not to do it in the end (,) (-) But when she went there to do the test (-) it
1419 was located in Interlagos (‘) and I went with her to see the school (,) Now it's a super big
1420 school (,) (2) I believe the courses have also developed (-) I don't know (-) because I don't
1421 have any contact with the school anymore (‘) still (‘) I think classes are bigger now (-) and I
1422 believe they are in higher demand and have been doing more advertising at German schools
1423 (,) (-) I believe it does have a good reputation (,) At least with those who know (-) for those
1424 who /ehm/ studied in German schools (,) They know the IFPA system (,) (2) It has a very
1425 good reputation (,) (-)

1426 *I: uh huh (-) and if you had to tell me Lisa (-) in your opinion (-) what are*
1427 *IFPA's weaknesses and strengths (?) Could you tell me something about it (?)*

1428 B1: /ehm/ the strengths /ehm/ (2) strengths and weaknesses (?)

1429 *I: uh huh*

1430 B1: yeah(-) I mean (-) its strength is that /ehm/ it gives us the ability to start working directly
1431 with a company and all (,) This is fantastic (-) and I think we should have it, offer it more here
1432 in Brazil (-) this type of dual system like IFPA's program (‘) but it doesn't have to be the
1433 German system (,) You know (?) (-) it should be implemented by the Brazilian government (,)
1434 (-) It just doesn't exist here (-) what we have here from the government /ehm/ (-) are these
1435 technical courses (,) /ehm/ how is this school called again (?) >missing word< (-) SESC and
1436 SESI (-) which are schools supported by FIESP (-) The Association of Industries of São Paulo
1437 (,) These schools are only for younger people that do their technical course at their high
1438 school (,) (-) This person will learn a profession (-) but it's more for those who went to public
1439 school and all (,) (2) But, this option doesn't exist for those who go to private schools (,) (-)

1440 Those who go to private schools (‘) they go to college (,) And then choose their profession (,)

1441 But they will only start working after they finish university (,) And it takes a long time too (,)

1442 (2) IFPA allows you (-) IFPA allows you to enter the labor market at age seventeen or eight-

1443 een (,) (-) And this is very good /ehm/ (-) this is the biggest advantage (,) I think (,) (-)

1444 *I:* *uh huh*

1445 B1: And the weaknesses (?) I don’t know if there are any (,) (2) The system doesn’t have any

1446 weaknesses (,) I think the system is really good (,)

1447 *I:* *uh huh (-) and I think I have only one or two more questions I’d like to ask you Lisa /mhm/*

1448 *nowadays(‘) after all of this you have already experienced in your life (,) nowadays (‘) do*

1449 *you believe it is important to do a technical course in Brazil (?)*

1450 B1: I think so (,) /ehm/ a technical course (-) you mean the dual one (?)

1451 *I:* *I mean a technical course (-) I’m talking about general technical courses (-) a technical*

1452 *course at a high school level or postsecondary (,)*

1453 B1: So (-) we don’t have that here in Brazil (,) Technical courses in Brazil are done together

1454 in combination with high school (,) We don’t have /ehm/ (-) >missing word< (2) by high

1455 school (-) do you mean until the eighth grade (?) (-) Or until eleventh grade (?)

1456 *I:* *Elementary school goes from first until ninth grade (,) And high school is the three or four*

1457 *years after that (,)*

1458 B1: Here in Brazil (-) we don’t actually have these technical courses /ehm/ after high school

1459 (,) /ehm/ >tone of remembrance< (-) but now we have it (-) sorry (,) I’m talking nonsense (,)

1460 We have it (,) They are offered by different faculties at colleges /ehm/ they offer it (-) they

1461 have these two year courses (-) international trade courses in two years (-) like logistics (-)

1462 after finishing one of these courses (-) you can even attend under or post graduate courses (‘)

1463 they last only two years (,) (2) I think this is all very important (-) but these courses don’t of-

1464 fer an internship you can do at a company (-) the way IFPA does (,) So (‘) I think that is

1465 something missing here in Brazil (-) because if you do a technical course here (-) the institu-

1466 tion (-) the school does not have this cooperation with a company (-) like IFPA has (,) (2) You

1467 can do an internship but you don’t have to (,) (3) Now /ehm/ everybody is doing internships (-

1468) all students (,) (2) We normally have a lot of interns here at KLS who aren’t from IFPA (,) (-

1469) They are trainees attending or going to college (‘) or the ones who go to normal technical

1470 courses (-) but that’s a bit more seldom (‘) seeing someone who went to a trade school (‘) the

1471 vast majority go to or went to college after high school (-) and it makes it a little more diffi-

1472 cult if you want to enter the labor market (,) (2) I think Brazil could have more programs like
1473 IFPA offers (-) but not only with German companies (,)

1474 *I: uh huh*

1475 B1: This is an initiative IFPA had (,) It's not something done by the Brazilian government (-)
1476 this is something missing here (,) I think (,) (-)

1477 *I: uh huh (-) and one last question that I have for you Lisa (,) Do you think /ehm/ well (-) in*
1478 *general (-) in your opinion /ehm/ technical courses in general and IFPA's course (-) if we*
1479 *compared them (-) do they belong to two middle class schooling possibilities (?)*

1480 B1: What do you mean (?) I don't understand the question very well (,)

1481 *I: If we think of technical courses in general (-) and if we think of the technical course IFPA*
1482 *offers (,) Do you believe that these courses are aimed at middle class individuals (?)*

1483 B1: Yes (,) IFPA is aimed at the middle class (,) (-) Because these middle class individuals
1484 /ehm/ they have a good education (-) and go to good high schools (,) Private schools and all
1485 (,) This is in fact the case of IFPA (,) (-) But the normal technical courses like SESI (-) /ehm/
1486 SENAI /ehm/ which are FIESP institutions (-) for example from the Federation of Industries
1487 of São Paulo (‘) are courses aimed at a lower class (,) It's aimed at people who want to spe-
1488 cialize in a profession (‘) but they are not going to go to college (‘) (-) they only go to tech-
1489 nical schools (,) They only do courses like metallurgy or electrician (-) while they are attend-
1490 ing high school classes (-) do you understand (?) (-) It's a little different (,) If they go to col-
1491 lege (‘) they will have to attend some sort of adult supplementary education (?) (-) So these
1492 types of technical courses that exist today in Brazil are more for the lower class people (‘) for
1493 young people who didn't have access to good basic education (-) you understand (?) (2) IFPA
1494 (-) on the other hand is one level above (,) It's for middle class people (-) people who went to
1495 schools like Porto Seguro (-) who went to good schools (‘) people who went to German
1496 schools here in São Paulo /ehm/ schools like Olavo Bilaque (-) and other schools I can't re-
1497 member right now (‘) (-) Schools like Humboldt (-) all German schools (,) (-) these are all
1498 private schools (,) The person must come from a family with better financial condition (,) This
1499 is the difference between normal technical courses and the technical courses offered at IFPA
1500 (,) (-)

1501 *I: uh huh*

1502 B1: IFPA offers a technical course after high school (‘) and the technical courses are normally
1503 done in combination with high school here in Brazil (,) (2) And, why don't you go to a normal
1504 technical course (?) (-) because they are for those people who didn't have a good education (-)

1505 a good elementary education (,) They didn't have an education which prepared them to com-
1506 pete with people who are doing entrance exams to enter university (,) They didn't have chem-
1507 istry (-) physics (-) and I don't know what else (,) So (') these people (-) they enter the labor
1508 market before finishing high school (,) This is the difference then (,) (2) I think /ehm/ (-) let's
1509 not say low class (-) but I think there is a difference /ehm/ (-) between lower middle class and
1510 upper middle class (,) (-)

1511 *I: uh huh (-) I think it is interesting (-) don't technical courses also serve*
1512 *as qualification for you to enter the labor market (?)*

1513 *B1: yes (,)*

1514 *I: and you mentioned that technical*
1515 *courses are actually aimed at lower-class families (-) which leads me to another question too*
1516 *(-) Lisa (,) from what I understood (-) in your life story (') and based on what you said in*
1517 *your answers too (-) you come from a middle class family (,) And you actually went to a tech-*
1518 *nical course (,) You also explained that in general (-) technical courses in Brazil are not*
1519 *aimed at middle class individuals (,) But you belong to the middle class and you went to a*
1520 *technical school(,) You did a technical course /ehm/ which is offered there at IFPA too (,) And*
1521 *(-)in fact (') you mentioned that you didn't want to work as a secretary forever (,) So this part*
1522 *is a bit unclear (-) and I didn't understand it very well (,)*

1523 *B1: (((laughs)))*

1524 *I: I don't know if (-) if you understood my question (?)*

1525 *B1: /ehm/ well (') IFPA is not /ehm/ (2) we don't know it here as a technical course (,) (-) in*
1526 *Germany (') it is more technical (-) but here in Brazil it is not well known (,) (-) So (') I think*
1527 *IFPA here in Brazil is an elite course (-) it's not elite /neh/ (-) it's more for a middle class elite*
1528 *(,) why (?) because someone who didn't study in a school like Porto Seguro or Humboldt (-)*
1529 *these expensive schools (-) where only middle class people go (-) they don't know it exists (,)*
1530 *They don't know it (,) (-)*

1531 *I: uh huh*

1532 *B1: They don't know there is a dual technical course (,) When we /ehm/ get to know the*
1533 *German system later (-) the German education system (') then it's really clear that*
1534 *Berufschule is for those who would like to do a technical course and Abitur is for those who*
1535 *wish to go to college (,) And the ones who do their Abitur are the ones who belong to an elite*
1536 *(,) (-) But here in Brazil (') we don't know it (,) People don't think that if you go to a*
1537 *Berufshcule you won't achieve much in life (') that you are not able to go to college to study*

1538 engineering or medicine (-) etc (,) We don't have this perception here in Brazil (,) (-) So (‘)
1539 when people ask me “what is this IFPA” (-) when I was studying at IFPA (-) or “what do you
1540 do there (?)” (-) I said /ehm/ that I was doing a trade course (,) “but what is it like (?) What
1541 professional course (?)” I said it was a technical course (,) “but have you finished high school
1542 yet (?)” people asked me (-) but I had already finished high school (,) (-) IFPA isn't some-
1543 thing known here (,) (-) It's not advertised very much (-) since it is between high school and
1544 college (-) there is nothing like this in Brazil (,) A technical course in Brazil is done during
1545 high school (,) (-) This type of technical course is for people who want to be a metallurgist (-)
1546 a mechanic or work with shaping tools (-) or something like that (,) /ehm/ mostly basic things
1547 (,) (-) You don't need to have a very high intellectual level (‘) you only need to know how to
1548 work your tools and everything else (-) but you don't need to be the most intelligent student in
1549 your class to do a technical course (,) (2) But when we talk /mhm/ about IFPA (-) we say no (-
1550) it is not a technical course (,) It's a technical course (-) but it's more professional (,) (-) It's
1551 difficult to explain (-) what it really is (-) this IFPA course /ehm/ it's difficult to explain how
1552 people see the course here (,) (3)

1553 *I:* *uh huh*

1554 B1: Now that I've already done it (-) /mhm/ and am living this professional growth and all (-)
1555 I can see it here at KLS also (-) the way people see apprentices who go to IFPA (‘) (-) every-
1556 one sees them as good (-) potential employees (,) They see them as young people who will
1557 develop even more (,) (2) Perhaps even more than the trainees (,) (-) IFPA is seen as a very
1558 good option here (,) People compare it here to a very good university (,) /ehm/ it's like “that
1559 guy is a trainee from Maua University” or “he is studying engineering” (-) or “that guy is a
1560 trainee from UNICAMP and he's doing an internship in our chemistry lab” (,) (2) Things like
1561 that (-) and everyone says “wow he's smart (‘) and has a future” or whatever (,) But some
1562 others doing an internship here (‘) you ask them what college they go to (?) “oh (-) I study
1563 here at Campo Limpo or at Jundiaí University (‘) or Anchieta University, which we only
1564 know because KLS is close to Jundiaí and all (,) (2) but today (‘) IFPA (-) has this reputation
1565 as being equivalent to a very good university here in Brazil (,) But only for people who work
1566 for German companies (((laughs))) (-) because if we go to (-) I don't know (-) any other com-
1567 pany besides the German ones here (‘) they don't know the system (‘) they won't know what
1568 it is and (-) it is then going to be difficult to explain that it's a technical course (‘) but that it's
1569 a technical course that's a little above a normal technical course we know here in Brazil (,) (-)

1570 *I:* *uh huh*

1571 B1: I don't know if you understand what I mean (?)

1572 *I: uh huh (2) I understood (,) I understood what you said (,) I think a lot of interesting aspects*

1573 *were discussed here at the end (,) (-) so /ehm/ these were the questions I had for you (-) Lisa*

1574 *(,) (2) I don't know if you still have any questions (-) or comments or if you want to tell me*

1575 *anything (-) or maybe want to ask me about the interview (?)*

1576 B1: No (,) It's all right (,) do you think I kept a good focus (?)

1577 *I: yes (') I think you answered all the questions I asked you (,) (-) it was very interesting and I*

1578 *liked the life story you told me (,) I believe the interview went according to plan (,)*

1579 B1: uh huh (-) very good then (,)

1580 *I: and how was the experience for you (?) Was it a bit boring (-) or exciting to tell everything*

1581 *like that (?) How was it for you (?)*

1582 B1: It was a very different experience (,) I had never talked so much about my life before (,)

1583 (2) When we start talking to someone about daily issues (-) we always end up telling a bit

1584 about our lives (')

1585 *I: uh huh*

1586 B1: but not like that (-) with such intensity (,) So it was a unique experience (-) I had never

1587 done it before (,) I think it was nice (-) because it's good for me to recall everything that has

1588 already happened (,) It's good to stop for a second and see everything I've done (-) which is

1589 quite a lot (-) too (2)

1590 *I: uh huh*

1591 B1: It's very interesting (,) it's like doing regression (((laughs)))

1592 *I: yes (((laughs))) (-) well (') Lisa (-) I'd like to thank you for your participation (') all that*

1593 *you said was extremely important, and now I have to do analysis of this data (') so I can go*

1594 *further with my research (,) (-)*

1595 B1: uh huh (-) ok then thank you (-) Marcelo (,)

1596 *I: thank you (-) Lisa (,)*

10.2 Transcription of single case (2): Virginia Müller

1597 *I: So, my name is Marcelo Kauer (-) and I am a grad student at OVGU University (‘) and*
1598 *what I am looking for from this research is to understand (-) the life history of students who*
1599 *formerly studied at IFPA School in São Paolo (,) (-) What I want to know from you (-) is the*
1600 *story of your life (,) But not only the time you attended IFPA (,) I would like to know every-*
1601 *thing that happened before and after IFPA too (,) It would be good if you began (‘) with (-)*
1602 *for instance (‘) your grandparents (,) (-) And then tell me about events that happened to you (-*
1603 *) one after another (-) up to the present day (,) (2) I will not interrupt you (-) and I’m not go-*
1604 *ing to ask questions during your story (,) During your story (‘) I will be listening and making*
1605 *notes (-) after you finish (-) perhaps based on something you said (-) or because something*
1606 *may not be clear (-) I may ask you some questions (,)*
1607 *B2: Ok (-) let’s do it (,)*
1608 *I: Alright, Virginia (?) (-) So (‘) let’s begin (,) Let’s hear your life story (,)*
1609 *B2: Can I start (?)*
1610 *I: You can start (,)*
1611 *B2: All right (,) (3) My grandfather and grandmother :met: in a town in Rio Grande do Sul (-)*
1612 *in the countryside (-)*
1613 *I: Uh huh*
1614 *B2: The town is called Greenville (‘)*
1615 *I: Uh huh*
1616 *B2: Currently, the town has about twenty-five thousand inhabitants (,)*
1617 *I: Uh huh*
1618 *B2: The town was founded in 1858 when some settlers came from (-) Germany because they*
1619 *had to flee :from: World War I, and they went to the Rio Grande do Sul (-) to the countryside*
1620 *(,) They arrived in Sao Leopoldo and dispersed throughout that region (,) Some German de-*
1621 *scendants (,)*
1622 *I: Uh huh*
1623 *B2: Greenville is located in this region (,)*
1624 *I: Uh huh*
1625 *B2: Those few people founded this :town: and it ended up being known as a colony (‘) where*
1626 *only German people lived (‘) (-) descendants who sought to maintain their culture and, espe-*
1627 *cially, the German language (-)*

1628 I: *Uh huh*

1629 B2: And (-) the dialect is *Hunsrückisch*

1630 I: *Uh huh*

1631 B2: So (‘) at home they spoke a lot of German (,) There was a tradition of marrying a Ger-
 1632 man person (-) in order to actually preserve the culture (‘)

1633 I: *Uh huh*

1634 B2: The predominant religion there was Protestant (‘) (-) there were also some Catholic peo-
 1635 ple there, but I am a descendant of Protestants (‘)

1636 I: *Uh huh*

1637 B2: I even remember my grandmother always making comments like (-) “they will get
 1638 :married:, but he is Catholic and she is Protestant (?) Oh my God (-) no (,) (-) A Protestant
 1639 should marry a Protestant (,) and that’s ok (,) or an Evangelical should marry another Evan-
 1640 gelical (,) Come on (,) (2) So (‘) oddly enough they met (‘) There were only a few families
 1641 living there (-) so there was :marrying: among families and :acquaintances: (‘)

1642 I: *Uh huh*

1643 B2: even due to
 1644 savings and to increase your assets, etc (‘) my grandmother and grandfather are actually even
 1645 second cousins (((Laughs)))

1646 I: *((Laugh))*

1647 B2: Then (‘) it was practical to marry inside the family (,) (2)

1648 I: *Uh huh*

1649 B2: They got married (‘) (-) and at that time my great grandfather (-) the father of my
 1650 grandmother was in a good financial situation (‘)

1651 I: *Uh huh*

1652 B2: because :his: parents had a business in
 1653 Greenville from the beginning of its colonization (‘) (-) So (‘) he opened a grocery store (‘)
 1654 (2) and that’s why he was in a favorable financial situation at that time (,) He bought pieces of
 1655 land and properties for each of his children (-) of which there were five (‘)

1656 I: *Uh huh*

1657 B2: So then (-) my
 1658 grandfather ended up marrying my grandmother (,) (-)

1659 I: *Uh huh*

1660 B2: My grandfather had become orphaned at age eight (‘) Once my great-grandfather was
1661 having lunch and he choked (-) so says the legend (-) on a chicken bone (,) (((((Laughs))))))
1662 but I don’t know (,) (-) and so (‘) my grandfather became an orphan at age eight and had to go
1663 live with his only grandmother (,)

1664 I: *Uh huh*

1665 B2: His grandfather later gave him (-) an eight hectare property (-) and a house (,)

1666 I: *Uh huh*

1667 B2: On that eight hectare property (,) (-) my grandfather then started to live with my grand-
1668 mother (‘)

1669 I: *Uh huh*

1670 B2: my great grandfather chose his youngest son (-) to take care of his properties be-
1671 cause he was getting old (,)

1672 I: *Uh huh*

1673 B2: So (‘) the other ended up being practically excluded from the family (,)

1674 I: *Uh huh*

1675 B2: Ok (2) so my grandmother had only one child a :daughter: (‘) (-) who is my mother (-)
1676 She is an only child (,) And my father (‘) I don’t really remember him much (-) I don’t know
1677 (‘) and now don’t have the opportunity to live with him to learn his history (-) and how every-
1678 thing in his life happened (,)

1679 I: *Uh huh*

1680 B2: I don’t know much about it (,)

1681 I: *Uh huh*

1682 B2: (2) I do know that my paternal grandparents (‘) (2) they lived in Linha M. (,)

1683 I: *Uh huh*

1684 B2: And my maternal grandparents lived in Linha G. (,) (2) These were actually really small
1685 places (,) (-) and they met at a dance (-) my parents (-) my father and mother (‘)

1686 I: *Uh huh*

1687 B2: eventually (-) they got married in 1986 (‘)

1688 I: *Uh huh*

1689 B2: And in 1988 (-) after they got married (‘) they lived half a year with my grandfather and
1690 grandmother (‘) but that didn’t work out (‘)

1691 I: *Uh huh*

1692 B2: living with your in-laws is not very :pleasant:
1693 (,) And they ended up building a house for them (‘) they moved to the city center (-) while my
1694 grandfather and grandmother continued to live in the country (,)
1695 I: *Uh huh*
1696 B2: My father worked at a shoe factory (‘) as a driver (‘)
1697 I: *Uh huh*
1698 B2: my mother (-) had taken an ac-
1699 counting course (‘) when she was single she worked in a city nearby (‘) and then when she got
1700 married (-) she ended up coming back to Greenville (-) where she became an accountant and
1701 started to work at the local hospital (,)
1702 I: *Uh huh*
1703 B2: In 1988 (‘) my mother had a miscarriage (‘) the baby had only three limbs (-) an umbili-
1704 cal cord and a neck (‘)
1705 I: *Oh my (-)*
1706 B2: my mother still worked at the hospital at that time (,) (2)
1707 I: *Uh huh*
1708 B2: I was born in 1989 (,) (2) So today I am (-) on I will turn 23 years old this year (,) Sorry
1709 (-) 22 (,)
1710 I: *Uh huh*
1711 B2: I’m 22 years old (,) And my middle sister was born in 1990 (‘) Lisa (-)
1712 I: *Uh huh*
1713 B2: Then (‘) in 1991 (‘) Helen was born (,) (-)
1714 I: *Uh huh*
1715 B2: So (‘) we are currently three daughters (,) (2)
1716 I: *Uh huh*
1717 B2: Ok (,) (-) We were born (‘) and then my mother
1718 opened an accounting office (‘) but that didn’t work out because we were still small and born
1719 one right after the other (,) (3)
1720 I: *Uh huh*
1721 B2: During this time (‘) my grandfather and grandmother always gave us meat (-) bread and
1722 milk (-) and eggs (,) (-) During my entire life (-) during their entire life (-) it was always like
1723 that (,)
1724 I: *Uh huh*

1725 B2: We never had to buy meat, eggs (-) or milk (-)

1726 I: *Uh huh*

1727 B2: The basics, just needed to survive (-) were always given by them (-) they have always

1728 subsidized it (,)

1729 I: *Uh huh*

1730 B2: I don't know if this is right or wrong (') (2) but in my opinion (') it's wrong (-) but ok (,)

1731 I: *Uh huh*

1732 B2: Then (') my grandfather came over once a :week: (-) every week (,) He would drop by

1733 just to put the milk on top of the fridge and all the bread on the table (,) Then (') he left (,) (3)

1734 I: *Uh huh*

1735 B2: At that time (') (2) the three of us were small (') and I always remember having to work

1736 hard (,) (-) we had to go to my grandfather's to help him plant :corn: (-) and :manioc:, Helen

1737 was little, and my father would carry her in the wheelbarrow (,) (3)

1738 I: *Uh huh*

1739 B2: In 1994 (-) my uncle and my aunt (-) my father has a brother and sister (') decided to get

1740 together to talk about and divide their inheritance (,)

1741 I: *Uh huh*

1742 B2: All of them (-) for an entire week (-) I came along and at that time I was in 1994 (-) five

1743 years old (,)

1744 I: *Uh huh*

1745 B2: I went by motorcycle with my father to the meetings (') and I stayed and played (') (-)

1746 but I do remember that during this week my father didn't sleep (,)

1747 I: *Uh huh*

1748 B2: He spent three or four days awake without sleeping (,) He only thought things over (,) (-)

1749 I: *Uh huh*

1750 B2: For me that :marked: the time when hell started (,) (2) Because he only went to the

1751 :meetings: and didn't :sleep: (-) he smoked all day (') I would wake up at midnight and he just

1752 wouldn't be asleep (')

1753 I: *Uh huh*

1754 B2: I would look for him out on the porch and he would be there

1755 smoking (,) (-)

1756 I: *Uh huh*

1757 B2: After that (‘) he became very (-) he always thought things over and thought things over (-
1758) but he didn’t talk much about what was going on with him (‘) (-) until one day my mother
1759 had to put him in a clinic (,) She had to go to the factory where he worked (-) at that time he
1760 was no longer a driver (-) but a normal factory worker (-) a machine operator (,)

1761 I: *Uh huh*

1762 B2: He earned less than minimum wage (‘)

1763 I: *Uh huh*

1764 B2: (-) and he started giving away all his money to
1765 the other workers on the shop floor (,) He said “who wants money (?) (-) Who wants money
1766 (?)” Then (‘) the manager called my mom to tell her about it (‘) that he had done it (,) Which
1767 mother didn’t know (-) the company lent my mom one of their :cars: so she could take dad to
1768 a hospital (-) there in Porto Alegre to the PA Hospital (,) (-)

1769 I: *Uh huh*

1770 B2: He was hospitalized for a month (-) but they said they didn’t know what it was (‘) he had
1771 exams (-) thousands of exams (‘) and even today they don’t know for sure what it was (,) (-)
1772 everyone says it’s schizophrenia (,) (-)

1773 I: *Uh huh*

1774 B2: He has always been like that (,) He didn’t take his medication (‘) (-) In the hospital (‘) he
1775 took them because the nurses and doctors kept an eye on him (,) But when he came home (‘)
1776 he stopped taking them (-) because he felt that everyone was making him mad and that the
1777 medicine he was taking was making him see things (‘) he used to say that it was normal to
1778 see things the other way around (‘) and he said that everyone else was crazy and that he was
1779 the smartest person in the world (‘) (-) I say this because I know about it (-) from reading
1780 two books about it (,)

1781 I: *Uh huh*

1782 B2: Because it was really like that (,) (-) Then (‘) he would close the windows and say the
1783 army would come get him if he didn’t (‘) that there were other people spying on us, and that
1784 they would kill us (‘) So (‘) he closed the windows in the middle of the day and we wondered
1785 what was going on (‘) (-)

1786 I: *Uh huh*

1787 B2: (2) I read in a book that the voices in his head were saying “you’re the guy (-) you’re the
1788 evolution of the world (-) you will change everything (‘) because you can hear us” (,)

1789 I: *Uh huh*

1790 B2: Because it is like that (,) Then (‘) I read in one of the books that what would be good to
1791 help understand him would be to try to see things differently (,) For example (-) people who
1792 speak with him don’t age (,) They are always the same age (-) and always dress the same way
1793 (,) So (‘) at the time there weren’t books about it (,) We had no book or anything (‘) so we
1794 couldn’t ask why the people he saw were always the :same: (-) dressed the same (-) didn’t
1795 :age: (-) and were always at the same :place: (‘) but ok (-) so (‘) he spent a month at the clinic
1796 and one month at home (,) A month in Clinical and a month at home (,) Each time he returned
1797 to the hospital and took his medication (‘) he would recover 80% of his health of 100% (‘) the
1798 second time he did it he came back with 70% of 90% (‘)

1799 I: *Uh huh*

1800 B2: then 60% and always of 80% and it
1801 was always like that (,)

1802 I: *Uh huh*

1803 B2: There were times when he threw the pill in the toilet (-) or he put it underneath his
1804 tongue and then spat it out without taking it (,)

1805 I: *Uh huh*

1806 B2: He told my mother he had taken it (‘) but always played out these lies (,)

1807 I: *Uh huh*

1808 B2: Well (-) to sum up (‘) today (-) since 2005 he’s been in an :asylum: (-) and he is there
1809 now (,) Because he woke up the neighbors at 3:00 in the :morning: to invite them to drink
1810 mate tea with him (‘) he didn’t shower anymore and he didn’t eat (-) my mother ended up
1811 divorcing him in 2008 (‘) and after that my aunt started to take care of him (,) But he didn’t
1812 just stay at home (,) He called the neighbors and went over to their house at 6:00 AM (-)
1813 and=and /ehm/ everyone called us to ask what was going on (,)

1814 I: *Uh huh*

1815 B2: Ok (,) So in 2005 he was :admitted: and today he lives there in this asylum (-) which is
1816 more like an asylum with :elderly: handicapped people in :wheelchairs: (,) (2) When I go
1817 there (-) I don’t feel so well (,) I know I don’t want to be in this situation (‘) and even less
1818 want to see my father like that (‘)

1819 I: *Uh huh*

1820 B2: But it’s the only thing we can do (,) There is some-
1821 one there 24 :hours: a day (-) taking care of him and providing :hygienic: conditions and

1822 :food: (,) the basics that he needs to survive (‘) because, he no longer lives (-) he just survives
1823 (,)
1824 I: *Uh huh*

1825 B2: He takes about 20 different types of medications a day (-) very strong ones and he (-)
1826 drinks mate tea and plays cards all day (‘)
1827 I: *Uh huh*

1828 B2: sometimes when I called him (‘) there were
1829 times that he didn’t know my name (‘) and every time I called I had to tell him where I work,
1830 where I :live: where I study (-) and so on (‘)
1831 I: *Uh huh*

1832 B2: if I was dating or not (-) I had to explain things
1833 all over, every time I called (,) It was always the same (-) I had to repeat everything (,)
1834 I: *Uh huh*

1835 B2: He’s losing his teeth because of the medication he’s taking (‘) his toenails too It’s all
1836 because of the medication (,) (-) So (‘) that’s the part about my father (,) (-) Let’s go to the
1837 next part (,)
1838 I: *Uh huh*

1839 B2: So (-) my mother divorced him (,) And we left our home with just the clothes we had on
1840 (-) a little bed and a small washing machine (-) and we moved in with my grandfather (‘)
1841 I: *Uh huh*

1842 B2: to the 8 hectare property where he lived (,)
1843 I: *Uh huh*

1844 B2: My mother had an old car (-) an old Beetle (‘) she ended up leaving the house where we
1845 :lived: to my dad (,) (-) and then my father lived there (-) that’s where he was when he went to
1846 the neighbors and woke them up (-) etc (,)
1847 I: *Uh huh*

1848 B2: So (‘) we stayed at my grandfather’s (,) My mom had this old Beetle (,) (-) which she
1849 sold for 700 reais at the time (-) which was 2008 (‘) and with these 700 reais she bought a bed
1850 for the house we had :started: building (,) It just had walls and a roof (,) And was actually a
1851 :second: house that my father and mother had been building (-) because our first house (-)
1852 where three people lived, was 50 square meters, and that was just too small (,) (-)
1853 I: *Uh huh*

1854 B2: So (-) my mother did it (-) little by little (,) First was the ceiling (-) then a simple concrete
1855 floor and it had two rooms (,) And the bathroom actually had a grout floor and no proper ceil-
1856 ing (,) it was just simple tiles (-) because a proper roof was too expensive (,) We moved into
1857 this house to live in the one single room that was ready (,) We had four beds (-) two bunk
1858 beds (,) My sister and I in one and my mother and other sister in the other bunk (,) The clothes
1859 we kept in a cardboard box (-) and in the winter it was :too: cold (,) The bathroom had no
1860 door (-) just a shower curtain (-) a curtain separated the rooms (-) and was held on a broom-
1861 stick that was placed between the bricks (,) (2)

1862 I: *Uh huh*

1863 B2: So (‘) (2) it was really cold there in the winter and we had to sleep with a thick blanket
1864 and our clothes on (,) But we didn’t die (,)

1865 I: *Uh huh*

1866 B2: My grandfather always gave us milk and bread (-) which he brought in person (‘) and
1867 everything was going well (,) (-) My mother has worked since 1996 as a secretary of the
1868 church (‘) which is the Protestant church there (-)

1869 I: *Uh huh*

1870 B2: and we always helped her too (-) for
1871 example (-) Protestants have this habit of paying a certain amount of money to the church
1872 monthly or annually (,) They paid a fee every month and for that they always received a noti-
1873 fication of payment (‘)

1874 I: *Uh huh*

1875 B2: this notification of payment (-) the three of us had to do at the end
1876 of the year (,) (-) There were 1,200 (-) and each member was supposed to get one (‘) So (‘)
1877 my mother printed them and we had to staple them (-) to put together a 12 month thing (,) So
1878 (‘) we did that (-) and we had to put a :label: on it with the person’s name (-) it looked like a
1879 bible (,) (-) So (‘) we always helped (,)

1880 I: *Uh huh*

1881 B2: On weekends we had to go to my grandfather’s (‘) since we only had my mother (,) He
1882 was the only man he was my ‘father’ (-) he was my reference (,) (-) Today I carry a picture of
1883 him in my wallet (,) We went there (-) and we had to help vaccinate the cattle (-) put urea on
1884 maize and cassava plants (-) milk the cows (-) and harvest the corn and cassava (-) and pota-
1885 toes and cucumber and lettuce (,)

1886 I: *Uh huh*

1887 B2: These things (-) and sugar cane (,) We always went there every weekend (,) (-) So some-
1888 times we slept there (‘) We milked cows a lot and picked up eggs in the mornings (-) that kind
1889 of stuff (,) And had to mow the lawn (-) I would always go there on weekends (-) and my
1890 mother was building our house little by little (-) like a bird builds its nest (‘)

1891 I: *Uh huh*

1892 B2: always little
1893 by little (‘) and to this day it’s still not yet ready (‘)

1894 I: *Uh huh*

1895 B2: To this day it’s not ready (,) (-) But
1896 she’s always improving it (,) Each room in the house has been painted (-) and there’s a proper
1897 floor now (‘) because the first one was already broken (,)

1898 I: *Uh huh*

1899 B2: We lived about eight minutes away from the school (-) we went to a private school (,)
1900 Because my mother said that we had to :save: money (-) we couldn’t watch much :TV: (-) and
1901 could only take a five minute or less shower (‘) we needed the money to pay for school (,) (2)
1902 There was this idea (-) this image that if we went to a public school (‘) we would get pregnant
1903 at 13 or 14 (‘) that we would get lost in life (‘) that was it (-) that we would lose track of life
1904 (‘) that love would fill our womb and that we’d be happy (,) (-) She was afraid that we would
1905 start thinking like this (,) And she was afraid (-) because there were a lot of stories about pub-
1906 lic schools (-) about girls who got pregnant at 14 and had to get married (-) or else they would
1907 have to raise the children alone and would have to drop out of school and so on (,) (-) But the
1908 private school really kept an eye on what you were up to (,) Our teachers (-) we arrived on
1909 Monday and they asked what we had done over the weekend (‘) just to know exactly how we
1910 were and what we had done (-) to know how our conduct outside school really was (,)

1911 I: *Uh huh*

1912 B2: And we had to say in :German: what we did over the weekend (-) but it was more be-
1913 cause/I understand now (-) it was to control our lives and to know what we were doing (,)

1914 I: *Uh huh*

1915 B2: When my parents got separated (-) my mother told the principal “It looks like I will have
1916 to take all three to a public school (‘) because I am by :myself: now and I can’t pay for a pri-
1917 vate school (-) for three children” (,) The principal said “no (-) they have always been very
1918 dedicated and basically the best students in their classes (‘) leave them here (,) And we’ll give
1919 the oldest a scholarship (,) ”

1920 I: *Uh huh*

1921 B2: And I am the oldest (,) (-)

1922 I: *Uh huh*

1923 B2: So (-) I studied since the fourth grade (-) third grade (-) in the third grade they separated

1924 (-) through high school (-) I studied on a 100% scholarship (,)

1925 I: *Uh huh*

1926 B2: My classmates found out at the end of the third year of high school that I had a scholar-

1927 ship (-) because I didn't receive the monthly school tuition bill (-) which I had to take home

1928 (,) (-)

1929 I: *Uh huh*

1930 B2: They thought it was strange (‘) and then I had to act a little bit (-) because it was not

1931 common there (-) to have a scholarship like I had (,)

1932 I: *Uh huh*

1933 B2: Then my sisters had to pay 200 (-) and then another 200 (-) reais in total (-) it was like

1934 “Oh my God” (-) it was a struggle to get this kind of money (-) because at the time my mother

1935 earned no more than 700 reais (-) It was very difficult (,)

1936 I: *Uh huh*

1937 B2: So (‘) (-) we always studied a lot (,) We had to struggle (-) because my mother had al-

1938 ways told us that knowledge was the only thing that nobody could take from us (,) As for ma-

1939 terial things: (‘) someone can simply do something (-) like make you sign a piece of paper and

1940 take everything you have away (,) (-) But they can't do that with your knowledge (,)

1941 I: *Uh huh*

1942 B2: She said that with knowledge we could always survive (,) (2) And I agree with her (,) (-)

1943 If she hadn't put it that way, I don't know if I'd be where I am today (,)

1944 I: *Uh huh*

1945 B2: So I/we always studied quite hard (-) and in the private school we had English and Ger-

1946 man classes (,) We didn't have English and Spanish like normal (,) Because it was a colony (-

1947) and many of the people spoke German at home (-) We had these two (,) And until eight

1948 grade you had to do English and German (,) (-)

1949 I: *Uh huh*

1950 B2: In the first year of high school you could choose which path you would

1951 follow (-) English or German (‘) and I chose German (,) I chose German (-) and then one day

1952 Andreas came and he (interrupts) (-) before Andreas came to talk to us (-) the private school I

1953 went to was the best one in town (‘) There were two (-) One was located in Springfield and
1954 the other one in Greenville (,) We went to the one in Greenville (,) (-) Along with the children
1955 of the :mayor: and :politicians: and :doctors: in town (-) people like that (-) business people
1956 and all the most influential people in town had children in this private school (,)

1957 *I:* *Uh huh*

1958 B2: So (‘) I know that I suffered a lot (-) because we didn’t have the best :clothes to wear and
1959 we had a lot of school trips (‘) especially at the end that I couldn’t go on (-) and there were
1960 also science fairs where we spent the whole day, (-) and I didn’t even have ten bucks to buy a
1961 :snack: (-) this kind of thing (,)

1962 *I:* *Uh huh*

1963 B2: I always had to take snacks from home (-) my mother used to say that the rich kids I went
1964 to school with (-) that only rich people were somebody in society (,)

1965 *I:* *Uh huh*

1966 B2: She contradicted herself sometimes as well (-) I understand today (-) why she said that
1967 only knowledge couldn’t be taken away (‘) but before society (‘) only people in a good
1968 :financial: situation were seen and taken care of and=and were spoiled (,) (-)

1969 *I:* *Uh huh*

1970 B2: So (‘) I said okay (,) But I want to be seen too (-) I don’t want to be spoiled (,) But I want
1971 to be seen (-) (-) I said to myself (-) that I also wanted people to come and say one day ‘:Oh
1972 my: (-) She went to Sao Paolo and she’s studying there’ (-) just like people talked about the
1973 mayor’s kids and so on (,) I said “What do I need to do to be like that” (?) (-) One of the op-
1974 tions was to go to IFPA (,) (2) But what am I going to live on (?) (2) What do I have to do in
1975 order to go to Sao Paolo and make it there (-) so that one day people will say “Well (‘) (-) it
1976 seems like Mary’s daughter went to Sao Paolo (‘) and she is doing fine there (-) She has a
1977 good life” (,)

1978 *I:* *Uh huh*

1979 B2: So ok then (,) What did I have to do (?) Well (‘) I had to be good at :German: (-) I had to
1980 be a :dedicated: and :committed: student and so on (,) I was already dedicated and I studied a
1981 lot (‘) (-) Then (‘) I only needed more German, because I only spoke it at home (,) (-) The
1982 principal provided a teacher so we could go to school in the evenings to learn even more
1983 German (,)

1984 *I:* *Uh huh*

1985 B2: She prepared the students for IFPA entrance tests and I went there (‘) I went to school in
1986 the morning (-) I was in class in the morning (‘) :until: 11:40 (‘) in the afternoon at 1:15 I at-
1987 tended the IT trade course (,) (2) It was a regular IT trade course (-) and returned home around
1988 5:40 (-) showered and was ready to go back to school again at 7:15 (-)

1989 I: *Uh huh*

1990 B2: to study German
1991 with that teacher (,) She played :games: (-) taught :grammar: (-) that kind of thing (,)

1992 I: *Uh huh*

1993 B2: At night (-) when my mother came to pick me up (‘) it was already dark and we went
1994 home (,) (Pause) I went there in the evening to study more (,) (-) and (-) Ok (2) after that I
1995 participated in a German language contest there in Rio Grande do Sul (,)

1996 I: *Uh huh*

1997 B2: I won the regional round (-) and then I won the state round too (,)

1998 I: *Uh huh*

1999 B2: I won the foreign language category (-) which was the most important category (,) (-) I
2000 won this contest and then realized “Oh now I can take the IFPA admission test” (-) So (‘) I
2001 did the test (,) I stayed at one of my mother’s acquaintance’s house (-) my mother rarely
2002 talked to or saw her (-) Smith (-) was her last name (‘) she said I could stay there and (-) she
2003 picked me up from the bus station (-) I slept there and then the next day she drove me to the
2004 German consulate in Porto Alegre (-) where I had to go to take the admissions test (-)

2005 I: *Uh huh*

2006 B2: I passed it (-) but when I left there that day (‘) I thought I was the dumbest person on
2007 earth (,) I thought “Shit (,) I can’t do anything right (-) what am I doing here (?) I studied so
2008 hard for nothing (‘) I’m useless” (-) I didn’t know what else to think (,) I got back to my
2009 school and everyone there kept asking if I had passed the test (‘) asking (‘) “Did you pass (?)
2010 Did you pass (?)” (-) I told people (-) “I don’t know anything yet (-) I don’t really know when
2011 the results will be published (,)” Two weeks later (‘) the results came (-) my mother was on
2012 the online site and she saw my name on the list (-) and I couldn’t believe it (-) nobody thought
2013 I’d make it (-) I could feel (-) that they thought I was poor and wouldn’t be able to make it
2014 there in Sao Paolo and all (-) that I wouldn’t have money to live there (‘) and I don’t know
2015 what else (,) Well (‘) I don’t know (‘) maybe it was only something I thought (-) maybe I felt
2016 this way because my mom also said that (,) in my class nobody thought I would make it there
2017 (-) not even the German teacher (-) even my German teacher didn’t believe I could do it (,) (2)

2018 *I: Uh huh*

2019 B2: After (-) I passed the admission test (-) I went to Sao Paolo (,) I needed to do interviews
2020 to get into the IFPA school (,) They sent me an email saying I needed to be there the next day
2021 at 11:00 AM (,) So (‘) my mother bought a plane ticket using a friend’s credit card and I
2022 boarded a flight in Porto Alegre, went to Sao Paolo (,) and I did the interview (2) This inter-
2023 view was at a company called BLC, which makes the coating for seats (,) I finished in second
2024 place and thought “:Oh: my God” (‘) There was a (pause) well (‘) Jack was the name of the
2025 boy (-) who was in first place (,) We had to participate in a group dynamic (,) that lasted two
2026 days and I finished in second place (-) and they hired that boy (,)

2027 *I: Uh huh*

2028 B2: But (‘) I remember they asked us if we were a brand (-) which brand would we rather be,
2029 and he said TIM (-) I remember he said TIM (,) They asked why and he answered “So I could
2030 live without borders” and I thought ‘fucking shit (,) This kid will win’ (,) And he got the job
2031 because his answer was really good (-) ok (-) so I didn’t pass and had to go back to Rio
2032 Grande do Sul (,) (-) I was so discouraged that it didn’t work out the :first: time (-) I always
2033 put myself under pressure for things to work out the first time I try them (‘)

2034 *I: Uh huh*

2035 B2: I think of life (-) as if I were a doctor operating on a per-
2036 son’s eye (,) I wouldn’t have a second chance (-) to fix a person’s sight (-) I’ll either screw it
2037 up the first time (-) or I’ll do everything 100% right the first time (-) I don’t have a second
2038 chance to fix it (-)

2039 *I: Uh huh*

2040 B2: and I’ve always thought like that (,) So then (-) I decided I’d start work-
2041 ing in Greenville because my mother couldn’t stand :anyone: at home doing nothing (-) We
2042 always had to be occupied doing something (-) or running all over the place (‘) because if you
2043 sat down for five minutes, you were a bum to her (‘)

2044 *I: Uh huh*

2045 B2: I think Germans are crazy like that
2046 (,) I don’t know if Germans are really like that (-) but my mother was hell (,) She couldn’t
2047 stand us watching a cartoon (‘) (-) She would find something for us to do (,) (-) Then we/I
2048 started working at an office that works with patents of trademarks and so on (,)

2049 *I: Uh huh*

2050 B2: It was an office (-) let's say it was a branch (-) and the guy there did some :secret: loans to
2051 retired pensioners (-) it was terrible (-) it was like stealing from them (-) it was hell there (‘)
2052 the guy had this little office (-) and behind the scenes (-) is where everything happened (-) he
2053 took care of processes regarding patents (‘) but also made these loans to (-) pensioners who
2054 are actually poor bastards (,) Then they would come back pissed off and put me through fuck-
2055 ing hell because of the super high interest rates (,) :Oh my: I felt like shit(-) Oh my God (-)
2056 these people already earned very little (-) it was misery(,) But I still had to do it (‘) and make a
2057 deal so they would borrow the money (,) I worked there for two months (,) (2) and then I got
2058 the opportunity to interview for a lot of different jobs for IFPA apprenticeship in Sao Paolo (,)
2059 I told my mother (-) I wouldn't spend 300 reais to go there (‘) it was 145 to get there and 145
2060 to return (,) I said I'd just stay right there (-) even if it meant I had to work there, so that I
2061 could stay for more interviews for IFPA (,)

2062 I: *Uh huh*

2063 B2: So (,) I left for Sao Paolo (,) and my first interview was at SC Group in Sorocaba (-) and
2064 there (‘) because of one of my answers (‘) I'm almost sure it was because of that (‘) the wom-
2065 an said “well (‘) where are you staying here in Sao Paolo (?)” I said “uh (‘) there is a kind of
2066 event next week at the Expo Center Norte (,) And I'm going to attend that while you are de-
2067 ciding on the best candidate and whether or not I will be hired” (,) Then the woman (-) she
2068 was a psychologist (‘) and to me psychologists are all crazy (,) It's like (-) if you don't under-
2069 stand yourself you just go and study psychology (‘) that's how it is (,) Did you study psychol-
2070 ogy before (?)

2071 I: *No, I didn't (,)*

2072 B2: Oh okay then (,) Psychologists are like that (-) when you don't understand yourself and
2073 you are unhappy with your life and family and society (‘) you decide to study psychology to
2074 understand the situation (,) But it only gets worse (,)

2075 I: *Uh huh*

2076 B2: She must have thought (‘) “ah this girl wants to be a model here (‘)” at that time (‘) I
2077 weighed 58 kilos and I could be a model (,) But nowadays it's all fucked up (,) So all right (,)
2078 (-) they must have thought “:hmmm: she doesn't know what she wants to do with her life (-)
2079 doesn't have any goals (-) doesn't know which direction she wants to :follow: (‘) It won't
2080 work (,)” Ok (,) so they didn't hire me (-) I had come to Sao Paolo with the ticket plus 100
2081 reais or 150 reais to survive that my mother had given me (-) she thought I'd come back again
2082 (,) So (‘) she had to send me some money (,) Because I said “oh no (-) mom (,) I'll stay here

2083 (' because I have hope that someone will call me" (-) (,) I had a friend, James (' who was
2084 also from Greenville and my mother called him and said "James (' Virginia (-) my daughter
2085 is there in Sao Paolo and she needs help (-) Oh my God (-) You need to help her there (,) You
2086 :know: give me a hand (,)" James came to pick me up (-) took me home and then I found out
2087 he was a fag (,) He said not to worry and that he would take me to a friend's house (,) When
2088 we arrived I realized it. I thought "oh my everyone in Greenville said that the guy was a fag (-
2089) and then I come here to find out it was true (' Holy shit (,)" (((laughs))) So James said
2090 "don't say a word about this in Greenville (-) if you get there and tell people about it ('
2091 you're in trouble" (,) I said "Ok (,) I don't know anything (-) I know nothing" (,) (((laughs)))
2092 I: (((Laughs)))
2093 B2: So then (2) so I called James and he helped me (,) Then he said (-) he'd take me to his
2094 :boyfriend's: house (-) and I thought "Ok" (,)
2095 I: *Uh huh*
2096 B2: He :took: me there (' you know (-) and so I went there (' spent the night (,) And James
2097 stayed there with me (,) His boyfriend's name was Chris (-) I stayed there (' and the next day
2098 we decided to go for a walk downtown (-) and I went there just to take my CV to different
2099 shops (,)
2100 I: *Uh huh*
2101 B2: James said I should choose the one I liked most (,) Choose a store and then go give them
2102 my CV (,) I said ok (,) (-) And left my CV at different shops (,) At one of them the boy said
2103 "ah (' one of our shop assistants has just quit her job (-) why don't you come by later to talk
2104 to the manager" (,) so I said "sure" (,)
2105 I: *Uh huh*
2106 B2: I went back there (-) talked to the manager (-) and they hired me (,)
2107 I: *Uh huh*
2108 B2: I sold clothes (' surf wear and surfboards (,) (2) I worked there and I earned (-) 1,300
2109 reais (-) but before starting at this shop, because they said they would give me an answer
2110 within the next days or something like that (,) I worked an event at the Center North (,) (-) For
2111 about four days (-) I only had to stand there and welcome everyone with a cute face (-) and I
2112 had to say "hi, good morning" (' or "welcome (-) good morning" ('
2113 I: *Uh huh*
2114 B2: Just this ridiculous task (,) I got 100 reais per day (-) in the end 400 for working

2115 four days (,) Then I stopped doing it (‘) after earning 400 reais (-) with this money I could go
2116 on for a little while (,) (2) Then (‘) I started working at this shop (-) where I :worked: for three
2117 weeks (‘) I had to live on the 400 reais I had made (-) because I didn’t have any other money
2118 to live on (,) (2) And I was there Living there with the fag (‘) (-) Then (‘) I got a call from KS
2119 SP (‘)

2120 *I: Uh huh*

2121 B2: So I had to go there for the interview (,) (-) I did the interview (-) (3) during the event at
2122 Center North, and I made out with a boy (,) The (‘) one day we were talking there at the shop
2123 and I got a call for an interview (‘) but classes had already started at IFPA (,) So I didn’t think
2124 it would work out (,) (-) But he said “Go there and do the interview (-) I’ll lend you 60 reais”
2125 (,) I said “Ok (,) But I haven’t earned any money from the store yet” (,) I had no money to pay
2126 for the bus ticket to go to this company (-) KS SP (,) He said “No (‘) I’ll :lend: you the money
2127 and you can pay me back when you have it” (,) So (‘) I went there for the interview (,) (-) I
2128 went for the interview, then back to the store and said “I’m going to have to leave (,) I can’t
2129 keep working here” (,) And the manager said “what a pity” (‘) because after only three weeks
2130 there I had sold more than the other two guys combined (,) So (‘) I left (‘) (-) I got the pay I
2131 had earned and left (,) I somehow managed to survive the first month before I received any-
2132 thing from KS SP (,) (((laughs))) (2) It was like playing a strategy game (pause)

2133 *I:*

Uh huh

2134 B2: So (‘) then I started looking for a place to live (-) I went online (-) and since I had to hand
2135 in some papers at KS SP (‘) I thought I would visit downtown Campinas so I could see where
2136 a shared flat was (,) Oh my God (-) There were bushes in front of the house (-) :terrible: (-)
2137 and I knocked on the door (-) thinking “son of a gun (-) he sent me to a horrible place” (,) It
2138 looked like it had been abandoned (‘) I rang the doorbell and when two guys came to the front
2139 door I asked if this was the shared flat (-) and they said “yes (,) You can come in and check
2140 out the place if you like” (,) They were kind of weird and I thought (-) “what the hell” and
2141 said “can I ask you a question” (?) He said “yeah” (,) So I said “You two are gay (-) right” (?)
2142 I shouldn’t say ‘faggot’ (,) I should say “gay” (,) So they asked how I knew (,) And I said
2143 “look (-) I can tell by the way you :walk: (-) the way you :talk: (-) it’s easy” (,) So they an-
2144 swered that yes (,) They were gay (‘) and I said “Ok (,) I have no prejudice and it’s cool to be
2145 gay in Sao Paulo” (,) So (‘) I arrived in Sao Paulo and did what I had to do (-) moving in with
2146 these two guys in Campinas (,) (-) Ok (,) (-) :My God: (-) the first night all the faggots in Sao
2147 Paulo came over (,) There were about nine (-) two lesbians who lived together also (‘) they

2148 were all there to visit their gay leader (,) I guess (,) (2) Like the leader of their gay gang
2149 (((laughs))) they were all faggots (‘) and came from all over (‘) I didn’t know how many
2150 rooms the apartment had (,) And I remember thinking that the world was lost (-) I was afraid
2151 to get involved (-) because I was afraid they would brainwash me and I would end up gay too
2152 (((laughs)))
2153 I: (((laughs)))
2154 B2: I worked there for one or two weeks at KS SP (,) (-) Because (-) when I started there at
2155 KS SP (-) let me tell you (‘) they had this small group of interns who worked there (,) And
2156 who were all going to college (,) (-) I thought college normally had dorms (-) and shared flats
2157 (,) So I started at KS SP earning 600 reais (2) internship :salary: (,) and they paid the monthly
2158 IFPA fee of 600 reais (-) to the school (,)
2159 I: *Uh huh*
2160 B2: I had to pay 100 reais to live with the girls (-) and had to pay 200 reais to live in a shared
2161 flat here in Sao Paolo (-) in Campinas (‘)
2162 I: *Uh huh*
2163 B2: *Because I had decided to live here in*
2164 *Campinas (-) :since: they have a college here and shared flats (,) (2)*
2165 I: *Uh huh*
2166 B2: There was a girl I met one day (-) who was also an intern at KS SP (,) She worked in the
2167 legal department and we became friends (‘) Once I said to her “if I get sick will you take me
2168 to the doctor (?)” (-) She said “Yes (,) I’ll take you” (,) And I said “Then I’ll move to Campi-
2169 nas ” (‘) (((laughs)))
2170 I: *Uh huh*
2171 B2: Because I had no father or mother to take care of me (,) She said “Don’t worry (,) I’ll take
2172 you to the doctor” (,) So then I moved in and shared a flat with five other girls (-) It was cool
2173 (‘) because I had to :learn: to take care of my finances (-) pay two rents per month (‘) because
2174 while I was at IFPA I had to pay rent in (-) Campinas also (,) I had to commute from Campi-
2175 nas all the time (,) I got sick with and intestinal infection because I :ate: a lot of leftovers (-)
2176 that were in the fridge (,) Sometimes I kept leftovers for three days before eating them (,) (-)
2177 I: *Uh huh*
2178 B2: Since I wanted to pay rent and bills first (‘) (-) buying food came after that (,) The com-
2179 pany heard that I was sick and asked what was going on (‘) and they said that a social worker
2180 wanted to talk to me (,) I explained to them that (‘) “You see (-) I pay my bills first (‘) and

2181 then if I have money left I eat (,) But the money I make here just isn't enough" (') (-) I told
2182 her I had no family there (,) And she said "No way (,) We'll fix this" (,) From that day on they
2183 started paying me 1,200 reais :plus: the school tuition which they had to pay for anyway (,) So
2184 then (') I was in heaven (') I worked there first for a year in the HR department (') and after
2185 that to sales (-) in a kind of job rotation where I saw different departments (-) In 2008 (') a
2186 guy appeared in my life who was one of the interns that helped me a lot and today is my fian-
2187 cée (,) (-) He was the one who told me about the shared flat where I lived for a year (') He
2188 always helped me (') Larry was an :angel: in my life (,) When I moved into the shared flat (')
2189 I had just a room and a bathroom for me (-) but today (-) since 2009 (-) I live in my own
2190 apartment (,) It has a :living: room (-) a :kitchen: (-) a :laundry: room (-) a bedroom and a
2191 bathroom (,)

2192 *I: Uh huh*

2193 B2: And it has a garage where I keep my old Uno (,) I have a red '85 Fiat Uno (') I finished
2194 paying for the car this year (-) 4,000 reais for my little Uno (') (((laughs)))

2195 *I: (((laughs)))*

2196 B2: I use it to drive to college (,) (2) So I was working at KS SP (') and in 2008 a crisis hit (,)
2197 (-) My boyfriend (-) Larry (-) they fired him (') I was still hired after the IFPA internship (-)
2198 in the middle of all of that (') they :fired: the vice president's secretary (,) Because she earned
2199 too much (-) and they :hired: me to do her job (-) to be a secretary for the board of directors (,)

2200 *I: Uh huh*

2201 B2: Since I am of German descent (') and had done the IFPA apprenticeship (') they hired me
2202 (,) (-) I started there (-) and worked until may of 2010 (-) I was officially hired to work in their
2203 engineering department on April 1 in 2009 (-) and (2) no (-) sorry (-) in May of 2011 (-) I
2204 went to engineering (,)

2205 *I: Uh huh*

2206 B2: In 2009 (') I did a prep course all year (,) (-) And then passed the first part of the entrance
2207 examination at Unicamp University (') When I did the second part (-) I had 70 points fewer
2208 than I needed to get in (,) (-) Out of 450 points (-) I had 70 too few (,) (2) I went to the HR
2209 director (') and asked him about it (-) why not to ask for the opinion of a professional (?) (-) I
2210 said "Look (') what should I do (?) Should I go to a private university" (?) Or should I go on
2211 gaining experience at the company during the day (-) or should I focus another year working
2212 and studying in the evening (,) And then try to get into a public university" (,) The HR direc-

2213 tor said “No (,) Let’s see if we can get you a scholarship so you can go to college and keep
2214 working here” (,) That’s fine (-) the company started paying 90% of my university tuition (‘)

2215 *I: Uh huh*

2216 B2: And I was earning a salary of 1,700 reais (,) (-) It was about :time: and I’m very grateful
2217 to KS SP (‘) because they always helped me a lot (,) Even though I didn’t really like being a
2218 secretary (‘) because my mother was a secretary her entire life and it traumatized me (,) It was
2219 a good way to learn a lot (,) (-) So I worked there until May (‘) and in 2009 (‘) I was really
2220 inspired by the president of KS SP (-) I remember seeing the :vice: president’s office (-) and
2221 deciding that (-) one day I would become a director (,)

2222 *I: Uh huh*

2223 B2: But he was Chief Financial Advisor (-) and I didn’t want to be a financial manager (‘) but
2224 the president inspired me a lot anyway (‘) because he studied mechanical engineering at col-
2225 lege (,) But I thought that was something more for :men: (,) It was more technical (,) I wanted
2226 something difficult (,)

2227 *I: Uh huh*

2228 B2: That’s why I wanted to be in industrial engineering (,) (-) They helped me with the
2229 :scholarship: (‘) today I am in the fifth semester of industrial engineering (,) And one of the
2230 professors gave me the opportunity to do an exchange program in August (‘) I don’t know yet
2231 if I will do it or :not: (-) I don’t know if I will ever have another opportunity if I don’t take
2232 this one (‘) (-) I started working at their industrial engineering department last year (-) in May
2233 2011 (,) I worked there for six months until December (,) I learned a lot there doing reports on
2234 :pistons: and :motors: special rings and so on (‘) I was working with something I had always
2235 dreamed of doing (,) In an area I always thought of working (,) (-) In December I got a call to
2236 do an interview at DBS (‘) This call came on December 31 (‘)

2237 *I: Uh huh*

2238 B2: and I decided to accept it
2239 (,) They ended up hiring me (,) And I work there today (-) It’s been two months that I’ve been
2240 working for this company and I already had to go twice to Curitiba because my boss works
2241 there (,) I need to go there for training programs (,) Last night I got back (-) at 9:00 PM (,) I
2242 went to bed at 1:00 AM (‘) because I stayed up late working on a (-) :worksheet: a list for a
2243 management project (,) So I have to come up with ideas to better visualize our management
2244 and I was up until late (-) one o’clock in the morning (,) Then (‘) I felt motivated to get up
2245 early in the morning because I want to go there and show my boss (-) what I had done until

2246 1:00 in the morning (‘) without calculating overtime or anything (,) (-) So this morning I
2247 woke up at 5:00 didn’t go to class again (-) and am here with you (‘) Monday (-) Tuesday and
2248 Wednesday I was in Curitiba and today I’m here (,) Anyway (‘) before I left KS SP and got
2249 my sister a job there (-) in their logistics department (-) She is going to college now (-) at
2250 Faculdade de Americana (,) (-) I was the one who enrolled her there too (‘) (-) the tuition in-
2251 voice comes with my name on it (-) but she is the one who pays it (‘)

2252 *I:* *Uh huh*

2253 B2: I also got a job for one of my university classmates (-) I took his CV to the company (‘)
2254 and he was hired (,) Today (‘) whenever I go to Curitiba (-) I ask him to help me at the uni-
2255 versity by telling the professor I am in class when he takes :attendance: (-) he says that I went
2256 to the restroom (‘) (2) (((laughs))) If the professor is cool (‘) I send him a copy of my manag-
2257 er’s email saying that I have to fly to Curitiba and that I won’t be able to go to class (,) He just
2258 says “No problem (-) After the end of the term, if you haven’t been here enough (-) I’ll talk to
2259 you and we can work it out” (,) (-) But there’s one I told about it (‘) who made this weird face
2260 at me (-) I said “when he calls my name (‘) tell him I went to the restroom” (,)” He said
2261 “Leave it to me (-) Virginia” (-) Ok (,) When I’m in class (‘) and he has to travel (‘) I do the
2262 same for him (,) and I know that he’ll give me all the notes from the last class I missed (-) It’s
2263 like that every week (-) I try to manage everything that I have to do (,) (2) And (-) :today: I
2264 am working at :DBS: (,) (2) My middle sister (-) has been doing a prep course since she grad-
2265 uated from high school (-) she has worked in Santa Catarina (‘) and her name is Lisa (-) Three
2266 times she has passed the entrance exam for the public university to study nursing (,) Because
2267 nursing is her second option (,) Her first is to study medicine (-) but she hasn’t pass it yet (-)
2268 just the one for studying nursing (‘)

2269 *I:* *Uh huh*

2270 B2: She’s been trying to pass since :2007: (-) but has :finally: made up her mind
2271 and decided (,) She will study nursing (‘) she passed the entrance exam for the public univer-
2272 sity at Pelotas (-) which is a federal university (,)

2273 *I:* *Uh huh*

2274 B2: So she :will: live there (-) and has actually already moved to :Pelotas: because
2275 classes have started (‘) she can’t afford an apartment for just herself (,) So she will see if she
2276 can find a :dorm: (,) (-)

2277 *I:* *Uh huh*

2278 B2: Both my sisters have lived here with me (-) It was like “Lisa (‘) come live with me” (‘)
2279 and she came (,) I said “You will find a prep course to pass the university entrance exam (‘)
2280 work during the day at an office (-) you could do just about anything (-) accounting (-) or you
2281 could work as a shop assistant (‘) anything (,) As long as you don’t become a prostitute” (,)
2282 I: (((*laughs*)))

2283 B2: (((*laughs*))) Yeah (,) I’m like that (-) I think as long as you don’t decide to be a prostitute
2284 (-) you can do just about anything else (-) Nothing you do will make you have a less dignified
2285 life (‘) (-) Ok then (,) So (‘) I’d come home in the afternoon from work and she would be
2286 home sleeping (‘) I thought “No (,) Come on (‘) This can’t be real (‘) I don’t work all day just
2287 to come home and see this” (,) I said “you can pack your bags and go on with your life like
2288 that if you think it is the best way to live” (,) So (‘) she packed her bags (‘) and went to Santa
2289 Catarina again to work during the day and study at night (,) Or vice versa (-) I don’t really
2290 know how she did it there (,) I think it was the other way around (-) anyway (‘) I said I would
2291 help my middle sister too (,) Because my mother screamed at us so much at home that she
2292 couldn’t stand us hanging out, and that she would find work for us to do (,) So I talked to my
2293 middle sister and said “Helen (‘) you can come (,) You can’t do what Lisa did here (-) but you
2294 can come” (,) So (‘) (2) She came too (‘) She did an internship there at KS SP (‘) (2) but then
2295 I saw that she was here (‘) also just watching TV (‘) she got back home from her internship at
2296 about 3:00 PM and spent the rest of the day watching TV at home (,) She didn’t study or learn
2297 any English (-) she didn’t even watch movies in English (-) She didn’t read :books: and I told
2298 her “You’ll be an intern for the rest of your life like that (‘) because after two years you’re out
2299 (‘) Let’s wake up” (‘)

2300 I: *Uh huh*

2301 B2: nobody can guarantee that you’ll be hired (,) At home for example
2302 (‘) she thought the shampoo just came by itself to the shelf and that soap grew there and that I
2303 didn’t have to pay for it (-) the same with detergent and toilet paper (-) you know (?) I said
2304 “Oh no (,) Helen (-) you don’t know how much everything costs” (‘) I talked a lot (-) but to no
2305 avail (,) I said “Go live in a shared flat and then at least you’ll learn how things are split and
2306 how much they cost (,) Then later, if you really need anything else (‘) you can come talk to
2307 me again and then I’ll help you (,) I have decided that I will no longer help right now (‘) but
2308 when you need help and come ask for it (-) I’ll help you (‘) I will gladly help you (,) No prob-
2309 lem” (,) To take someone from the life they are used to living is difficult (,)

2310 I: *Uh huh*

2311 B2: I learned it the hard way (,) But I learned it (,) I don't know if I'm right or wrong (-) but
2312 what can I do (?)

2313 I: *Uh huh*

2314 B2: Ok, that's it (') my throat is dry now (,) (pause)

2315 I: Great (,) Is there anything you may have :forgotten: or anything else you'd like to tell me,
2316 Virginia (?)

2317 B2: Just about IFPA (') (-) because I don't think I told you everything about it (,) I don't
2318 know if you'll use it in your research (-) but I expected a lot more from IFPA (-) I wanted to
2319 work for a 100% German multinational (-) but everyone said (') it wasn't like that and we
2320 always had complaints about the school while we were there, because we wanted it to be more
2321 intensive and clear (-) they didn't explain things (-) and left everything :up: in the air (-) I was
2322 really disappointed in our classes (') I expected more (,) (-) It ended up helping me a lot, but
2323 not from knowledge I gained there (,)

2324 I: *Uh huh*

2325 B2: The name and the :reputation: IFPA has are good (,) And that's why students still
2326 :manage: to find vacancies at companies (,) The reputation is good (') but not the knowledge
2327 they provide at the school (,) (-)

2328 I: *Uh huh*

2329 B2: So many students that go to the school are spoiled rich kids (') they are the children of the
2330 same managers of multinationals like VW (-) Henkel's and so on (,) They go to the school
2331 and have already (-) for example (-) learned English since they were three years old (')

2332 I: *Uh huh*

2333 B2: :Those: (') people here from colonies like Greenville (') focused on :German: (-) and
2334 didn't learn much English in school (,) It really screws up your life afterward (,) For example
2335 (-) I haven't even told you (,) I couldn't talk to you last Saturday morning because I go from
2336 eight until noon to an English course (')

2337 I: *Uh huh*

2338 B2: *Uh huh* because of that (,) If IFPA had offered us to solid
2339 years of education while I was there (') I definitely wouldn't need to go to a class like that
2340 now (,)

2341 I: *Uh huh*

2342 B2: But ok (,) You do need to refresh your knowledge from time to time anyway (,) (-) An-
2343 other thing was the social class difference there (,) Because there were only three students

2344 who actually were from the lower class (-) It was John (-) Jack and I (‘) (-) The rest belonged
2345 to the upper class (-) I don’t know if class A or B(‘) but let’s just say that they were all 17 or
2346 18 years old (-) and had a car a :Ford: or a VW :Fox: or something to drive to school (-) and
2347 here in Brazil a Fox (‘) (-) in my opinion (‘) is a family car (‘)

2348 I: *Uh huh*

2349 B2: some kids came to school driv-
2350 ing Land Rovers (-) even armored Land Rovers (‘) Another one drove a City that his father
2351 had given him (‘) and another a Honda Civic (‘) I felt like :shit: (-) I felt like nothing (-) in
2352 that place (‘)

2353 I: *Uh huh*

2354 B2: since you have to walk to get to IFPA and the sidewalks were full of dog shit
2355 (‘) that’s how it was to get from the *IFPA-Haus* where the dorms were (-) to school (,) I felt
2356 like shit too (,) Because I had no help from anyone (,) :But: it was good for me to grow as a
2357 person (,) I had to cook my own :food: (-) I had to go to the store (-) I had to :do: my own
2358 :laundry: (-) clean my room at *IFPA-Haus* (,) And do everything else alone (,) But it helped
2359 me grow as a human being (,) (-) Today I see that people recognize :these: efforts (,)

2360 I: *Uh huh*

2361 B2: My :bosses: at the companies I interviewed for saw this (-) saw who I am today (,) For
2362 example (‘) I got the job at DBS (-) which produces agricultural machinery (‘) because I said
2363 in my interview that I had to hoe to harvest sugar cane and I had always dreamed of one day
2364 having a machine that could do it all there in all the land my grandfather used to have planta-
2365 tions (,)

2366 I: *Uh huh*

2367 B2: Since I had to help fertilize and work with manure (‘) now I am a project analyst of
2368 sprayers that are used to fertilize on plantations (,) (-)

2369 I: *Uh huh*

2370 B2: So (‘) (-) life is really weird (‘) how paths can sometimes cross (-) It’s really strange like
2371 that (,) And subjectively people see me as uh (-) before (‘) at KS SP (-) they saw me as a
2372 :nosy: blonde bitch who thinks she can speak German (-) will come here like a know-it-all (-)
2373 and take someone else’s job (,) She left Rio Grande do Sul to come here (‘) It’s terrible (‘)
2374 “She’s like that” (-) they thought (‘) “She’s just a person from Bahia” (‘) Because here in Sao
2375 Paolo (‘) when someone comes here to this :state: (,) It’s someone from Bahia trying to steal
2376 someone’s job here (,) (-) At DBS I think they can see where I :come: from what :values: I

2377 have (-) and that I had to fight to be here and am not trying to steal anybody's job (-) It's not
2378 the kind of image I want them to have of me (‘)

2379 *I: Uh huh*

2380 B2: I just (‘) want to have what I deserve (-)
2381 everybody does (,) I don't need to pull the rug from under anybody's feet (,) (-) IFPA helped
2382 me a lot with this (-) because without German I would not have gotten the job at this company
2383 I worked for now (,) (-) even though they don't speak German (,) They are a company from
2384 Italy (,) (-)

2385 *I: Uh huh*

2386 B2: That's it (-) I don't know if it helped you more or not (‘) but I talked a little more (,)
2387 (((laughs))) You're taking a lot of notes (-) right (?)

2388 *I: Yes (,) Yes (,) Uh huh (,) (pause) uh (-) Ok (,) (-) Anything else you want to tell me about
2389 these last :comments: maybe (?)*

2390 B2: (pause) About the company (?)

2391 *I: From the time you went to IFPA that you were just telling me about (,)*

2392 B2: Oh /ehm/ I lived with a girl from Curitiba and another one from Rio Grande do Sul (,) (-)
2393 Actually three girls from Rio Grande do Sul and also another one from Sao Paulo (-) The girl
2394 from Curitiba was really boring (‘) Today (‘) now that I'm working for DBS and their head-
2395 quarters are in Curitiba (‘) I can see it (‘) People say "People from Curitiba are assholes" (,) I
2396 really have the impression that they are like the girl I lived with when I meet people in Curitiba
2397 ba (,) (2) I don't know (,) It won't add much (,) but at :home: it was important because we
2398 were like the people in the Big Brother Brazil show (((laughs)))

2399 *I: (((laughs)))*

2400 B2: So (-) I don't know (-) I'll see what life brings me now and whether things will keep go-
2401 ing well (‘) Everything depends on the life stage where we are (‘) there always two paths for
2402 us to follow (‘) I could stay in Greenville (‘) working to build :my: little house (-) or I could
2403 come to Sao Paulo (,) (-) and I came (,) began at the store and then KS SP (-) before starting
2404 at DBS (‘) and then should I go to college or not (?) (‘) Life will always give you different
2405 options (‘) It's like I said before (‘) I put myself under a lot of pressure to do things right the
2406 first time (‘) :One hundred: percent right the first time (,) (-)

2407 *I: Uh huh*

2408 B2: But, like it or not (‘) I can either make it here (‘) (-) or I can go there (,) I need to
2409 forget about the if (-) If I could(-)(-) If I had done (,) (3) Ok, Marcelo (,) That's all (,)

2410 *I: All right, then (‘) Thank you very much for this part of the interview (‘) and now we can*
2411 *start on the second part (,) Because I would like to ask you some questions :about: the story*
2412 *you told me (,) But first (-) I would like to thank you very :much: for your participation and*
2413 *for the life story you just told me (-) It was :very: interesting (,) Thank you (,)*
2414 *B2: You’re welcome (,) (pause)*

2415 *I: Well (-) ok then Virginia (,) Thank you for the details you told me about your life and the*
2416 *story you told (‘) I still have some questions regarding what you said I your life history (-) I*
2417 *have a question (-) a doubt that I have (‘) is that you said your family (-) and your grandpar-*
2418 *ents only spoke German among yourselves (?)*

2419 *B2: Yes (-) A German dialect (‘) called Hunsrück (,) (-)*

2420 *I: So if I understand it right (‘) it was normal to speak German with your grandparents (-)*
2421 *sisters and mother and father (‘) at home (?)*

2422 *B2: Yes (,) The first language I learned was German (,) But when we started playing with our*
2423 *classmates who were also neighbors (,) And when I started going to school (‘) then I had to*
2424 *learn to speak Portuguese (,) But at home and at my grandparents’ we always spoke German*
2425 *(,) (2)*

2426 *I: Uh huh (-) right (,) :And: you also said in your story that there was always a concern that*
2427 *one should marry a German in order to continue the German culture (,) You said this at the*
2428 *beginning of the story (,) Can you please explain a little bit more what you meant by continu-*
2429 *ing the culture (-) Virginia (?)*

2430 *B2: (2) Well (‘) we colonized Rio Grande do Sul (‘) (-) During the foundation of the city, the*
2431 *first buildings were a Lutheran church and a school (‘) which stood right next to each other (,)*
2432 *Along with the pastor’s house (‘) who was usually also a teacher at the school (,) This coloni-*
2433 *zation of Rio Grande do Sul in Greenville was done by Germans who came (-) if I’m not mis-*
2434 *taken (-) in 1858 and then started everything (,) Together they built the church, the school,*
2435 *and so on (‘) Their goal was to maintain the culture (‘) which is why they had the concern of*
2436 *(-) continuing the society (‘) the future generations would end up marrying one another so that*
2437 *the culture would continue (‘) in this group (‘) (-)*

2438 *I: *Is this the custom in your family (-) too (?)**

2439 *B2: Uh huh (,) Yes (,) It’s like my mom (-) her last name is Schmidt (-) a German name (‘)*
2440 *and my father’s is Wagner (-) also a German last name (,) They got married (-) so the culture*
2441 *was maintained (,) This culture of raising German children and speaking German to them (-)*

2442 etc (,) My cousin (-) she is nine years old (-) but in 2003 (-) when I was 13 (‘) my uncle and
2443 aunt really wanted to speak German to her (,) Even though Portuguese was widespread due to
2444 globalization (‘) I don’t really know how to explain it (‘) but they had this concern that we
2445 should speak German with them (-) even though we were surrounded by Portuguese (,) We
2446 also had English around us (,) Because of things like English songs (,) But at home (‘) during
2447 our first years (-) we always spoke German (,) So (‘) it would stay in our heads (,) Today (‘)
2448 my cousin speaks Portuguese (-) actually both (‘) She speaks German (-) but from the mo-
2449 ment she starts going to school (‘) all the language she learned will come back to her (-) the
2450 language we spoke when we were small (,) (2) At least to me it was that way (,)

2451 *I: Uh huh (,) All right (‘)*

2452 B2: Is it clear now (?)

2453 *I: Yes (,) sure (‘) Ok then (-) Good (,) I just wanted to hear what else you had to say about it*
2454 *(,) And then you said that your mother (-) I’m trying to ask you questions in a certain order (-)*
2455 *the order you told your life story (,) Ok (?) Then you said your mother was unable to continue*
2456 *with her accounting office at a certain time (‘) and if I understood correctly (‘) it was a diffi-*
2457 *cult time, right (?)*

2458 B2: Yes(,) It is (,) (-) My parents got married and then the three of us were born one after an-
2459 other (,) And I don’t know to this day (-) I haven’t figured out the real reason (-) in my opin-
2460 ion (‘) it was a lack of planning (-) because we were born one after the other, three kids (-)
2461 one each year (‘) (-)

2462 *I: Uh huh*

2463 B2: She had to close down her office (‘) it was difficult to take care of three
2464 girls and their education (,) And she wasn’t in a good financial situation at that time (-) she
2465 didn’t even have a washing machine (‘) since she had to take care of all these chores at home
2466 (-) plus three daughters (-) it was impossible to keep the accountancy office (,) (pause)

2467 *I: Ok (,) Right (,) And you also said that your grandparents (-) I found this part very interest-*
2468 *ing (‘) that your grandparents helped you by giving you food (-) which in your opinion is*
2469 *wrong (-) can you explain this a little more (?)*

2470 B2: It’s because (-) in a way (-) I think this happened because of a lack of planning (‘) my
2471 grandparents had to help (,) And it was like they were saying “this is the first step (‘) we’re
2472 helping you now (‘) we will help by giving you the fish now (‘) but in time you’ll have to
2473 learn to fish” (-) my grandfather always gave us meat and eggs (-) everything coming from his

2474 small family farm (‘) the meat (-) eggs and milk and bread (,) and sometimes vegetables also
2475 (-) like lettuce and carrots (-) cherry tomatoes (-) the tiny ones (-) my grandfather always
2476 brought it to us (‘) it started when my parents got married (-) when we were very little (,) And
2477 it never stopped (,) It was always like that (-) during the eight years I lived with my mother
2478 and father (,) After that (-) when my mother got separated, my grandfather kept doing it (,)
2479 Because my mother was separated and he had to help (,) It was always that way (,) until the
2480 day we found him dead on his plantation (,) So (‘) it never changed (-) and I find that wrong (-
2481) because when I left home it was my decision (,) And I believe that from the day I got on that
2482 bus (‘) I knew I had to care for myself (,) Because my mother won’t live forever (‘) and (-) I
2483 think she should have thought about the fact that her father and mother wouldn’t live forever
2484 (‘) One day she would have to start buying her own milk, bread and (-) she’d have to buy her
2485 own groceries (,) That’s why I think it’s wrong (,) (2)

2486 *I: Uh huh (-) right (,) And (-) you mentioned that from the first day you set foot on that bus,*
2487 *you had to start taking care of yourself financially (,) Is that right (?)*

2488 B2: When I left Greenville (‘) I left and (-) took the admission test to enter IFPA in Porto
2489 Alegre (,) I took the test (‘) and I thought I hadn’t passed (,) But one day my German teacher
2490 came and said “Virginia (-) you passed the test” (,) I couldn’t believe it (‘) I saw my name
2491 there on the website (,) And (-) wow (-) great (,) And began the selection process for a com-
2492 pany (,) To enter IFPA you need to have a company (-) This company needs to accept you as
2493 an intern and that’s how you go through the normal selection process (,) It’s similar to a train-
2494 ee program or something like that (-) Since all the selection processes began very soon after
2495 we were approved (‘) we needed to prepare a CV and send it to IFPA (-) who would then send
2496 it to companies who were partners of IFPA (,) So I passed the test (‘) and got a call from a
2497 company called SC Group (,) So I came to Sao Paulo (-) and did the first interview (‘) I stayed
2498 there a week and came back (,) (-) It took ages (-) Then (‘) a man from another company
2499 called me (,) This was BLC (,) And I had to fly the same evening so I could be there for the
2500 interview the next morning at 11:00 AM on Avenida Paulista (‘) at the Santander building
2501 there in Sao Paulo (,) So (‘) I had to be there on Avenida Paulista the next day for the selec-
2502 tion process for Lear Corporation (,) (-) My mother paid for the ticket for me to go (,) Wait (-)
2503 first was at BLC (-) and then SC Group (,) First (-) for my interview at BLC (-) my mother
2504 bought the ticket using a credit card she borrowed from a friend (‘) which she had to repay in
2505 installments (‘) So (‘) I came (,) And it didn’t work out (‘) so I returned home by bus (,) The

2506 second interview was at SC Group in Sorocaba (,) I came by bus and stayed at an apartment
2507 (2) Two guys lived there (-) one was gay and the other was straight (,) And they smoked mari-
2508 juana and the living room really stank (-) Anyway (‘) they sat there in a circle with a bunch of
2509 guys (‘) and I saw that the guys were using cocaine too (,) That’s how I learned what cocaine
2510 looked like (,) They kept a pen on the kitchen table (‘) with a white powder next to it (-) in
2511 lines (-) That was when I saw what cocaine looked like (‘) Before (‘) I had only heard about it
2512 in school during a presentation we had (‘) because they showed how it was used with a little
2513 tube and white powder (,) We had these kinds of things at our private school (-) they taught us
2514 how we should behave and conduct our lives (,) (-) I stayed there (-) because one of the guys
2515 (-) who was a model from Greenville (-) had been called by my mother (-) who said “Maybe
2516 he can help you if you need anything (‘) I don’t know” (,) So my mom called him (,) And he
2517 said “Ok (,) I’ll come pick you up (‘) and find a place for you to stay” (,) That’s why I stayed
2518 at the place with the gay guy and the straight guy (,)(-) After spending a week there (‘) I real-
2519 ized that (-) oh man (-) the guy was his boyfriend (-) the friend of my mother from Greenville
2520 was the boyfriend of the guy who owned the apartment (,) It turned out he was (-) I’m not
2521 sure I can say this in an interview (-) he was a faggot (‘) So (,) this acquaintance from Green-
2522 ville was the other guy’s boyfriend (,) And that’s why he took me to that apartment (,)

2523 I: *Uh huh*

2524 B2: So (‘) anyway (‘) I went to Sao Paulo (,) (-) And passed the test and so on (‘)(2) Then I
2525 said (-) “No (,) I don’t want to go back home anymore (-) I don’t want to go back to the south
2526 (‘) I’ll just stay and work here” (,) So (‘) I left my CV at Lorraine (‘) It’s on Alameda Lorena
2527 and is the first store I went into (-) there (‘) It was a surf shop (-) and I liked it (‘) because it
2528 had a lot to do with the beach (,) I remember that the manager had gone out to lunch, but I did
2529 the interview later and ended up getting a job there as a shop assistant (,) Then I (-) said I
2530 would have to live there with the guys in their apartment (‘) (-) the two guys I told you about
2531 (,) So I lived there and had to sleep on the floor in their laundry room (,) While I worked at a
2532 store called Hip Curl (‘) which was the name of the store on Alameda Lorena (-) where I
2533 worked for a month (,) I didn’t have any hope that a company would call me (‘) but then KS
2534 SP from Nova Odessa called me (,) (-) Then (‘) well (‘) (-) to sum everything up (‘) that I said
2535 (‘) (-) my mother paid my bus fare (,) And I came with 150 reais in my pocket (,) I came to
2536 Sao Paulo (‘) and had to stay in the apartment of the guys I told you about (,) They didn’t
2537 charge me anything (-) I said I would get a job and they said “ok (,) You can stay in the laun-

2538 dry room and help pay rent (-) you can pay 150 for the rent” (,) And I managed to arrange a
2539 tiny mattress to put on the floor (‘) but had to lift the mattress close the door since the room
2540 was so small (,) So that’s how I ended up staying there (,) I stayed there with them (,) And in
2541 the first month I paid for everything with the money I made doing that event (,) I handed in
2542 my CV and the guy at the store said I would have to wait until May 2nd to start (,) After La-
2543 bor Day (,) So I asked myself “What am I going to do until then (?)” Then (‘) that acquaint-
2544 ance from Greenville said that there was an event in Anhembi in Sao Paulo (‘) here in Centro
2545 Norte (‘) he said “This agency is looking for people (-) you go there (-) sign up and a woman
2546 will take a look at you (,) But you don’t have to undress or anything like that (,) If they think
2547 you are pretty and they like you (‘) you’ll be able to work at the trade fair” (,) But I thought (-
2548) “Oh my (-) what do I have to do (?)” She said “It’s kind of a receptionist job, and you’ll
2549 have to put on a suit or a longer dress or black coat (-) you don’t have to do anything ob-
2550 scene” (,) So (‘) I said “Ok (,) And how much will I earn (?)” “You’ll get 100 reais per day”
2551 (‘) “And how many days do I have to work (?)” She said “Four days” (-) and I said “Oh my (-
2552) I’m in (‘) I don’t have to do anything nasty or obscene (‘) I’m in” (,) I worked there for four
2553 days and made 400 reais (,) So (‘) I paid my first rent (,) And after that started working at the
2554 surf shop (-) after an entire month there (‘) this KS SP company called me (,) And I figured I
2555 had to go there (‘) because deep down I had come to Sao Paulo to study at IFPA and not to
2556 work in a clothing store selling surf boards and such (,) So I quit my mob there and they gave
2557 me some money (-) with this money (‘) I went to Nova Odessa and did the interview and
2558 started living in a shared flat here in Campinas with nine homosexual guys and two lesbians
2559 (‘) (-) I found this shared flat on the internet (‘) because I didn’t know anyone in Campinas (,)
2560 So I found this flat in Campinas (,) The first one that I found (-) and went for it (,) I scheduled
2561 an interview and went there so they could get to know me (,)

2562 *I:* *Uh huh*

2563 B2: So (‘) I did the interview at KS SP and went there using the money from the job at the
2564 surf shop (‘) I did the interview and then took a bus to Campinas and (-) went downtown (,)
2565 When I got there (‘) I saw this house that looked abandoned (,) There were just some bushes
2566 in front of the house and I couldn’t believe it (‘) I thought “Oh my (-) Virginia (-) you must be
2567 really dumb to find a shared flat on the internet and then think it really exists” (,) So (‘) I rang
2568 the bell and waited a little (,) When two guys came to the door (-) and both were homosexual
2569 (‘) I asked one “You’re both homosexual (,) Right (?)” and they said “Yeah (‘) but how do

2570 you know (?)” I said “Oh (-) I can tell just by the way you walk and talk” (‘) However (‘) no-
2571 body told me there were even more homosexuals living there when I went to see the place (-)
2572 there were nine in total (,) I was the only heterosexual there (,) I started at KS SP and for the
2573 first two weeks I somehow tolerated it (,) But by the third week I couldn’t take it any more (,)
2574 I had to wake up at 3:30 in the morning to go to work at KS SP (-) and during my first week
2575 at KS SP I said “I need to live in a shared apartment because it’s cheaper than renting my own
2576 place (-) especially on just an intern salary (‘) I’m going to go where the interns hang out on
2577 their breaks” (‘) I figured that since interns go to college (-) and every college has shared flats
2578 (,) So (‘) I went there and sat with them (-) where they always hung out for a half hour for
2579 lunch (-) they always sat on a bench (,) So one day I went there (,) And said “Hey(-) listen (‘)
2580 I’m sorry to interrupt (‘) but I work here in another department and wanted to ask if you could
2581 help me with something (?) The thing is (-) I’m living in Campinas and the place (-) the at-
2582 mosphere is not very good (,) The people don’t have my sexual orientation (‘) and they go to
2583 sleep at 4:00 AM (‘) while I have to wake up at 3:30 (,) And I don’t know (-) but (-) does an-
2584 yone know of a shared flat (?) Can you please tell me if you know of one (?)” Then (-) a
2585 young guy stood up and said “I can get something for you” (,) and I said “ok” (,) He said he
2586 would give me an answer tomorrow (,) The next day (-) I called the guy at his extension num-
2587 ber (‘) because he worked at (-) ah (,) I forget the name (-) and I really thought it wouldn’t
2588 work out (‘) that I was screwed and the guy didn’t even look at one for me (‘) But he had said
2589 “Tomorrow I’ll call and give you an answer” (,) I thought to myself “I’m not going to worry
2590 about it (‘) because it won’t work out anyway” (,)(-) But the next day came (‘) and the guy
2591 called me and said “Hey (‘) look (‘) I talked to Juliana (‘) and she talked to a friend (‘) This
2592 friend lives in a shared flat (,) And if you want to come over and sleep at my place (,) I’ll take
2593 you there tomorrow to see the apartment” (-) I thought “Ok (,) Here we go” (,) I thought the
2594 guy wasn’t going to just help out like that, that I’d have to sleep at his place first (‘) and then
2595 go to check out the shared flat (,) I thought “Oh no” (-) and at first said no (,) There was a girl
2596 who worked with me who was also an intern (-) and I asked her about it (‘) telling her what I
2597 had to do (,) But she said “Don’t worry (,) He’s a good guy (,) And won’t do anything to you
2598 (‘) he’s always showed good character” (-) she worked in HR and had access to the employ-
2599 ees data and records (,) So (‘) I thought “I don’t know what to do” (,) And thought about it
2600 for the whole afternoon (,) “Well (‘) he works here (‘) If he does anything to me (‘) anything I
2601 don’t like (‘) I’ll go to work and tell everyone at the company about it (,) He’ll be screwed (,)

2602 All right (,) Let's see" (‘) I didn't really want to stay the night at his place (,) But had to risk it
2603 (-) because I simply couldn't go on living where I was (‘)

2604 I: *Uh huh*

2605 B2: so (‘) I said (‘) "Okay" (,) (-)
2606 "Then (‘) on Thursday (‘) you sleep here at my place" (,) Every person in his shared flat had
2607 their own bedroom and bathroom (,) It looked like a school hallway (-) where each "class-
2608 room" was a room (-) Then I went to see the shared flat he told me about (-) he drove me
2609 there (‘) to this shared flat where the girls lived (‘) I talked with them and they said that yes (,) I
2610 could go live with them (‘) so I agreed (,) The next day (‘) the guy had already gotten a mat-
2611 tress from one of his friends who lived with him (‘) I slept on the floor and he slept in his sin-
2612 gle bed (,) I woke up the next day (‘) and we went to work (-) he had a tiny Fiat Uno and we
2613 went to work (-) and everything was just fine (‘) Of course (,) I was worried about what peo-
2614 ple at work might say about it, that they would start saying things (‘) about me going out with
2615 the guy and such (‘) But (-) I always looked distant and nothing happened (,) (-) I decided to
2616 move in with the girls (,) And had to go get my two suitcases with my stuff (-) then the guy
2617 said "When you get to the bus station here in Santa Barbara (‘) let me know (-) and I'll come
2618 pick you up and help you with your bags" (,) I said "Ok (‘) I do need help and I don't have
2619 money for a cab anyway (,) And am afraid of walking alone at night" (,) So (‘) the guy helped
2620 me (,) I went to live in this shared flat (‘) and on the weekends I cried a lot (-) it was very dif-
2621 ficult in the beginning (‘)

2622 I: *Because of this change (?)*

2623 B2: I cried because I missed my friends (-) I
2624 kept wondering if I was doing the right thing (,) Because everyone there was tied to their
2625 mother's apron strings and I was here alone (‘) I wasn't sure about it (,) Weekends were diffi-
2626 cult (-) I cleaned the apartment (‘) did the laundry (‘) and everything (,) But it was a difficult
2627 time (,) Then (‘) the guy who helped me asked at the company what I was doing on the week-
2628 ends (,) And I said "I (-) stay at home (‘) I don't have any friends here yet" (-) "Well (‘) next
2629 weekend we are going to a farm that belongs to the university and you can go (,) Come along
2630 with us" I ended up going there (‘) but I made a few things clear beforehand (-) saying "Ok (,) I
2631 But when I ask you to come back home (‘) I want you to take me back home (,) And you can't
2632 drink a lot" (,) He always respected me enough (-) well (‘) the rest of the story (-) do you
2633 know who this guy is (?)

2634 I: *Who?*

2635 B2: He's my fiancée (,) (((laughs)))

2636 I: (((laughs))) the same guy (?)

2637 B2: Yeah (-) that's right (')

2638 I: *Nice (,)*

2639 B2: Very (-)

2640 I: *Uh huh*

2641 B2: his name is Larry (,) And he is with me until this day (,) It's been five years (-)

2642 and we got engaged in February (,) And to sum up everything (-) I always paid my own bills

2643 (,) With my salary from KS SP (-) I paid rent at the shared flat (-) I also paid rent at the shared

2644 flat in Santa Barbara (-) 200 reais to the girls (') and 100 a month to live at the dorms in Sao

2645 Paolo (,) I earned 600 reais (-) and had to spend 300 just on rent (-) with 300 reais left to live

2646 on (') I paid bus fare (') because I had to go to Sao Paolo (,) And that was 60 reais a month (')

2647 No (-) wait (-) 80 or 100 reais per month (') because I had to go to Sao Paolo (-) I had to catch

2648 the bus to get there to Interlagos (-) where IFPA was (') and that sums up how it was (,) (-)

2649 I: *Uh huh*

2650 B2: I paid my own bills (,) And that's how it is to this day (-) I asked my mother for help

2651 once, because of a course I did here (') I couldn't pay for the course and rent and everything

2652 else (,) So (') I asked my mother for help (') but she said no (-) she said she didn't have it (,)

2653 Then (') (-) well (') that was when I realized I was on my own (-) I would have to make it my

2654 own way (') I think I had it completely different from other people (-) other people had a

2655 mother and father who always helped when they asked for it (-) they get everything (-) even a

2656 house (') but my case was different (,) This is one of the things (-) that bothers me so much

2657 too (-) I think it hinders my life somehow (') because I had to postpone many of my dreams

2658 until now (') I have nowhere to live after (-) for example /ehm/ going to Germany (,) This

2659 year I had the opportunity to go to Germany to do a college exchange program there (,) I

2660 talked to her and she said "No (,) Go on working there (') go on working and don't go to

2661 Germany" (,) But I wouldn't depend on her (-) I wouldn't bother to piss her off (-) or anything

2662 (,) Well (') what can I do (?) Come on (') I still need to do it (-) that's it (((laughs)))

2663 I: *Uh huh*

2664 B2: It took me some time to answer (') but I think I explained it to you now (,) I gave you and

2665 answer (,)

2666 *I: Uh huh, all right (-) Good (,) Ah (-) let me ask you a question about something you*
2667 *just said (-) Virginia (‘) If I understood it right (‘) during the time you went to IFPA (‘) you*
2668 *didn’t have any help from your parents (?)*

2669 *B2: None (,) Not even a phone call to find out if I was still alive (‘) or if I needed any kind of*
2670 *medication (,) (-) Neither my mother (-) nor my father nor uncle (,) Nor anyone else (,) I just*
2671 *got calls from Larry (‘) who always called me (,) (-) We talked every day (‘) (-) Larry’s moth-*
2672 *er was the one who always asked if I had food to eat (-) or if I had a blanket to sleep with at*
2673 *night (,) So my life story is quite different (‘) because a lot of people complain about their*
2674 *mother-in-law (,) But in my case she was like a mother (‘) because she always asked if I was*
2675 *cold and needed a blanket to sleep (‘) while my own mother didn’t even ask that (,) I don’t*
2676 *know if there was maybe a problem (-) or maybe I should have called my mom (,) But I had*
2677 *no money and how would I buy the credits to call her (?) It was something I really missed (,)*
2678 *In college now (‘) I do the same thing (‘) I pay for everything myself (‘) I had to go after a*
2679 *scholarship (‘) I pay my rent (‘) even my graduation (-) my graduation from IFPA (‘) I did*
2680 *alone (‘) Only my sister and Larry’s mother came along with Larry’s father (,) And I really*
2681 *wanted them to be there (‘) It’ll be the same thing at my college graduation and if I ever get*
2682 *married (,) I’ll walk down the aisle alone (,) (pause)*

2683 *I: Uh huh*

2684 *B2: Again (-) I answered too much (‘) Anyway (,)*

2685 *I: No (,) Great (‘) Everything you tell me is important (,) Well (‘) let me go a little further into*
2686 *your story (-) Virginia (‘) after you said in your story that your classmates suspected you had*
2687 *a scholarship to go to school, you said you had to stall them a little bit (,) I didn’t really un-*
2688 *derstand the stalling part (,)*

2689 *B2: The scholarship I had in private school (?)*

2690 *I: Yes (,)*

2691 *B2: Yeah (-) In the private school in the South (‘) scholarships like the one I had didn’t really*
2692 *exist (,) And it was really rather secret that there were kids going to school on a scholarship,*
2693 *because then everyone would probably ask or need one (-) that’s why they started getting sus-*
2694 *picious, because they all received a bill for the school tuition (-) every month (‘) but I never*
2695 *got one (,) One girl (-) at the end of the third year of high school asked about it (‘) because I*
2696 *never got an invoice (,) (2)*

2697 *I: Uh huh*

2698 B2: So she asked if I had a scholarship (‘)

2699 I: *Uh huh*

2700 B2: I said then that my mother always paid before they handed out the invoiced (,) And that

2701 she had already paid (-) I said that she knew the day we’d get it and paid it in advance (,)

2702 (((laughs)))

2703 I: *Uh huh*

2704 B2: My mother had some contacts at the school (,) She was part of the school board (-) or the

2705 Parent Teachers Association actually (‘) (pause)

2706 I: *Uh huh*

2707 B2: That’s how I stalled them (,)

2708 I: *Ok (,)*

2709 B2: I had a classmate who also worked on a farm (-) a plantation (,) and her parents had to

2710 pay the school (,) Sometimes I thought she should also have the right to a

2711 scholarship (,) and not just me (,)

2712 I: *Uh huh (-) right (,)(2) Good (,) Then (‘) one more question I have (‘) you mentioned that at*

2713 *some point in your life story that “Ah (-) because then people will think ‘well (‘) Marli’s*

2714 *daughter went to Sao Paolo and is there now and has a good life”(,)*

2715 B2: Mary (,)

2716 I: *Ah (-) sorry, Mary (,) I’d like you to tell me maybe a little bit more about what you mean by*

2717 *“Mary’s daughter went to Sao Paolo and has a good life there” (?)*

2718 B2: Because my mother says that (-) a person is only worth something when he or she has

2719 money (-) she said this was a sign of acknowledgement society gives (,) She used to come

2720 home from work angry (‘) because she had worked a lot (-) and said to me when I was still

2721 nine or ten years old (,) Why (?) She used to say that this guy or that guy has money because

2722 they are kiss-ass people (,) So she was very realistic and she threw this reality in my face (,)

2723 Today I see that she threw this in my face (-) men only want to have sex (,) And that’s it (,)

2724 Things like that she threw right in my face (‘) and she didn’t feel bad about it (‘)

2725 I: *Uh huh*

2726 B2: *I think my*

2727 *mother was very bitter (,) One of the things she always said (‘) was that were only recognized*

2728 *in society (,) We only became someone (‘) when we have money (,) (-) Somehow it stayed in*

2729 *my mind (,) And I couldn’t (-) filter what she was saying (‘) because of my age or whatever*

2730 (‘) (2) That’s why I wanted to come to Sao Paolo (‘) I wanted that too (-) I wanted to have it
2731 like the mayor’s children did (‘) or doctors’ kids did (,) I was going to this private school
2732 where all these people with status went (‘) I also wanted to be like them (,) I just wanted (-) I
2733 wanted people to talk about me (‘) like they talked about them (-) while I was still in school it
2734 was the main goal (,) (-) That was the main goal (,) In the end (‘) now I know the goal was to
2735 have money (,) And that’s what she was talking about (-) “you become someone in society
2736 from the moment you have money” (-) at work now (,) I see it’s true (,) (-) Some people want
2737 to kill me for saying it (‘) but for some it is a wakeup call (,) (-)

2738 I: *Uh huh*

2739 B2: But I can really see (,) like (-) a mama’s boy (-) rich kid always has the chance to get a
2740 job here (,) It is guaranteed that the boy will get a trainee position (,) Because his dad is prob-
2741 ably a company director (‘) the kid automatically (-) will be a trainee at the company (-) that’s
2742 life (‘) that’s how it goes (,) Companies want to have them (‘) the guy is influential (-) that is
2743 the capitalist world we live in (‘) and that’s how things work (‘) now (‘) I see my mother was
2744 right about many things she said (-) I see that it was true (,) Even though I want to think “No
2745 (,) It has to be based on effort” (‘) but (-) you just get it in your head (,) (-) I try now (-) for
2746 example (‘) to dedicate and commit myself at work (‘) and so on (‘) but (-) every now and
2747 then I hear rumors like “Ah (‘) she doesn’t know anything about how things really are” (‘)
2748 She’s here (‘) and she doesn’t know anything” (,) It ends up hurting me (‘) because a guy can
2749 come here (‘) just because he is the son of someone important (‘) and he is already the best (,)
2750 This guy will be powerful in his department (,) And that’s exactly it (‘) (-) My mother was
2751 right (,) (2)

2752 I: *Uh huh (-) I think I have another question that is somewhat related to what we are*
2753 *talking about now (-) about what you are talking about now (,) Like you said in the interview,*
2754 *in your life story (-) Virginia /ehm/ “Nobody believed in me (,) But I passed the test (‘) and*
2755 *not even the German teacher believed in me (,)*

2756 B2: Uh huh (‘) because (-) in the classroom it is typical in small towns (,) Not just small
2757 towns (‘) but in big cities it’s the same (,) In feudal and in capitalist times (‘) it’s historical (-)
2758 sucking up to someone so you can have money (-) that’s where it comes from (,) So (‘) I au-
2759 tomatically felt inferior (,) because my father (-) and my mother were separated (‘) and we
2760 lived in a house that was not there in the neighborhood where the villas are in the rich neigh-
2761 borhood (‘) our house had no floor (-) it was just earth (‘)(-) There I was in the middle of the-

2762 se people (,) And I could even feel it coming from the teachers when I asked something in the
2763 classroom (‘) they didn’t reply or anything (-) they would stall me like “Ah (‘) I’ll give you an
2764 answer soon” (,) But they never did (,) When we had exam (-) or an essay (‘) I always took it
2765 home (‘) and did them again to improve (‘) I read it again and wrote reports and so on (‘) I
2766 didn’t have internet at home at that time (-) but I read books and my mother also subscribed to
2767 a magazine for young people that I read (‘) the magazine spoke a lot about dignity (-) and that
2768 kind of thing (-) which I read and wrote essays about (,) My classmates had money (,) And if
2769 our essays were similar (-) in quality (‘) they always got better grades (,) And the point that
2770 nobody answered my questions (‘) (-) mostly questions like they asked us in German (,) “What did you do on the weekend (?)” They asked everyone in the class (,) And we had an-
2771 swers like “Erika traveled to Canada (,)” or “Oh (‘) Erika isn’t here because she is traveling in
2772 Canada (,)” And people would talk about it for a week (-) about this bullshit that Erika had
2773 gone to Canada (‘) once (‘) the teacher asked me what I had done on the weekend (‘) and I
2774 said “Oh, my mom bought (((laughs))) a huge load of garden soil (‘) and my sisters and I had
2775 to spread it in the front yard (‘) because my mother wanted a lawn there (,)”

2777 I:

Uh huh

2778 B2: He looked at me (‘) and had this face like “Oh my God” (,) That’s why I said the guy
2779 didn’t believe in me (,) Because he thought I was worthless (‘)(-) Once (‘) I attended a Ger-
2780 man contest there (‘) and it was on the news that I won the first German language contest
2781 there (-) it is called a *Fremdsprachen* contest (-) I went on to the state contest in Rio Grande
2782 do Sul (‘) oh my God (‘) they almost died (‘) they spent the entire day calling and saying “Oh
2783 :no: (‘) I don’t believe Virginia won (‘) we never managed to win it and we have been trying
2784 for two or three years (‘) now, Virginia has won” (,) Since my sister won it three years ago (‘)
2785 nobody else has won the contest (-) I saw that (‘) nobody thought I’d make it (‘) I saw it when
2786 everyone was so surprised that I won (‘) for God’s sake (-) :and: when I passed the admis-
2787 sions test at IFPA (‘) it was like that also (‘) like “Leila will pass (‘) for sure” (,) but nobody
2788 said “Oh (-) Virginia will pass too” (,) Or “Stay calm (,) You’ll pass” (,) All they did was ask
2789 me “How was it (?) Did you pass (?)” and then they said let’s see (‘) and that’s why I feel that
2790 way (,) (((laughs)))

2791 I:

Uh huh(-) all right (,) :And: (-)

2792 B2: And today (‘) today my classmate who only got A’s in school (‘) got married and she
2793 breeds pigs (-) Nicole (-) there in Rio Grande do Sul (,) (-) Well (‘) that doesn’t mean she is
2794 unhappy (‘) everyone can choose what they want to do (‘) (2)

2795 *I: Uh huh (-) and you also said (-) Virginia (-) in your life story (‘) that you don’t want to be a*
2796 *secretary (-) that your mother was one her whole life and you had trauma from that (,)*

2797 B2: Yeah (,) Because she was a secretary here at church (‘) and she used to come home and
2798 dump everything on me (,) She was like “Ah (-) a guy said this or that (‘) what do you think
2799 (?) Did I handle it wrong (?) Do you think I should have said something (?) What do you
2800 think (?)” I saw here like that (-) and I was going down the same path (‘) I didn’t want this for
2801 myself (,) I didn’t want to live the same way (‘) I didn’t want to go home and dump all that on
2802 my husband the way she did to me (,) (2)

2803 *I: Uh huh (-) so then you said about the director of KS SP (‘) “I decided I wanted to be a di-*
2804 *rector”(,)Can you tell me more details about it (,) (-)*

2805 B2: It happened on the day I walked into the director’s office at KS SP (‘) (-) and saw that
2806 damned beautiful wooden table and all the cabinets with a safe in one of them (‘) I said “This
2807 is what I want for my life (‘) that’s it (,) Right there” (‘) I want to have respect from other
2808 people for what I do (,) You know (?) And the guy was like (-) well (‘) he still is a gentleman
2809 (,) People respect him and he doesn’t say bad words (‘) It will take some time (‘) because I
2810 say a lot of bad words (((laughs))) (-) I don’t know (‘) It seems people are willing to work
2811 with him (,) And of course things are differently once you do (((laughs))) (2) But at the mo-
2812 ment that is my goal (,) He always treats everyone with respect (-) :and: he leaves on time (-)
2813 he goes home on time (,) We always shook hands with him (‘) and we greeted him (‘) since
2814 that first moment it was clear to me (‘) that this is what I had decided to become (,) It is also a
2815 little bit because of the status (,) Deep inside (‘) it’s coming to Sao Paolo with no money and
2816 then making it as a director with a good salary and being recognized (‘) and so on (,) (2)

2817 *I: All right (-) and you also said that regardless of the stage of your life where you are (‘)*
2818 *there are always two paths to follow (,) You said “I could have stayed in Greenville building*
2819 *my own house and working in a shop” (-) and you ended up opting for something else (‘) you*
2820 *made another decision (,) the decision to not stay in Greenville (‘) the decision to not build*
2821 *your own house there and to not work at a shop (‘) after you made that decision (-) right after*
2822 *(‘) you /ehm/ left for Sao Paolo (‘) right (?)*

2823 B2: That's right (,) Actually (‘) I had already been making the decision for a while before that
2824 (,) It was already maturing in the second grade (-) and my mother was the one who gave me
2825 the idea (,) Why (?) She said these two things (-) that those who had money were respected
2826 and what the intentions of men in this life are (-) well (‘) like I said before (‘) my mother said
2827 then (-) “I want you to leave this small town (‘) because there is nothing here for you (‘) you
2828 will only work in a small shop (‘) you will have to go through humiliation every day (‘) you
2829 will earn nothing (‘) and will end up building a little house (-) getting a mortgage from a bank
2830 (,) And I don't want that for you (,) The day you marry (‘) please (‘) marry a rich man and not
2831 a poor one like your father (,)” (-) She said it all the time (,) (-) So (‘) she put it in my head (‘)
2832 and after we turned 13 (‘) she stopped doing our laundry (,) (-) We had to clean the house, we
2833 had to cook (‘) we cleaned (,) And she said “Once you go away from here to study (‘) study in
2834 a big city (‘) you'll have to know how to do the laundry yourself (,) You'll have to know how
2835 to clean your own shoes (‘) You will have to cook your own food (,) So (‘) I'm not going to
2836 do anything for you from today on (,) You will wash your own clothes” (,) So (‘) that's how it
2837 was (‘) and no (‘) sometimes we didn't do our laundry (,) But she continued to not do it (‘)(-)
2838 We ended up having to wear dirty clothes to school sometimes (‘) dirty and sweaty stuff (‘)
2839 that's when we realized she was not going to wash them (‘) and we started doing it (‘) (-) we
2840 had to put the clothes into the washing machine (‘) which was a tiny (-) simple machine (‘)
2841 with a sink on top (,) We hung the clothes (‘) and in the winter (-) since we didn't have a dry-
2842 er and it rained all the time there (‘) we hung clothes behind the refrigerator (,) (((laughs)))

2843 I: *Uh huh*

2844 B2: When our sneakers got soaking wet from the rain (‘) because we had no car and had to
2845 walk to school under a big umbrella (‘) we would put our sneakers behind the refrigerator to
2846 dry (‘) or in front of the wood stove (-) hanging on a line (,) (2)

2847 I: *Uh huh*

2848 B2: That's how it was (,) And we always have two choices (‘) my mom got it into our heads
2849 (‘) that we had to leave that place in order to study (,) Not necessarily to go to college (-) it
2850 could have been a course like IFPA (‘) I didn't think (,) Really (‘) I simply chose to do it (,)
2851 But she always said we'd have to go away to study (,) and she went away to study (-) to an-
2852 other town to do an accounting course and work at another company (,) But she's an only
2853 child and ended up going back to (-) Greenville (‘) to take care of her parents there (-) I don't
2854 know if it was to take care of them or to suck off of them (-) or whatever (‘) that's why (-)

2855 that's how it was (,) So (‘) I decided to do it (,) oh (-) and I also started dating (-) It was really
2856 late for someone who lived there (‘) I was about 16 or 17 (,) Well (‘) it started very late (‘)
2857 because my classmates were already dating at around 14 (‘) So (‘) I got a boy there (‘) but
2858 soon thought “Uh oh (-) I’ll go away to study (‘) so I don’t want anything too serious” (,) you
2859 know (?) So (‘) I decided to break up (‘) because it would be harder for him later (,) I talked to
2860 the guy and broke up with him (,) I had to do it early on (-) because I knew I would eventual-
2861 ly leave (‘) (((laughs)))

2862 *I: Uh huh*

2863 B2: (((laughs))) I had everything planned (‘)

2864 *I: Uh huh*

2865 B2: I didn’t know how I’d do it or if it would work (‘)

2866 *I: Uh huh*

2867 B2: but I went on doing everything as though it would work out (,) (pause)

2868 *I: Right (,) I have one more question for you (‘) you said that (-) you put yourself under a lot*
2869 *of pressure (‘) and that you need to do things right the first time you do them (,) I didn’t really*
2870 *understand that (,) (pause)*

2871 B2: Yes (‘) I need to do them right the first time I do them (‘) (-) At home(‘) I heard it all the
2872 time (,) There was pressure at home (,) If we did something(-) we had to do it as if a white
2873 person was doing it (,) And not as though a black person was doing it (,) We had to do things
2874 well (‘) and get it right the first time we did it (,) (-) So (‘) I think this is how people think in
2875 that culture (‘) I don’t know (,) So (‘) I put myself under a lot of pressure (‘) to always do
2876 things right the first time (-) ever since my childhood (,) Because my mother used to say those
2877 things (‘) I didn’t want to hear her saying I was doing something like a black person, very
2878 sloppy (,)(-) Whenever I did something (‘) I wanted to do it right and not to have to listen to
2879 her saying it (‘) To this day (‘) it’s like that (,) Even at school (‘) at IFPA (-) I had a teacher
2880 who once told me “Virginia (-) you always try to do things well the first time (‘) and I know
2881 we always have to try to do things right the first time (-) like a doctor (‘) when he operates on
2882 someone’s eyes (,) He doesn’t have a chance to fix it (‘) He’ll have to do it right 100% the
2883 first time” (,) He can’t say “Ok (-) now I’ll open your retina and fix it 40% (-) okay (?) Then
2884 (‘) I’ll open it again and well fix another 50%” (,) That’s not the way it works” (,) And that’s
2885 the truth (,) Life is like that (,) I can’t (-) get pregnant at 14 and think “I’ll have another
2886 chance to make it right the next time” (‘) No (,) My life would already be fucked up (‘) and

2887 I'd be screwed (‘) because I'd have to take care of this child for the rest of my life (,) I would
2888 have to raise this kid until he or she is 30 years old (-) or whatever (‘) this kid would be under
2889 my wing for the rest of my life (,) (2) When I was 14 (‘) I already thought that way (,) (-) And
2890 I always think too much (-) So (‘) I can do it right the first time (,) Now I think that someday I
2891 will have to raise my son (‘) for example (-) when I was 14 years old (‘) we went out partying
2892 (,) (-) We would go to parties (‘) not to clubs (,) And I always thought (-) “ah (-) I can't smoke
2893 pot (,) No (‘) I can't smoke pot” (‘) because if I ever have a son and he said “mum (‘) have
2894 you ever smoked pot (?)” I'll be proud to say ‘no (,) Your mother has never smoked it’ (,)
2895 Because otherwise (‘) I'd have no right to tell him not to do it (,) I will have something to
2896 teach him (‘) that I've never done that ‘) or “No (,) Your mother has never done that at a par-
2897 ty” (‘) No (,) I will never ever do it (‘) I can say this with a pure heart and a quiet soul (-) that
2898 I did nothing that could serve as a bad example for him or her (,) I always thought like that (‘)
2899 and thought it was weird to think like that being so young (,) (2)

2900 *I: All right (,) Great (‘) these are the questions I had regarding the story you told me (‘) and I*
2901 *still have some more questions that I'd like to ask you more directly now (,) They're more*
2902 *objective questions (‘) there are still a few things that you haven't mentioned (‘) and some*
2903 *other things I'd like to know the reasons for (,)(‘) But anyway (‘) first I would like to know*
2904 *about your parents' education (,)*

2905 B2: My mother and father started college (-) to get a degree in languages (‘) which they did
2906 for a semester (,) But they dropped out and didn't continue (,)

2907 *I: At a public or a private university (?)*

2908 B2: Private (,)

2909 *I: Uh huh (,) (pause) and then after they did this semester of college and stopped (‘) did they*
2910 *take any technical course (‘) or something similar (?)*

2911 B2: Yes (,) My mother went to trade school and did a course in computer science, at the time
2912 called data processing (,)

2913 *I: Uh huh*

2914 B2: And my father also started one (-) a computer course (‘) he didn't finish it (,) But my
2915 mother finished (‘) my mother started the course in 1996 (,)

2916 *I: Uh huh*

2917 B2: So (‘) she went to trade school (-)

2918 *I: And she finished her course (?)*

2919 B2: Yes, she finished it (,)

2920 I: *Uh huh (,) But (-) she doesn't work in this area of IT today (?)*

2921 B2: She was a secretary at the church and her job was to type things (‘) (-) for the service (-)

2922 like wedding certificates and baptism papers (-) everything on the computer (,)

2923 I: *Uh huh*

2924 B2: That's why she wanted to do the computer course (‘)

2925 I: *Uh huh*

2926 B2: she wanted to do the course (‘) to

2927 learn how to save (-) change (-) create folders (-) these things (,)

2928 I: *Uh huh*

2929 B2: They do have a part on programming (‘) but she (((laughs))) didn't attend it (,)

2930 I: *Ok (,) and your grandparents (‘) can you tell me about their education (?)*

2931 B2: They finished the fourth grade (,)

2932 I: *Uh (,) At the time, it was still elementary school (,) Right (?)*

2933 B2: That's right (,)

2934 I: *Uh hu (-) all right (,) As for you and your sisters (‘) you said /ehm/ I don't*

2935 *remember exactly (-) you said that your sisters also went to the same private school as you (,)*

2936 *Right (?)*

2937 B2: Uh huh (-) but they had to pay tuition (,)

2938 I: *Your parents paid for it (?)*

2939 B2: My mother did (,)

2940 I: *And they studied there until the end of high school (?)*

2941 B2: Yes (,) They did (,)

2942 I: *Uh huh (,) Uh huh (,) Ok (-) and, at the time you finished high school (-*

2943 *) Virginia (,) you thought of maybe (-) besides IFPA (,) Did you think of maybe going to an-*

2944 *other trade school (?) Or maybe even going straight to a university (?)*

2945 B2: (pause) during high school (‘) I did go to trade school (‘) I did a course on IT (,) It was the

2946 same one my mother did (,) But a bit improved (‘) they had improved it a bit by the time I did

2947 it (,) I went to high school in the morning (‘) and trade school in the afternoon (,)

2948 I: *Uh huh*

2949 B2: And (‘) I had no idea of what a trade course was like (,) (-) I /ehm/ (2) no (‘) I did think of

2950 going to a university right after school (,) But why didn't I do it (?) Because I didn't know

2951 what I wanted to do in life (,) I had no idea (‘) So (‘) I had many doubts (,) Should I become a
2952 volleyball player (‘) a lawyer (‘) or even a doctor (‘) It was all very (-) I don’t know (-) and I
2953 worked at a store that sold home appliances (-) So (‘) it was very I don’t know (‘) So (‘) I
2954 thought “I have to leave this place (‘) I have to leave this town (,) (-) I’ll do a trade course (‘)
2955 so I can start working at a company (,) Once I start working at a company (‘) I will decide my
2956 future and will be able to know for sure, because I’ll have experience and will know what
2957 each profession is about and what people do (‘) and then I’ll decide what I want to do” (,) It
2958 was like that (,) (-)

2959 *I: Uh huh (-) let’s go back a little to what you just said (-) Virginia (‘) you said*
2960 *you had already done a trade course (‘) but didn’t mention that in your life story (,)*

2961 *B2: Uh uh (-) I did it in 2004 (-) 2005 and 2006 (,) I did it in high school (,) in 2004 (‘) my*
2962 *first year of high school (‘) I did an IT trade course in the afternoon (,) So I went to school in*
2963 *the afternoon in 2004 and 2005 (,)(-) In 2006, I only had class in the evening and I went to*
2964 *class in the morning (-) too (‘) I had to work at the shop that sold appliances in the afternoon*
2965 *(,) so I had to go to trade school in the evening (,) because I had to do this work internship at*
2966 *the shop placement in the afternoon (‘) to finish this trade course (‘) you have to do an intern-*
2967 *ship (,) So I worked at the shop that sold refrigerators (-) stoves and beds (-) furniture and so*
2968 *on (,) (pause)*

2969 *I: And this trade course you did in the afternoon while you were going to high school in the*
2970 *morning (‘) what was the reason to do this trade course (?)*

2971 *B2: Hum (‘) my mother (,) (-) She forced me to do it (‘) my sisters didn’t do it (,) Helen start-*
2972 *ed it too (-) but my mother was unable to pay for her and for me at the same time (,) So she*
2973 *stopped doing the course (‘)*

2974 *I: Ah (-) it was a private trade school (?)*

2975 *B2: Yes (,) It was a trade course (‘) and I only got a scholarship to go to high school in the*
2976 *morning (‘) In the afternoon (,) My mother paid for me to go there (‘) She paid 600 reais (‘) (-*
2977 *) 200 for Helen to go to school in the morning (‘) 200 for Lisa to go to class in the morning (‘)*
2978 *and another 200 she had to pay the trade school I went to in the afternoon (,) (2) This IT*
2979 *course was a trend at the time (,) You needed to know it (,) :And: nowadays it’s the minimum*
2980 *that a company requires you to know (‘) you need to know how to work on a computer (,) So*
2981 *(-) I went and did it too (‘) Helen (-) started doing it (-) but when I was in my second year and*
2982 *my mother was paying my high school (-) the trade course (‘) and 200 more for Helen (‘) be-*

2983 cause (-) she was going to the first year of the trade school (,) So (‘) she couldn’t continue (,)

2984 Because there was already 800 bucks for us to just go to school (-) trade school and high

2985 school (,)

2986 *I: Ah (-) now I get it (‘) When you went to IFPA, (‘) you had already done a (-)*

2987 *B2: Yeah (-) I had (‘) I had already done it (,) (2)*

2988 *I: Uh huh (‘) All right (,) Let me ask you some more questions about IFPA (‘) I have some*

2989 *other questions about IFPA (,) And I would still like to ask them to you (-) Virginia (‘) if you*

2990 *were to tell me what :helped: you in the decision process you went through, what :motivated:*

2991 *you choose to go to IFPA (?) (pause)*

2992 *B2: (pause) Getting out of that town (-) leaving that small town (‘) and being someone in life*

2993 *(,) (-) To be qualified (‘) for a decent job (‘) (2) Also (‘) to develop myself (-) my :personally:*

2994 *(-) and professionally (,) This was my goal (-) my focus (,) when I decided to do it (,) (-)*

2995 *I: And did you (-) at some point (-) or did it cross your mind to finish your course at IFPA (‘)*

2996 *and then go on :working: in this area (‘) instead of /ehm/ going to college later (?)*

2997 *B2: No (,) Not at any point (-) Never (,) I always wanted to go to :college: (-) precisely be-*

2998 *cause at the company (‘) nearly everyone went to college and had a degree (,) For you to con-*

2999 *tinue in this labor market without a college degree (‘) is impossible (‘) (-) you have no future*

3000 *(,) (-)*

3001 *I: No future in what respect (?)*

3002 *B2: Regarding your career (,) You can’t climb the career ladder without a college degree (,) (-*

3003 *) To be director (-) I need a college degree (‘) there’s no other way (,) (((laughs)))*

3004 *I: Uh huh (,) And there at IFPA (‘) Virginia (-) what was it like (‘) regarding your relation-*

3005 *ship with your teachers and classmates (?)*

3006 *B2: Oh my God (,) (-) I lived with other :girls: in a shared flat (‘) and I felt :very: squeezed*

3007 *out of the picture (,) The girls went to 31 de Marco (,) Nobody invited me (‘) so I didn’t come*

3008 *along (‘) maybe it was because once I said that I didn’t like people of the Gemini sign (-) and*

3009 *the leader of this group of girls (‘) in our shared flat at IFPA (‘) her zodiac sign was Gemini*

3010 *(,) Maybe she thought “Oh shit” (-) It screwed my life during the two years I went to IFPA (,)*

3011 *She told it to the other girls (,) Well (‘) I don’t really know if this was the reason (-) but then*

3012 *somehow a terrible drama started (,) They would come inside and I would go out (,) and that’s*

3013 *how it was (,) (-) I would be doing the laundry (‘) and had already done the dishes, (‘) and*

3014 *they would sometimes leave stuff in the sink (,) So (‘) I did all the dishes (-) to avoid any*

3015 more stress (‘) I shared a room with Sarah (-) and they had a fight with Sarah because she
 3016 was, let’s say a rich, empty-headed young girl (,) Since she was from near here (-) I some-
 3017 times rode with her so I didn’t need to go to Tiete to take another bus (‘) then Larry would
 3018 come pick me up at the bus station (,) They threw a fit (‘) because Sarah had a car (‘) and she
 3019 would take me grocery shopping with her sometimes, and they had to go on foot (,) So (‘) I
 3020 don’t know if that was a reason too (‘) but many of them came from the south of Brazil (‘)
 3021 from Parana and two were from Rio Grande do Sul (‘) and one was from here (-) from Sao
 3022 Paolo (,) And this girl from here (‘) she liked me (-) but she always spent time with the others
 3023 too (,) She never did anything to them (-) and the other ones turned on me (‘) without ever
 3024 telling me the reason for it (‘) I wondered about it and they never told me (,) The times I
 3025 stayed in Sao Paolo on Sundays (-) I would go to a talk show (,) I don’t know if this was a
 3026 reason too (‘) because this guy sometimes told me to come to Sao Paolo (‘) the :fag: guy (‘)
 3027 the one from Greenville (,) (-) He called me and since I had already been there and done the
 3028 job at the fair (‘) he said “Ah (-) Virginia (-) they need a model to sit there at the Faustão
 3029 Show in the front row” (‘) (((laughs))) “Go there with me (-) you’ll get 50 reais” (,) I said
 3030 “Wow (‘) I needed more money because 600 was very little and I was on a tight budget and
 3031 need this money (‘) so let’s go” (,) So I went there (‘) and had lunch at Globo (-) the TV
 3032 channel (‘) sitting there on a bench (,) After two hours (‘) they called us in and we sat in the
 3033 front row (,) We had to smile (-) laugh (-) clap our hands (-) and then after a month they de-
 3034 posited 50 reais into your bank account (,) That was it (,) Sometimes I went there (-) and
 3035 that’s the reason they were like “Ah (-) what do you need to go do there (?)” (-) But I never
 3036 took them there (,) I don’t know if it was because of that (,) (2) As for the :teachers: (-) I real-
 3037 ly liked Müller (,) Kaufmann only spoke badly and said bad things about Brazil (,)
 3038 :Everything: was bad (-) everything in Brazil was bad because in Germany (‘) from the way
 3039 the sockets are to the traffic (‘) everything was better (,) He said things like “*Verdammt noch*
 3040 *mal*” (-) and in the middle of the class he’d send us all to hell (,)

3041 I: (((laughs)))

3042 B2: “*verdammt noch mal*” (‘) and he said things like “*aber bitte, spring nicht aus dem*
 3043 *Fenster*” (,) He thought we’d run away from his class (,) If only we could (‘) and we had a
 3044 Spanish teacher there that I liked (‘) I liked her a lot (,) She dyed her hair a little (‘) wait (-)
 3045 she was Ruya (-) that was her name (-) she taught German (-) ah (-) I can’t remember what
 3046 her name was actually (,) (-) I liked her (-) so I liked Müller too (,) He was the one that really

3047 added some value for me as a student (,) He was interested in me and wanted to know things
3048 about me (,) I wanted to learn things (-) and it was because of him that I followed (‘) produc-
3049 tion engineering (-) and he is German, as well as our course coordinator (,) So (‘) he always
3050 said “*Virginia (‘) Virginia (‘) dein Deutsch ist sehr gut jetzt (‘) im Vergleich zum ersten Mal*
3051 *als du hier warst*” (,) (-) The first time I heard it I was bad as hell (‘) but my German got bet-
3052 ter later (‘) and he mentioned it then (‘) too (,) Well (‘) I liked him a lot (‘) I liked Müller (,)
3053 He was a nice person (,) But as for Grün (‘) for God’s sake (,) Nobody liked her and she was
3054 very boring (,) For the love of God (,) (-) She taught xxx (,) (-) Because I hadn’t done an ex-
3055 change program or anything like being an au pair (-) at the beginning I couldn’t pronounce the
3056 “rrr” (-) and I didn’t speak well (-) I couldn’t pronounce the letter “r” and some other things
3057 “r” (,) And even nowadays (‘) I still don’t speak well (,) But I had some classmates that (-) for
3058 the love of God (,) Anyways she always gave me the lowest grades in the class (,) (2) hum (-)
3059 what else Marcelo (?)

3060 *I: Uh huh (,) what is your perception of IFPA nowadays (,) tell me in your view (?)*

3061 B2: For me (‘) I think (‘) IFPA was bad (,) In my opinion IFPA was bad (‘) because the im-
3062 age I had (-) when I left Southern Brazil (-) was that I’d graduate from IFPA and I’d be the
3063 best (,) That I’d know :everything: about my trade and all (,) But it’s not true (,) I had many
3064 classes that were only :blah blah blah: (-) they only gave us scripts and texts, and we had to
3065 use bad dictionaries to study and had to learn things by heart (‘) that’s how we studied (,) So
3066 many times they gave us stuff where you needed excellent German (‘) top German (,) So
3067 many times I didn’t know how to do it (‘) I ended up passing (-) but I expected more (,) The
3068 teachers used :books: and we had to read a lot (‘) we used them a lot (,) I remember we did
3069 some flowcharts and so on (,) but in class everything was ok (,) The problem was studying for
3070 the exams (‘) that was miserable (,) We studied in a group there in our shared flat (-) I studied
3071 until 3:00 in the morning (-) sitting on the bathroom floor (-) in order to pass (,) And /ehm/
3072 well (‘) out there (‘) IFPA is really acknowledged (,) the name IFPA is known as hell out
3073 there (,) I can’t :deny: it (,) for example (‘) when I started working at another company (-) I
3074 said “IFPA” (‘) and they said “oh my (‘) you studied there” (-) so they think like that because
3075 it is an elite school (‘) rich people study there (‘) and German is difficult too (,) You know (?)
3076 But we the students (-) wrote letters to the principal saying that we expected much more from
3077 the school (,) Matthew and Joey and I (-) we were together in class all the time (-) the three of
3078 us (-) we studied together (‘) and we went out together to get pizza (-) I always got along bet-

3079 ter with men than with girls (-) the result is that I chose industrial engineering (‘) and this
3080 course has only men (,) (-) But the three of us were always more rebellious (‘) the three poor
3081 kids in the classroom (‘) and we were like that because we wanted it to be more intense, more
3082 difficult (,) (((laughs))) even though it was already difficult for me (‘) but I wanted even more
3083 (,) (((laughs))) (2) are you going to tell that to the people at IFPA (?)

3084 *I: No (-) no (,) don’t worry (,) like I said (‘) everything you are telling me (-) everything will*
3085 *be anonymous (-) anonymous (,)*

3086 B2: ok (,)

3087 *I: so one last question (-) but maybe (‘) do you think the image that IFPA has in Brazil is the*
3088 *image other trade schools there have in Brazil in general (?)*

3089 B2: In general (?) IFPA compared to any other trade school in Brazil (?)

3090 *I: yes (,)*

3091 B2: IFPA is for sure different (-) for sure (,) There’s a big difference (‘) but there’s a detail (-)
3092 it has a good reputation for those who :know: it (‘) German schools or the German world (,)
3093 Let’s say (,) Because when you go to a company (‘) for example an Italian American compa-
3094 ny (-) and you talk about “IFPA” (‘) they ask “who is this person (?) Where does he live (?)”
3095 Nobody knows anything about it (‘) (-) Well (‘) in the German world yes (-) but when you go
3096 for a job interview with those HR analyst people (‘) they know nothing (-) nothing (-) nothing
3097 about it (,) You know (?) They’ve never heard of it (‘) nothing about it (,) (-) But then when
3098 you talk to the director (‘) another manager (‘) he might know what I’m talking about (-) do
3099 you understand (?)

3100 *I: uh huh (,)*

3101 B2: If I said USP (‘) from the shop floor worker (-) up to the director (‘) everyone knows that
3102 this university is good (-) that it’s recognized (,) “Oh :my God: I’ll hire this girl to work here”
3103 (,) (-) when you talk about IFPA (‘) you need to know your audience (‘) because nobody
3104 knows anything about it (-) they don’t know what you are talking about (,) (-)

3105 *I: uh huh (-) and do you think (-) leaving the reputation aspect aside, do you believe another*
3106 *trade course is just as good as the ones IFPA offers (‘) are the rest equal (?)*

3107 B2: well (pause) could be worse (,) Because in the IT trade course (‘) the computer trade
3108 course I did back Then (‘) I learned more than I did at IFPA (,) (pause)

3109 *I: uh huh (,) do you think the content was better (?)*

3110 B2: That's right (,) But I think the point is that I graduated from trade school (') perhaps it's a
3111 matter of my language command (,) maybe it was because of the language (-) because I didn't
3112 live in Germany for three years or anything like that (,) But (-) of course (') this is the lan-
3113 guage problem (') because in financial topics (-) mathematics for example (-) I learned a lot
3114 (') a lot more in my IT trade course than at IFPA (-) I must say (,) (2) IFPA was actually good
3115 to improve language skills (-) like my :English:, my Spanish (') and my German (') but, as for
3116 the other subjects we had (-) for example computer class (-) oh my God (') what was that
3117 class that teacher Max taught (?) Nobody gave a damn about it (,) And he only told us what to
3118 do by giving us instructions in Word (-) Then (') he would say "type this in" (') then he would
3119 teach us how to change the font color (') font type (-) how to use the toolbar (?) Where some-
3120 thing was in the toolbar (-) he would ask like "where is the toolbar (?)" and it would be the
3121 content of our exams (,) I said "well (') I can't believe it (-) this is a German trade course and
3122 these people are teaching us things like (-) Excel (-)" do you know what was the most diffi-
3123 cult command I learned in my computer class (') my Excel class at IFPA (?)

3124 I: *hum*

3125 B2: the adding function (,) I just couldn't believe it (,) It was chaos (,) And we got a certifi-
3126 cate for that (') and I still write it on my résumé (,) I added onto my resume later this comput-
3127 er certificate course just because they wrote good things on the certificate (') they wrote
3128 something like (-) well (') I don't remember what's written there (-) but it's only to show
3129 somewhere and say to everyone "hey (') look at this here", so they can say "wow" (((laughs)))
3130 it's ridiculous (,) (pause)

3131 I: *well (') all right then (,) very good (,) Virginia (-) I think you a lot for your help (') it was*
3132 *very good (,) We ended up talking a bit and I apologize if I took too much of your time (') but*
3133 *thank you for your patience (') for your help and for your collaboration (') and (-) and I*
3134 *think that's it (,) Now (') I have to do an analysis of this material (') and once I have some*
3135 *results (') of course I'll contact you again so you can also have access to the results of this*
3136 *research (,) All right (?)*

3137 B2: ok (,) Great (,)

3138 I: *Great then (,) Thank you once again and have a nice weekend (-) Virginia (,)*

3139 B2: Amen (,) You too (,)

3140 I: *Thanks (,) Bye (,)*

10.3 Transcription of single case (3): Eva Schmidt

3141 *I: Hello /ehm/ my name is Marcelo Kauer /ehm/ for my=my research (-) what I would like to*
3142 *know /ehm/ from you is your life history (,) I am actually interested in the life stories (-) of*
3143 *people who did a technical course at IFPA in Brazil (,)(-) But (-) I don't want to know :only:*
3144 *the part of your life (-) regarding (-) the technical course (') (-) but :everything: that hap-*
3145 *pened before and after this technical course (,)(-) So (-) I actually wanted you to tell me the*
3146 *story of your life (,)(-) Using (-) the time before and after the technical course (-) for example*
3147 *(-) as a reference (,)(-) I actually want nothing more than your life story (,)(-) and while you*
3148 *are telling me your life story (') I'm going to take some :notes: (-) :and: based on my notes (-)*
3149 *I may ask you some other questions (-) at the end of this story (,)(-) I won't interrupt you (')*
3150 *(2) and you can take as long as you want (') until you finish your story (') /ehm/ it'd be good if*
3151 *you gave me as many details as possible (-) so your entire life story (') (-) not only what hap-*
3152 *pened during the trade course (') but everything that happened before and after (-) as I said*
3153 *before (-) I'm interested to know the life story of people who have done trade courses at IFPA*
3154 *(,)(-)*

3155 B3: More related to my school life (') probably (?)

3156 *I: It should be the story of your entire life (,)(2) So (') you can start (-) I won't interrupt you as*
3157 *soon as you think you have /ehm/ finished your story (') (-) I may ask you some further ques-*
3158 *tions (,)(-)*

3159 B3: Right (,) (2) well (-) since it is a life story (-) /ehm/ I guess I should mention my name
3160 first (-) my name is Eva (') (-) :and: I come from a very small family (') which today includes
3161 :my: dad (-) my mom /ehm/ my sister and I (') :and: we/actually my mother's family (') (-) has
3162 lived in Brazil since (-) /ehm/ it's been about 50 years or so (') they /ehm/ have been living in
3163 Brazil (-) /ehm/ my grandfather is Greek (') and my grandmother is Austrian (-) :and: they
3164 only had one daughter (-) who is my mother (') she was born in Rio Grande do Sul (-) where
3165 we had a very strong German colony (') and=and :then: more or less (-) when my mother was
3166 about 20 years old (-) she went to Sao Paulo (') where she met my father who is Brazilian (')
3167 :and: they had two sons (-) me and my sister (,) And :then: (-) from the beginning /ehm/ my
3168 mother (-) both my mother and my father always /ehm/ (-) put a lot of value :in: my education
3169 /ehm/ as well as my sister's (') (-) so they sent me to the Schweizerschule São Paulo in Brazil
3170 (,)(-) /ehm/ Schweizerschule is one of three German schools (-) despite the name

3171 Schweizerschule São Paulo (') classes are taught in German (') /ehm/ they registered me there
3172 (-) and I studied there until the fourth grade (') I didn't continue studying in this school (-)
3173 even though it was very good (')(2) /ehm/ it was actually their dream this school (-) a dream of
3174 my father and my mother (') /ehm/ the fact was (-) it was very expensive (,) And my sister
3175 would begin her school life too (-) and at that time paying two tuition was virtually impossi-
3176 ble (') so they opted to send (-) me and my sister to Humboldt School (') (-) it :is: another
3177 German school (-) located in São Paulo (,) (2) :and: my :sister: (-) actually (-) she studied
3178 there for a year (') but she didn't adapt very well (') (-) :and: during that time Humboldt
3179 School (-) moved to Interlagos (') which was much further away from our house (') (-) my
3180 parents/since I was in high school (-) my first year of high school (-) /ehm/ and my sister had
3181 entered Porto Seguro School (') (-) they decided that :I: /ehm/ should also go to (-) high school
3182 at Porto Seguro (,)(-) So (') summarizing /ehm/ I studied until the fourth grade (-) at the
3183 Schweizerschule (') then I went to Humboldt in the fifth until eighth grade (') (-) then high
3184 school I did (-) at Porto Seguro (,)(-) Unlike my sister (-) who studied her whole life at Porto
3185 Seguro School (,) /ehm/ for extracurricular activities (') I was a Girl Scout /ehm/ it was in São
3186 Paulo :the: Girl Scout headquarters was at Paz Church at Divine Street (-) which is also in a
3187 German colony (') there you get to know people from all different schools (-) and you end up
3188 integrating more in the community (') (-) both German (-) and Austrian (-) in short (-) people
3189 with European roots (,)(-) And there I made good friends (-) and: was: when we left :for:
3190 camping on the weekends (') we were more in touch/despite living in the big city (') (-) we
3191 were more in contact with :nature: (-) /ehm/ there was no need to get prissy (-) just go into the
3192 woods and all (,) :and: on weekends (') :I: used to visit my grandparents a lot (-) since I was a
3193 year old they have lived on the Island Bela (') they live at the beach (') :and: my grandfather
3194 retired relatively early (-) and wound up :going: (-) /ehm/ building a house there and moved
3195 there (,)(-) Today he no longer lives there (-) He lives in São Sebastião (-) which is the other
3196 side of the island (') /ehm/ but he wouldn't change the sea /ehm/ the coast for anything (-) not
3197 over a big city (,)(-)

3198 I: *uh huh*

3199 B6: And :then: (-) on weekends we would go there (') so I've always been very in touch with:
3200 nature: (-) and the :beach: (-) in short (') because the Girl Scouts have contact with the green
3201 /ehm/ (') despite having lived my entire life in São Paulo (-) I always had contact with :nature:
3202 (,)(-) And then (-) when I/actually my birthday is in July (') and (-) in German schools (') start-

3203 ing from July (-) right (?) as my birthday is on the fourth (') this rule didn't apply to me (') (-)
3204 but whoever has birthday from July on (') enters school one year later (') into high school (,)
3205 (2) This was not my case because (-) because my birthday is on July 4 (-) so when I graduated
3206 I was 17 (') (2) well 17 and a half actually (') (-) and then I had serious doubt (') about know
3207 what I :would: study (') what would I :do: (?) Before that (-) I had taken a vocational test (')
3208 :at: Mackenzie University (') (-) of about one year (') (-) together with :the: third year of high
3209 school (') I really didn't know what I would do then :I: thought (-) the tests gave the most var-
3210 ied possible results (') I like/I liked math a lot (') I still like it (,) But tests always resulted in
3211 something like that (,) Ah something related to engineering (') but (-) at the same :time: also
3212 more related to humanities (') I thought a lot about working with :people: something related to
3213 psychology (') :and: /mhm/ always/I really didn't know (,) what I would do (') (?) :and: /mhm/
3214 :then: at some point (-) during the third year of high school (') someone (') from=from IFPA
3215 :from: the=the technical course of IFPA School (-) gave a presentation :and: they presented
3216 the course structure (-) what it could offer you (') your chances (') of going to college (-) and if
3217 you do go to :college: after that (-) to work for a multinational company (') (-) and everything
3218 else (,)(-) :and: then I actually (-) wanted to gain time (') I wanted to do this (') (2) to maybe
3219 try this course (-) in order :to: gain a few years (') and then :see: oh my is it what I want :do:
3220 (?) Do I want to work for a company or do I not :want: it (?) whatever (') do I want to become
3221 a physical education teacher (') do I want to study veterinary medicine (') (?) I didn't know (')
3222 (?) I could change my mind along the way (,) (-) Because I was still relatively young (-) :so: I
3223 still had the chance /ehm/ (,) And /mhm / (2) :then: (-) I ended up signing up for this course (')
3224 I became interested (') I talked a lot with my parents (') and my parents liked the idea (') but
3225 there were many different companies (-) that :were: outside São Paulo (') :then: I implied (-)
3226 /ehm/ I'd have to leave home (') :and: maybe not return (2) because :I: would (-) have to go to
3227 college (') I had to (-) continue with my studies after IFPA /ehm/ (,) :And: / mhm / then I
3228 signed up (') (-) :I:=I applied at /ehm/ many companies (,)(-) I think :that: I sent my resume to
3229 perhaps twenty different companies (') all /ehm/ of them worked in cooperation with IFPA (')
3230 and 20 (-) maybe 10 of them called me to invite me for an interview (') and of :these: ten (')
3231 four offered me an apprenticeship position (,) :And: then of course I had to think about these
3232 four (') :the: pros and cons (') (2) :one: of them was Rehaú (') it was a :company: /ehm/ which
3233 :manufactures: parts (-) :from/of plastic (') /ehm/ and it is located in Cotia (') (-) a little far
3234 from my house (') at the time I was seventeen (-) I didn't :have: a car (') so I depended on pub-

3235 lic transport (') and São Paulo is quite precarious (,) There is no bus connection to everywhere
3236 (') so I had to wait on that (-) this was the first company (,) Then: the second company was (-)
3237 a small one (') which was next to my home (-) called (-) Alternativa (') it was :just: one kilo-
3238 meter and a half from my house (') it was a family business (') a logistics company (') trans-
3239 ports /ehm/ of parts and :boxes: (') and (') the production was all done in the same hall /ehm/
3240 there is one guy who puts the product in a :box: (') the other closes it (') the other does the
3241 expedition (') others have to issue the invoices (') something smaller (-) small (') and I also
3242 decided to wait to reply to this offer and continued doing other interviews (')(-) :then: there
3243 was an opportunity at INA (') that was the INA Bearings (') which was in Sorocaba (') :and:
3244 that was the one I actually liked (') except I would have to leave the house (') and my mother
3245 wasn't :really: in favor of this idea because of my age (') and the fact that :didn't: have a col-
3246 lege degree :yet: and I would have to go to college in Sorocaba (') I didn't know (') where
3247 would I go to college (?) (-) :and: /mhm/ then the fourth company (-) called me (') It was the
3248 NCA (') NCA (') the one which I decided in favor of (') :because: although it was located in
3249 São Paulo (') it also offered chartered transport (') it was provided by the company itself (') so
3250 there was no need to worry about transport (') :then: I combined these two things (') and I de-
3251 cided I was going to work there (') at NCA (') it is a multinational (-) super big /ehm/ a huge
3252 group /ehm/ it has several branches (') and :I: didn't have to leave home (') I would continue
3253 living with my parents (') and :then: I'd have time to get my driver's license (') and also to
3254 think :about: what I would study in college (') and then later I would do the entrance examina-
3255 tion to enter college (') then I could see where I was going to college and everything else (,)
3256 Then I started (-) to do the technical course at IFPA (') which was in foreign trade (-)
3257 *Außenhandel* (') :and: I started liking it (') because actually (-) :you: /ehm/ get the necessary
3258 tools :that: within the company was English (') :or: German (') and you have the knowledge
3259 you acquired /ehm/ in the classes /ehm/

3260 *I:* *Uhum*

3261 B6: I could use everything at the company (') :so: it was pretty cool (')
3262 this apprenticeship (') I managed to work in many different departments (') from where there
3263 was a man operating machines (') to finally (-) where material turned into parts at a thousand
3264 degree Celsius (') :and: glowing red /ehm/ I saw the :expedition: where they :were: distributed
3265 and finally where they issue :invoices: (') prepared for things to go into :containers: (-) ac-
3266 counting (-) all=all=all departments (,) /ehm/ I saw it all during those two years at the compa-

3267 ny (') I said good (') then (-) is it exactly what I want (') I will :continue: to :work: in this=this
3268 kind of industry (') work for a company (?) or I (-) I don't know /ehm/ I actually liked it (') I
3269 really liked it (') :because: I ended up identifying with this company (') I liked the company (')
3270 I liked the work atmosphere (') people were super receptive and they all=all explained every-
3271 thing I wanted to know with the greatest patience in the world (') :and: /mhm/ then at the end
3272 of these two years (') the :problem: was /ehm/ would I get a permanent job here or not (?) Be-
3273 cause it depended on the company (') :if: you were a good intern (') if you showed interest (')
3274 if you were good enough (') you (-) ok (-) you would be offered a vacancy (,) Only if they had
3275 no interest :at all: (-) it was more or the less the kind of policy they had (,) And then there was
3276 a vacancy exactly in the foreign trade department (') and that department was exactly what I
3277 wanted (') it had everything to do with my apprenticeship (') with what I had done at IFPA (')
3278 and they had a job to offer there (,)(-) :and: :then: they offered me (-) I was (-) super happy
3279 about it (') of course (,) Then I=I took the job and :then: it was when (-) the boss's boss actual-
3280 ly /ehm/ I think he saw :a: possibility (') that I could do something else (') :and: he offered me
3281 another vacancy (') which was in the planning (,) which was a good thing (') :more: /ehm/ a
3282 much greater challenge (') (-) I had to combine my knowledge of foreign trade (-) with a lot of
3283 math (') /ehm/ logistics (-) the thing was actually /ehm/ a matter of being accurate (-) products
3284 coming in and leaving the company (') what enters and what leaves (') then (-) and I of course
3285 (-) I was super happy (') there: I took this job (') (-) I worked in this position for more than two
3286 years in total (-) :I: /ehm/ stayed at NCA for five years (') until (-) this distance to get to (') and
3287 come back (-) from São Paulo began to become a drag (,) And also in the meantime (') I had
3288 begun studying at Mackenzie University (-) I had already started to go to college (') (-) when I
3289 was /ehm/ (-) it was a part that I actually forgot to tell (') when I was going to IFPA (-) :I:
3290 didn't want to waste any time (-) and since I had already decided (-) that I wanted to stay in
3291 this administrative area (') why not to=to major in business administration (?) Or maybe for-
3292 eign trade (?) Or something related to that (,) And that was when I :signed up: for the entrance
3293 exam at Mackenzie University (') (-) :and: they have the exam in the middle of the year (')
3294 then (-) I was doing this post-high school technical course (') (-) I started in January (') and in
3295 June there=there was the chance to take the entrance examination (') and (-) :then: I did it (-)
3296 and I passed the exam and then in August I started to go to college (,)

3297 I:

Uh huh

3298 B3: So (-) during much of these two years of the technical course (') a year and a half (') but
3299 not the first half year (') I was doing the technical course and attending college at night (') it
3300 was super tiring (') (-) but I didn't want to waste time (') because I had already decided (-) I
3301 wanted to stay in this area (-) even if after two years (') I didn't have the opportunity to stay at
3302 the company (-) or to be :hired: permanently (') at least I was going to college (-) majoring in
3303 foreign trade (') and I could go to another company (,) :and: /ehm / then I when I was a year
3304 and a half into college (') (-) there was a vacancy (') (-) as a permanent employee at the com-
3305 pany (') and this was an opportunity that folks that were attending college with me (-) after
3306 only a year and a half (') didn't have (,) (-) You have to finish/most times you have to finish
3307 college first (') in order to get a good position in the labor market (') :so: until you finish col-
3308 lege (') companies :stall: you (') they hire you as an :intern: (') and then you work like that (-)
3309 until you finished college (') only then you get a permanent job (,)

3310 I:

Uh huh

3311 B3: But this wasn't my case (-) (') :precisely: because of IFPA (') so that was a plus (') actual-
3312 ly the biggest advantage of all (-) that :I can think of (-) about this post high school trade
3313 course (') /ehm/ this was the biggest advantage it brought me to this day (') (-) /ehm/ then (-)
3314 about two and half years were left (') (-) for me to graduate from college (') :and: /ehm/ but I
3315 stopped attending for one semester (') I still had three years to go (-) because I :stopped: for
3316 one semester (-) for other reasons (') :and: /mhm/ the travel distance began to bother me (')
3317 :because: I would go by chartered bus in the morning (') (-) and then in the evening when I
3318 returned (') (-) :I: went straight to college (-) but I arrived late for :class: (') Mackenzie begins
3319 6:30 pm /ehm/ it is the only college in São Paulo that starts at 6:30 pm (') others start at 7:30
3320 (-) sometimes 8 (') that's why they have class on Saturdays (') :so: I had the advantage of not
3321 having classes on Saturdays (,)

3322 I:

Uh huh

3323 B3: So I (-) started :to: be fall behind in some subjects (') :then: I had to stop college :and:
3324 except for this one semester (-) I had to take a break (-) I had some classes that I had already
3325 left for later (-) so instead of doing college (') in four years (') I ended up doing it in 5 (') but (-
3326) that's not so bad (,)

3327 I:

Uh huh

3328 B3: And /mhm/ :then: in the meantime (-) since I always arrived late :and: I had to run to get
3329 to class (') always waking up super early because the company was in Campo Limpo Paulista

3330 and I had to commute and all (,) (2) :Then: I began to think seriously (-) :about: looking for a
3331 job in São Paulo (') :or: (-) at least (-) near my college (') :or: my parents' house (') (-) because
3332 I continued living at my parents' house (') (2) or (-) near Mackenzie (-) at least (') I just needed
3333 to do it once a day /ehm/ and then (-) I continued to live (-) in my parents 'house (,) :I: I start-
3334 ed looking for a job in São Paulo (') And :I: (-) :in: six months /mhm/ I wasn't called for any
3335 interviews (') (-) because there was no opportunity (') in short (-) nothing cool came up (') (-)
3336 something came up in Guarulhos (') but it wouldn't work /ehm/ (-) I would have had to go to
3337 Guarulhos (') then go to Mackenzie (') in São Paulo (,) It was better (-) to just stay in Campo
3338 Limpo Paulista (,) (-) /ehm/

3339 *I: Uh huh*

3340 B3: :And: /ehm/ I (-) didn't even go there to do this interview (') but then (-) something else
3341 came up (-) an interview :at: HS (-) /ehm/ for a department :I: had never/I had no idea what it
3342 was actually about (,) (-) I even had :the: theory :in: class about international trade (-) at IFPA
3343 (') (-) in college too (') but work=work with it (-) with dangerous cargo (') that was/is the de-
3344 partment where I work today (') I had not even imagined that (,) (-) /ehm/ :and: then I did the
3345 interview (') :and: I was hired (,) (2) :And: (-) that's when the :painful: phase of my life began
3346 (,) (-) Why (?) /ehm/ I always enjoyed working at NCA (') :and: during that time (-) I realized
3347 that my boss liked me very much (') and he appreciated my work (,) if he didn't (') he
3348 wouldn't have (-) promoted me within a year (,) (-)

3349 *I: Uh huh*

3350 B3: So (-) I was talking to him (') (-) and he said (-) "what a pity (') /ehm/ but (-) :I: think (-) if
3351 you are doing this because of that (-) because of the distance (') (-) I (-) I understand (') /ehm/
3352 fully understand (,) (-) /ehm/ actually it is understandable (-) this situation" (,) Then (-) at that
3353 time (') I :asked: him to dismiss me (') (-) because I could then receive some :benefits: and
3354 everything else (') and so fine (') (-) and he said /ehm/ "Eva the world turns (,) I have no way
3355 to justify /ehm/ dismissing you today (') you are 23 (') (-) /ehm/ you will have other opportuni-
3356 ties (') the benefit you would receive is super little (') isn't justified (') (-) and the world turns
3357 (') and I hope one day I'll work with you again "(,) (-) perhaps (') (2)

3358 *I: Uh huh*

3359 B3: "And (-) if I let you go (') :and: put this on his record (-) now (-) I have to give a justifica-
3360 tion (-) for sending you away (') I don't I like (-) will be readmitted (') hence whatever (-)
3361 /ehm/ who is 20 years old (,) don't know how (,)

3362 I: Uh huh
3363 B3: And he was/actually /ehm/ he ended up inspiring me a lot (,) (-) Because he was like a big
3364 :daddy: to me within the company (,) (-) He trusted me a lot (') and saw maybe (-) a potential
3365 in me that I could grow (') and perhaps it was a pity that I left (,) But what can you do (?) I
3366 mean /ehm/ it was a pity (,) But what can I do (?) (2) /ehm/ for this reason (-) I went to
3367 work at HS (-) in this department that I had no idea what it was (') (-) did a one-month training
3368 (-) one month intensively (') only /ehm/ doing/studying the theory (') what /ehm/ dangerous
3369 cargo was (-) what are the characteristics of each product (') that exists around us (-) what is
3370 dangerous cargo and :these: loads (-) we /ehm/ had no idea about it (') (-)

3371 I: Uh huh
3372 B3: :and: I wound up becoming interested in it (,) (2) :And: in the meantime (-) I had started
3373 dating Rodrigo (') who today is my husband /ehm/ :he: worked at NCA too (') we met at
3374 NCA :and: /ehm/ (-) he left NCA and began working at Toshiba (') as an engineer (') but the
3375 distance became a problem /ehm/ because /ehm/ all of this travelling (-) this come and go (-)
3376 almost two hours (') from São Paulo to Itu (') :and: /ehm/ we said (') "let's make a good deci-
3377 sion" (-) since he=he wasn't very happy at Toshiba anymore he said (') "I will leave Toshiba
3378 (') (-) and I'll look for a job in São Paulo " (,)

3379 I: Uh huh
3380 B3: I was already in Sao Paulo (') but /ehm/ :I: continued to live at my parents' house (,) (-)
3381 work in the field of dangerous cargo (,) (-) And that was when he (-) started looking for jobs
3382 in São Paulo (,) (-) He could /ehm/ he got an even better job (') which was a home office job
3383 (') /ehm/ where he could work anywhere in Brazil (') (-) :so: then we decided we'd live to-
3384 gether (') stay unmarried (') without :any: kind of ceremonies (') but still live together (-) in
3385 São Paulo (,) (-) That was when I left my parents' house (-) in 2009 (-) yeah in 2009 (,)

3386 I: Uh huh
3387 B3: So /ehm/ in 2009/2010 (') we lived in São Paulo (') :and: in 2010 (-) at the beginning of
3388 2010 (-) I began at this dangerous goods department (-) and they began some projects (-)
3389 /ehm/ :of: maybe sending someone to Hamburg (') to our headquarters (') (-) to=to train for 3
3390 months (') and then theoretically (-) this three month training was to prepare someone to re-
3391 place the (-) coordinator (') who today actually still is the coordinator of that department (-)
3392 because of a possible :maternity: leave (-) or if she /ehm/ just decided she wanted to :leave: or
3393 :go: work in some other :area: or (-) anything else (,) (-) So (-) I went/I was chosen (') (-) out

3394 of four /ehm/ people(') :I: /ehm/ spoke German (-) I think that helped me a lot too (') (-) also (-
3395) English too (-) I spoke better than the others /ehm/ (2) the languages (-) and maybe because
3396 of=of my commitment to the company (-) and everything else (') they sent me to Germany (-)
3397 they sent me in July of 2010 (,) (-) To initially stay for only three months (,) (2) /ehm/ so they
3398 sent me here (-) to Germany (-) to Hamburg (,) (-) /ehm/ (') in July 2010 /ehm/ I came Ham-
3399 burg (') :and: (-) I was here for three/two months actually (') at the end of the second month (')
3400 my boss (-) from the dangerous cargo department here in Hamburg (') /ehm/ (-) /ehm/ told me
3401 there was a vacancy (') and he asked me without any :commitment: (-) he wanted :no: imme-
3402 diate answer (-) or anything (') but he asked me if I (-) would be interested (-) in staying for a
3403 longer time (') (-) without a specific contract (-) no specified period (') (-) in Hamburg (-)
3404 /ehm/ doing the exact same thing I did in Brazil (') (-) as an official employee of the danger-
3405 ous loads department (-) but at the headquarters (,) (-) That was the end of the second month
3406 of the training here (') (-) and it was easier for me (-) since I have a Greek passport (') /ehm/ I
3407 could be contracted without major problems (') :and: without a contract for a fixed period of
3408 time (-) in Hamburg (,) (2) :And: for this reason at this time (-) I had to talk to Rodrigo (') (-)
3409 we (-) although /ehm/ we lived :together: (-) we weren't married or anything else (') and asked
3410 him if he would like to come or not to Germany (') (-) because this would end up influencing
3411 my private life a lot (,) So I think that (-) these things come together /ehm/ your professional
3412 life (-) and your private life (-) because (-) if you are not well (') nothing works (,) At work (,)
3413 (-) :and: I think (-) /ehm/ it would have bothered me (') if he hadn't come (') (-) maybe I'd not
3414 have ever come at all (-) or maybe I wouldn't excel at work (') and maybe=maybe my deci-
3415 sion would have been so different (,) (-)

3416 I: *Uh huh*

3417 B3: And (-) he said "okay" /ehm/ (-) he said yes (') (-) :and: I figured we were young (-) we
3418 could /ehm/ make mistakes (') let's do things like that now /ehm/ we don't have kids (-) no
3419 commitment (-) we don't have any kind of commitment /ehm/ of course (') so if this was a
3420 mistake (-) it wouldn't be a terrible one (,) (2)

3421 I: *Uh huh*

3422 B3: :and: :then: he ended up :welcoming: the idea (-) and it took (-) until more or less /ehm/
3423 August and September (-) and November (-) I was already an employee at HS in Hamburg (,)
3424 (-) So /ehm/ :I: quit my job in Brazil (') actually they dismissed me (') I /ehm/ retained all my
3425 :rights: (-) they paid me all :benefits: :and: I finished my contract with HS in Sao Paolo 100%

3426 (') and I was hired in Hamburg (,) (-) And then /ehm/ since then (-) I've been here in Hamburg
3427 (-) in this department /ehm/ working at the headquarters here /ehm/ (-) Rodrigo (-) in the
3428 meantime he also /ehm/ came and he went to another town in Germany and started doing a
3429 master's degree (') he started to work as well (-) as contractor for another company (') (-) and
3430 then in July / ehm/ 2011 (-) a=a vacancy opened in the same company (-) at HS (') (-) and he
3431 applied :and: (-) today /ehm/ we both work for this company (,) (-) So :then: that's it (,) My
3432 sister (') /ehm/ she studied at the same school where I went (') just to go quickly back to
3433 school history /ehm/ she /ehm/ studied in the same school (') and (-) not to say that we're to-
3434 tally alone here (-) Rodrigo and I (-) in Hamburg /ehm/ because my sister studied in a German
3435 school too (') (-) she did her *Abitur* and=and she decided to go to college in Germany (') and
3436 the city she chose (-) was also Hamburg (,) (-) So (') I can say that (-) despite the fact that my
3437 family (-) my father and my mother are in Sao Paulo (') and=and my grandfather (-) of course
3438 /ehm/ I end up really missing my family /ehm/ my sister is here too (') so (') it ends up soften-
3439 ing a little this feeling (-) the longing (,) (-) We call each other very often and (-) and I see my
3440 sister during the week (') I think it is also important (,) (2) So /ehm/ we (-) adapted very well
3441 in Germany (-) and go back during vacation time (-) to Brazil (') at least once a year (,) We
3442 need to do it to try and ease the homesickness (-) to try /ehm/ not to leave such a big gap (-)
3443 the distance is big (-) far from our parents (-) we always lived with them (,) (pause)
3444 *I: Right (-) ok (,) (-) So /ehm/ is that it (-) Eva (?) Or is there anything else (?)*
3445 *B1: No (-) I think that's it (,) (2) I don't think I forgot anything (,) (-)*
3446 *I: That's great (,) (-) Good /ehm/ I thank you (-) for this first part of the interview (-) Eva (') (-*
3447 *) Thanks again (') :and: I just wanted to reinforce what I said before (') / ehm/ the interview is*
3448 *being recorded and I hope it's okay with you (,) (-) This is so that later I can transcribe this*
3449 *material /ehm/*
3450 *B3: Uh huh*
3451 *I: Okay (,) (-) So /ehm/ (-) go (-) for the second part of the interview (,) (-) I=I would like to*
3452 *ask you :some: questions about :the: life history (') you told me (,) Some things /ehm/ that*
3453 *maybe you could tell a little bit more about (-) or about points that were not so clear (') at the*
3454 *time you mentioned them (,) (-) So (-) let's begin this second part (-) shall we (?)*
3455 *B3: Yeah (-) uh huh (-) we can begin (-) yes (,) (-)*
3456 *I: Good /ehm/ could you tell me a little bit more about your childhood (-) Eva (?) Tell me a*
3457 *little more /ehm/ about this period of your life (?)*

3458 B3: /ehm/ my childhood actually /ehm/ I have good memories of (') we lived /ehm/ my par-
3459 ents bought a house (-) when I was about eight/nine years old (') (-) so /ehm/ I have nice
3460 memories of/us playing :outside: (-) playing :volley: and also (-) :playing: ball (-)
3461 :rollerblading: (') (-) things that today we can't even imagine (-) especially living in São Paulo
3462 (')

3463 I: *Uh huh*

3464 B3: Well (') it was actually a dead-end street (') (-) then (-) we/this part of the childhood was
3465 all about playing outside (,) (-) And had contact with neighbors (-) and so on (,) (-) So /ehm/
3466 my parents bought this house (-) about when I was about 8 years old :and: (') shortly after/as a
3467 matter of fact my sister was born (') (-) we/she was one year old (-) so she lived in this house
3468 too (,) (-) During our childhood (-) we both lived together there (,) (-)

3469 I: *Uh huh*

3470 B3: /ehm/ (-) /ehm/ :and: /ehm/ in=in school I honestly I don't remember having much diffi-
3471 culty (-) I went to the Schweizerschule in Sao Paolo until fourth grade in (,) (-)

3472 I: *Uh huh*

3473 B3: And I always had that thing /ehm/ of=of having friends of=of/most friends were from
3474 :German: or Swiss families or (-) from Europe (-) from Europe in general (')

3475 I: *Uh huh*

3476 B3: So /ehm/ these children (-) we/my parents /ehm/ always allowed them to come over to our
3477 house (') so we always had other children at home playing with us (') (-) :and: I always had
3478 many friends coming over (') /ehm/ this part /ehm/ my childhood was/is a very good memory
3479 for me (,) (2) And there's another thing too (-) about /ehm/ my childhood /ehm/ when I was
3480 about 8 or 9 years old (') (-) I=I joined the Girl Scouts (-) the female part of the Scouts (,) (-)
3481 So /ehm/ I ended up making /ehm/ other very good friends outside of school (') (-) and it was
3482 cool (-) it :was: like a group of scouts of German origin (') there was a lot of people from both
3483 Humboldt School (-) or Schweizerschule (-) or Porto Seguro School (') / ehm/ you met these
3484 people /ehm/ in your same school year (-) same age (-) but different schools (,) (-)

3485 I: *Uh huh*

3486 B3: So (') it was cool (,) So (-) I started to sleep outside in the camps (-) on weekends (,) (2)

3487 I: *Uh huh*

3488 B3: So (') I spent whole weekends /ehm/ (-) traveling from Saturday :morning: (-) we would
3489 go /ehm/ camping (-) we took our an/an insulators (-) sleeping bags (-) we had to make our

3490 own :food: (-) there were :activities: (-) games and we had to make :fire: at night (') (-) so it
3491 was a very good part of a childhood (,) I was /ehm/ a scout until I was 18 years old (,) (-) So
3492 (-) basically this is part of my personal growth (') and also (-) as we got older /ehm/ there (')
3493 there was a voting (-) to see who would be the next :coordinator: (-) who will be :sub: (-) who
3494 will be :this: and who is going to be :that: (') (-) /ehm/ if /ehm/ you ended up being the oldest
3495 of the group (') you ended up with a position of coordination (,) (-) So (') I was developing
3496 leadership skills and /ehm/ whatever (-) how to give advice (-) how to instruct people (') (-)
3497 and explain what had to be :done: (-) and everything else (,) (-) And so I think for the devel-
3498 opment (-) of what I am today (-) all that happened in (') the Girl Scouts had a big influence
3499 on my life (,) (-) And (-) this :of course: was part of my childhood (') because it started when I
3500 was eight years old (,) (2)

3501 I: *Uh huh*

3502 B3: But it was also /ehm/ partially because of /ehm/ my mother (,) She was also a member of
3503 this scouts group (,)

3504 I: *Uh huh (-) interesting (-)*

3505 B3: It's interesting /ehm/ and=and she forced me a bit to do it too (,) Because/I mean she
3506 didn't force me to (') when you're a kid you don't have :much: of an opinion of what you
3507 think is good (-) or what you think is bad (,) (-) :And: this was cool (') because we had a lot of
3508 :activities: (-) it was always on Friday afternoon (') so it was cool (-) because it was located
3509 where the Paz Church is (') and the Paz Church was /ehm/ was the Church that we went to (-)
3510 it is an Evangelical Lutheran Church (') and it was also where I got married later (,)(-)

3511 I: *Uh huh*

3512 B3: So (') this was part /ehm/ of my life a lot/it marked my life (-) that's a place I have fond
3513 memories of (-) a lot of fun and (-) not a boring obligation (-) I mean /ehm/ it was noth-
3514 ing like "oh my God (-) I have to go to church (-) it sucks" (,) So (-) it was a cool thing to do
3515 (') (-) we also went on Sunday (-) not very often though (((laughs))) not :too: often
3516 (((laughs)))

3517 I: *Uh huh*

3518 B3: And /ehm/ that (-) came from my mother /ehm/ because she had been in this same group
3519 of scouts (,) (3)

3520 I: *Uh huh (-) Okay (,):and: could you /ehm/ tell me bit :more: about your parents (-)*

3521 *Eva (?) More about /ehm/ their education (-) Eva (?)*

3522 B3: /ehm/ my=my mother is a mechanical engineer (') (-) she has (-) a college degree (') she
3523 started working (-) as an engineer (') and worked a while (-) and then she got pregnant (') my
3524 father is business manager (') (-) /ehm/

3525 I: *Let's just go back a little bit (,) Your father/your mother*
3526 *went to a public university and then started working (?)*

3527 B3: She entered a public university (-) but she didn't finish her degree there (,) Because she
3528 entered the University of Rio Grande do Sul (') at that time my grandparents lived in Porto
3529 Alegre (,) (-) But :then: they came/went to São Paulo (') (-) and (-) my=my mother ended up
3530 going with them (,) But she transferred to Mackenzie University (,) (-) So (') she graduated
3531 from a private university (-) but did half of her major at UFRGS (,) (-)

3532 I: *Uh huh*

3533 B3: My father didn't (,) My father studied from the beginning in a private college (-) at FMU
3534 (,) (2)

3535 I: *Uh huh*

3536 B3: :And: he did an MBA (,) But that was 10 or 15 years (-) after his graduation from univer-
3537 sity (') and he did/he has this MBA :and: then he took a course /ehm/ I think it is called (DOE
3538 teaching) (-) if I'm not mistaken /ehm/ these are the initials of the course (,) (-) It is about
3539 :teaching: methods (-) for teaching :classes: and all (,) Because he had a plan that /ehm/ when
3540 he retired (-) he wanted to start teaching at a college (,) But /ehm/ he didn't carry on with this
3541 plan (,) So he has these three degrees (') and my mother (-) actually /ehm/ after she graduated
3542 from college (') she worked as an engineer for a while (-) in the quality department (-) at a
3543 company called Jaragua (')

3544 I: *Uh huh*

3545 B3: so (') she got pregnant (-) and she stopped working (') after she
3546 finished maternity leave (-) she didn't go back to work (') and then after seven years (-) my
3547 mom got pregnant again (') my sister was born (') so /ehm/ I say/I don't know exactly :when:
3548 she went back to school (-) maybe=maybe my sister was about ten (') I think I was about 17
3549 /ehm/ she went back to college (') (-) and did a=a pedagogy course :that: enabled her to teach
3550 classes /ehm/ teach the subjects she studied in college (,) Because she graduated as an engi-
3551 neer (') then she had some subjects she had expert knowledge of (-) some subjects she took (-)
3552 math and physics :and: I think chemistry too (,) If I'm not mistaken (,) (-) So she has a full
3553 degree (-) this license to teach (') it was an equivalence (-) concerning :pedagogy: (-) in short

3554 many other things she needed (') to be entitled to start as a teacher in a school (') and then she
3555 began to teach :at: the Schweizerschule (-) in the meantime I had finished school (') and my
3556 sister was studying at Porto Seguro (,) My mother started /ehm/ teaching :there: /ehm/ being
3557 that neither of her two daughters was going to that school anymore (,) (-)

3558 *I:* *Uh huh*

3559 B3: Then (') she /ehm/ tried to take my sister to the Schweizerschule (-) but my sister /ehm/
3560 always /ehm/ was very well integrated there at Porto Seguro (') (-) so my sister/my mother
3561 didn't want to mess one thing :that: was /ehm/ actually going well (') so (') she ended up ap-
3562 plying for a job there at Porto Seguro and /ehm/ she got a job there (,) (-) so she left the
3563 Schweizerschule and went to work at Porto Seguro School (,) (-) In the meantime (') she did a
3564 course in Curitiba (-) at the Schweizerschule there (-) the course was taught only there face-
3565 to-face (') (-) but it had nothing to do with the school itself (,) Every six months she had to go
3566 there on/during the school breaks (-) and stay there at the school doing this course (,) (-) It
3567 was a German /ehm/ course (,) Now I don't remember (,) But it had something to do with
3568 /ehm/ pedagogy too (,) Anyway (,) (-)

3569 *I:* *Uh huh*

3570 B3: About teaching German (') because today she teaches math in German (,) /ehm/ :so: this
3571 was the=the education of /ehm/ my parents (') :and: considering that both have a :college:
3572 degree (-) they went to college (-) and (-) and they finished high school and graduated from
3573 college (-) both at 24 or 25 years old (,) Then these other courses came with=with time /ehm/
3574 after they had /ehm/ already had kids and everything else (,) (3)

3575 *I: Uh huh (,) And (-) is there maybe anything else that you may have forgotten from the be-*
3576 *ginning (-) maybe (?)*

3577 B3: From the beginning /ehm/ of what I just said (?)

3578 *I: From the beginning of its history (,)*

3579 B3: Well /ehm/ (2) :Oh: (-) yes (,) Maybe about the place where we lived until I was eight
3580 years old and the routine there (,) /ehm/ we lived in an apartment (') it was my parents' (-) it
3581 was their own apartment which they had bought when they married (,) And then (') (-) when I
3582 was only eight years old (-) we moved to this house /ehm/ and=and our routine was practical-
3583 ly /ehm/ my mom waking up early (-) taking me and my sister to school (') my father too (')
3584 he had to wake up early sometimes he drove us to school /ehm/ and then went to work (,) (-)
3585 But my mother (') /ehm/ she never stopped working (') of course (-) at that time she had no

3586 formal contract (-) but she never stopped working (-) /ehm/ she gave private classes (,) /ehm/
3587 her students were scattered throughout the day on a timetable (') students went to our home (-)
3588 sometimes she went over to a students' house (') (-) before lunchtime (') my mother would
3589 pick us up (-) it was never my father (') it was always my mother who came to pick us up (-)
3590 my mother (-) picked us up (') we=we made/there was a time when I
3591 took :swim: classes and my sister :ballet: (') /ehm/ my mother always (-) took us (') and stood
3592 there waiting /ehm/ and tried to make it work within her schedule (')

3593 *I:* *Uh huh*

3594 B3: and I remember
3595 :that: my father always arrived too late from work (') so by that time we were already getting
3596 ready to go to bed (') this part (-) of whatever taking a bath (-) giving my sister :dinner: (-) of
3597 :eating: and these :tasks: and everything else (') they were always done by my mother (,) Be-
3598 cause my father (-) you know (') he came home at eight o'clock in the evening (,) :and: since
3599 we were little (') we had to be going to bed by then (,) So during the week I do=not/didn't get
3600 to see my father :a lot: (,) (-) That was our routine (-)

3601 *I:* *Uh huh (-) uh huh*

3602 B3: so (') I had the weekend
3603 camps /ehm/ the Girl Scout activities (,) But we traveled a lot to the beach too (-) :because:
3604 :my: grandfather /ehm/ and my grandma lived in Island Bela (') (-) /ehm/ we would visit dur-
3605 ing my school vacation (') I used to stay there a whole month=month (-) my mother sent me
3606 there (') to the beach (,) (-) We would go on :boat: rides with my grandfather (-) my grandfa-
3607 ther had a small boat (,) Then we'd go :fishing: /ehm/ we had :fun: and all (,) (-) /ehm/ at end
3608 of my vacation I didn't want to go back home (-) of course (,) (-)

3609 *I:* *Uh huh*

3610 B3: I didn't want to go back to class (-) didn't want to go back to school (') it was a period of
3611 difficult adjustment (-) at least that I remember my mother saying (-) she complains about that
3612 phase (') (-) because I would go there and /ehm/ then I had put into my head at a particular
3613 time :that: I didn't want to return to São Paulo (,) (-) I wanted to live with my grandparents (')
3614 and I wanted to start going to school there (,) (2) Then /ehm/ that is how the routine was (,) (2)
3615 (2) The routine changed a lot when I finished high school (') when I applied for IFPA School
3616 (') I=I had to leave the Girl Scouts because I entered college and I (') /ehm/ started working
3617 during the day (-) and in the evening I went to university (') so /ehm/ these five years /ehm/ I

3618 can say :I: /ehm/ lived at my parents' house (') but I barely/during the week I never saw them
3619 (-) or had no contact with them (,) Because when I arrived at midnight and went to sleep (‘
3620 everyone was already asleep (') I left at 5:30 in the morning and everyone was sleeping (') and
3621 on weekends I could forget about it (,) I was dead tired (,) On weekends I slept almost 48
3622 hours (,) (-) And :then: there was a phase of pure excitement when I=I got my driver's license
3623 (') /ehm/ and since I had saved a little money /ehm/ I bought a car (')

3624 I: *Uh huh*

3625 B3: :and: I went out on week-
3626 ends too (') oh (-) My God (,) It was also a phase/ there were two phases (-) actually (,) /ehm/
3627 Either I just slept (-) or other /ehm/ didn't want to and went out the entire weekend (,) I went
3628 out every Friday (-) Saturday and Sunday (-) I didn't want to know (,) (-) :And: /ehm/ but it
3629 was just for a=a month (,) After that the fatigue came back and I would sleep the entire week-
3630 end again (,) (-) So this routine during those five years of college were/was quite heavy (')

3631 I: *Uh huh*

3632 B3: and/but :then: before finishing college (-) I met Rodrigo (') and then we /ehm/ started
3633 :dating: and (-) plans begin to fit (-) stabilize and everything else (,) (-) And that was when
3634 :the: time that I left my parents' house came (') /ehm/ I/we dated two years and he was from
3635 Jundiaí (')

3636 I: *Uh huh*

3637 B3: :and: we met at NCA=NCA (,) NCA was the company where we worked together
3638 at the time (,) I was just about to graduate from college (') and :we:/I applied for a position
3639 on/in São Paulo (-) at HS (-) and that is where I work nowadays (') (-)

3640 I: *Uh huh*

3641 B3: :and: I left NCA (,) I continued to live at my parents' house (') :Rodrigo: /ehm/ was still
3642 working at NCA (-) but he quit this job (-) and then began working at Toshiba in Indaiatuba
3643 (,) (-) /ehm/ this driving back and forth was too complicated (,) Because I was in São Paulo (-)
3644 he lived in Indaiatuba (‘) and his parents in Jundiaí (,) So /ehm/ on weekends (-) he wanted to
3645 go home to his parents (') :and: I had to go home to see my parents (,) Since his=his parents
3646 had not seen him all week (') it became a very complicated situation (,) Because there was a
3647 relationship with my boyfriend (') and a relationship with the family of my boyfriend (') (-)
3648 :and: it was like that for about six months (-) so /ehm/ this period of relationship (') /ehm/ was
3649 the most difficult one (,) Because we had to endure the entire week (') and on :weekends: we

3650 had this situation (-) and I said "ah (-) okay (,) I'm going to Indaiatuba" (,) (-) He didn't see
3651 his parents (') which also was not easy (-) because /ehm/ he was also very dependent (-) on (-)
3652 his family (')

3653 I: *Uh huh*

3654 B3: :and: (') he /ehm/ thank God (-) then got a job at Oils (') he got this job in the Oils (') that
3655 was /ehm/ actually home office work (,) He could work from :home: (-) from his parents' (-)
3656 he :could: work in São Paulo (-) he :could: work in Manaus (-) :could: work wherever he
3657 wanted to (-) in Porto Alegre (,) And then we came to our idea (,) Good (-) then okay (') (-)
3658 now I /ehm/ we sat together /ehm/ "I live in the house with my parents (-) you live with your
3659 parents /ehm/ we come to São Paulo every weekend (,) Sometimes (-) we want to see each
3660 other on the weekend (') we had to pay gas (-) because Jundiaí is also not very close (,) (-)

3661 I: *Uh huh*

3662 B3: We had to /ehm/ :pay: the gas (-) have to :pay: the toll (-) add it up to how often we came
3663 to São Paulo (-) how many times I had to go to São Paulo /ehm/ and all the weekends (-)
3664 when there was a birthday party during the week too (') we had to drive (-) had to pay the toll
3665 (,) it wears you down (,) (-) So let's calculate it all (') :and: let's see (-) if we rent an apartment
3666 together (-) split the costs (') then /ehm/ we can leave our parents' house (,) Let's not get mar-
3667 ried (-) without any plans (,) Let's just live together " (,) (-)

3668 I: *Uh huh*

3669 B3: I first talked /ehm/ with my parents (,) Of course /ehm/ to see if they would accept this
3670 situation (,) (-) Because /ehm/ normally (-) in Brazil there is no such possibility of=of you just
3671 leaving your parents' house (') you have to get married before and everything (') but my par-
3672 ents accepted it well (-) and Rodrigo's parents were also cool about it (,) It was much easier
3673 than we imagined (') (-) and :then: my parents had just bought an apartment (') (-) and it was
3674 being delivered (-) the keys were being delivered to them /ehm/ in January (') and they offered
3675 to rent the apartment for us (,) (-)

3676 I: *Uh huh*

3677 B3: We had to pay normal rent /ehm/ though (,) “:once: you want to live in a place together (')
3678 you should /ehm/ rent an apartment (') so rent ours (,) We know you so (-) you will take care
3679 of the apartment as if it were yours (-) because after all it is yours (') it /ehm/ belongs to our
3680 family (-) so you pay the rent for us (,) (-)

3681 I: *Uh huh*

3682 B3: So (') /ehm/ it was very easy (') because my parents helped (') at the time :they: opened
3683 this door (') and didn't say "no (,) you have to get married first (-) before leaving home" (,)
3684 :And: Rodrigo's parents too (') because it could have /ehm/ whatever (-) they could have cre-
3685 ated a problem (') but no (,) (-) So (-) we dated for two and a half years and (') and then moved
3686 in together (') just as a test (-) to see if it would work out (-) living under the same roof (,)
3687 Because dating is one thing (-) but living together is something totally different (,)

3688 I: *Uh huh*

3689 B3: /ehm/ it worked out really well (,) Of course (') we get along well (') so it was not painful
3690 (,) /ehm/ when I lived at my parents' (') my mother taught me /ehm/ (-) how to take care of
3691 things (-) :that: I didn't know (-) how to :sew: a button on a blouse that fell off (-) stuff /ehm/
3692 like that (-) small things you need to know in order to get by (,) Because no one will do it for
3693 you (,) (-) Like :cleaning: /ehm/ :ironing: a shirt and all (,) That was a bit painful too at the
3694 beginning (((laughs)))

3695 I: *Uh huh*

3696 B3: :And: :then: I=I always got by (,) (-) Because my mother ended up teaching me / ehm/
3697 some things (') and Rodrigo (-) since he lived alone in Indaiatuba (') he also had learned quite
3698 a lot (,) (-) So /ehm/ it ended up working out fine (,) I know how painful it is to leave your
3699 parents' home (') when parents do everything for you (') and that's why /ehm/ suddenly you
3700 think you will live with another person and the other person is not obliged to do everything
3701 for you too (,) Then (-) it's not so simple (,) (2) But it worked out :super: well (') it was a very
3702 good experience (') and then when the opportunity to come to Hamburg came up (') I/we were
3703 not married or anything (') but then we can come up with a plan "ah let's get married (-) let's
3704 have a party (-) get married in church and so on" (,) So /ehm/ it was not traumatic or anything
3705 (,) It was an experience I would repeat (,) (3)

3706 I: *Good /ehm/ then (-) Eva /ehm/ you said at the beginning of your history (-) you said :that:
3707 your parents always put a lot of value in your education (-) both (-) yours and your sister's (,)
3708 /ehm/ could you talk a bit more about it (?)*

3709 B3: Yes /ehm/ actually (-) I wanted to say :that: /ehm/ they have always paid great schools (-)
3710 for me and my sister (,) (-) /ehm/ whatever (-) sometimes /ehm/ the budget was tight during
3711 the month (-) but they always gave priority to our schooling so that we had a good education
3712 (') until we graduated (') (-)

3713 I: *Uh huh*

3714 B3: :and: /ehm/ anyway (,) (-) They always said :that: our only
3715 obligation was to do well in school (') since /ehm/ after all it really was true (-) that we would
3716 take this with us for the future /ehm/ what we had :learned: after our :schooling: (') what ma-
3717 jor we would like to do in college and all (,) (-) So /ehm/ is / it was more or less what I mean
3718 (,) /ehm/ (-) although maybe there wasn't a comfortable budget available every month (') they
3719 made sure to enroll us in private universities (-) and bilingual ones actually (,)
3720 *I: Bilingual universities (?)*

3721 B3: No (-) schools (,) (-) Sorry (-) bilingual schools (,) (2)
3722 *I: Uh huh (-) Uh huh (-) :and: you also mentioned /ehm/ Eva (') at the beginning that there*
3723 */ehm/ at church you spoke German /ehm/ did I understand it well (?) You spoke German in*
3724 *this church and with your friends too (?)*

3725 B3: No (,) Actually it :depended: (,) Actually (-) in church (-) the worship was in German (,)
3726 (-) :And: I had many friends who came from Germany (') who sometimes didn't even speak
3727 Portuguese (') and ended learning Portuguese /ehm/ only a few months (-) after :they: arrived
3728 (') so I had a lot of contact with people who only spoke German (') but /ehm/ of course :that: I
3729 had friends (-) colleagues who were /ehm/ exactly in the same situation (') just like me (-) I
3730 was born in Brazil (-) and /ehm/ went to a bilingual school (-) because the parents had decided
3731 that way (,) (2)

3732 *I: Uh huh (-) Uh huh (-) right (,) And /ehm/ maybe the education of your grandpar-*
3733 *ents and their profession (') could you tell me a bit more about it (?)*

3734 B3: Yes (,) Actually (-) my grandmother /ehm/ she didn't have a profession (,) She was a
3735 homemaker (')

3736 *I: Maternal or paternal (?)*

3737 B3: /ehm/ ok (,) The maternal now (,) The mother of my mother /ehm/ she has never worked
3738 (,) (2) /ehm/ she has always been a housewife (') (2) and she came with my grandfather (') in
3739 the :year: (2) 1950 (') she came with my grandfather (-) I think more or less in 1950 (') she
3740 went with my grandfather to Brazil (') (-) they met (,) Why (?) Because my grandfather (-) he
3741 is Greek (') and he went to college in Austria (-) and met my grandmother in Austria (') /ehm/
3742 and then they /ehm/ immigrated to Brazil (,) With the family of my grandfather who was/is
3743 Greek /ehm/ to Rio Grande do Sul (-) to Porto Alegre (-) where there is a very large colony of
3744 :Germans: :and: of /ehm/ (-) of immigrants in general (,) (-) My grandfather (') because he
3745 studied in Austria (-) he spoke German (-) had learned to speak German (') and my grand-

3746 mother spoke Greek (') because of his father (,) /ehm/ my grandfather was Greek (-) and my
3747 great grandmother was Austrian (,) (-) Then (') she was born/she grew up bilingually in Aus-
3748 tria with German :and: Greek (,) (-) So they/between them (-) my grandfather and my grand-
3749 mother (') they communicated in Greek (,) :my:=my grandfather majored in engineering in
3750 college (-) in Austria (') :and: worked in Brazil (,) (-) At the beginning /ehm/ the whole family
3751 (') my grandfather (-) had two brothers and a sister and everyone came to Brazil (')

3752 I: *Uh huh*

3753 B3: I don't
3754 know exactly /ehm/ if my great-grandfather (-) his father's/grandfather had /ehm/ the intention
3755 of opening a business (,) I know :that: everyone ended up creating his own path (') and my
3756 grandfather always had good positions (-) in good companies (,) (-) So /ehm/ life/professional
3757 life turned out well (-) :he: came and went back to Europe often (,) And even my mother dur-
3758 ing part of her childhood (-) came (-) my=my grandfather worked in France too (,) (-) :And:
3759 then my mother and grandmother came together (') and :lived: for some time (-) in Germany
3760 near the border with France (') (-) I think she did a year of school in Germany (')

3761 I: *Uh huh*

3762 B3: my
3763 grandfather /ehm/ went back and forth all the time (,) (-) So /ehm/ my :grandfather: practically
3764 supported the whole family (') and had a successful professional life too (') (-)

3765 I: *Uh huh*

3766 B3: but /ehm/ he
3767 also had the luxury :of: retiring at age 50 (') :and: that was the biggest mistake of his life (-) he
3768 did it (,) Because almost everything he /ehm/ had build in life (') he now has /ehm/ a fifth of it
3769 (-) because today he is 80 years old (') / ehm/ after 30 years without working things changed (-
3770) and now are slightly worse (,) (2)

3771 I: *Uh huh (-) are slightly worse (?)*

3772 B3: Financially (,) (2)

3773 I: *Uh huh (-) Uh huh (-) Uh huh (-) and one other thing that you mentioned in your life story*
3774 */ehm/ Eva (') was that at a certain time (-) you spent one year doing :a: vocational test (-)*
3775 *right (?)*

3776 B3: Right (,)

3777 I: Tell me a little bit more (,) You /ehm/ didn't say much about this time of the vocational test
3778 (,) (-)

3779 B3: So /ehm/ this vocational test I did during the third year of high school (-) in :the:/ I was 17
3780 :and: there was a vocational test at Mackenzie (') at the university and they offered it for free
3781 (-) I think it was a class :from: the psychology faculty (-) their students were doing it (') /ehm/
3782 :and: every week I had to go there (-) and answer a lot of short :quizzes: (-) :talk: with some
3783 people (') /ehm/ it was=was interesting (-) it was=was valid but not/didn't really help much (,)
3784 Because /ehm/ the test results said :that: (-) I don't remember exactly (') (-) but it was/I knew
3785 what my problem was (,) So (') (-) when you answer a question in a vocational test (-) at least
3786 I saw this difficulty (') /ehm/ "Do you like dealing with numbers (-) are you a person who
3787 thinks rationally (?)" /ehm/ yes (-) I like (,) /ehm/ "but do you (-) like to talk (-) do you like to
3788 :discuss: issues (?)" Yes (-) I also like it (,) (-) /ehm/ do you understand (?) You could become
3789 a psychologist (-) or you an engineer (,) I knew that already (((laughs)))

3790 I: *Uh huh*

3791 B3: I didn't have to do this vocational test to=to find out everything I already knew (') /ehm/
3792 that was my problem (,)

3793 I: *Uh huh (-) Uh huh*

3794 B3: So (-) ok (,) It was valid (-) but it didn't solve my problem (,) (-)

3795 I: *You said, that you :knew: what your problem was (?)*

3796 B3: Yes (,) because my problem was /ehm/ I couldn't decide what I wanted to study in col-
3797 lege (') I knew I=I liked :math: (-) I thought it would be a good :opportunity: / ehm/ but when
3798 you do a vocational test (') you get these questions (-) /ehm/ "do you like to deal with this" (-)
3799 I don't know now exactly how the phrase was formulated (-) "do you like numbers (?)" "but
3800 /ehm/ it just gave me the result (-) :of: courses :like: (-) I already knew I could do these cours-
3801 es (') but they were totally opposite (,) So (-) it could be psychology (-) pedagogy or engineer-
3802 ing (') we're talking about /ehm/ :things: that are completely different /ehm/ are not/we aren't
3803 talking about mechanical engineering or marine engineering (,) (-) /ehm/ so /ehm/ this was my
3804 problem (,) My problem was which course to attend in college (') but=but then the vocational
3805 test came into my life (-) with the intention :or: /ehm/ at least I thought (-) it'd give me a light
3806 at the end of the tunnel (') maybe I should major in :this: (-) or/then perhaps :that: (') but it
3807 didn't help me much (,) Because I ended up majoring in what I did :more: because I was al-
3808 ready engaged with IFPA (') studying something I liked (') which was foreign trade (') (-) I

3809 was already doing an internship at a great company (') (-) and then why not to go to college to
3810 major in foreign trade (,) (-) So everything ended up being a consequence (') maybe if I hadn't
3811 gone to IFPA (-) /ehm/ and had tried to begin studying :engineering: for a year (-) /ehm/ per-
3812 haps :even: one year of :pedagogy: (') I might have had another education today (,) (-) I don't
3813 know if it would have been different in my life (,) (-) I know that IFPA ended up guiding me a
3814 lot (-) in my=my next decisions that I had to take/make (-) about what to do (,) (-)
3815 *I: Uh huh (,) Finished guiding your decision regarding university (?)*
3816 B3: Yes (-) after the company (-) to maintain my employment (,) I was at a :good: company (-
3817) :liked: my work (-) I :loved: the department (-) and it made me :wonder: that I could see
3818 myself working there (-) things like that (,) (-)
3819 *I: Uh huh (-) Uh huh (-) and at that time (-) Eva :you: just said /ehm/ "I could still change my
3820 mind (') because I was still fairly :young: (-) then (') I had this chance to change my mind (,) "*
3821 */ehm/ you said :that: you had a chance to change your mind (,) What=What is the meaning of
3822 this chance to change your mind (?)*
3823 B3: Yes (-) exactly it (-) :because: I had no plan of (-) graduating at age 30 from college (,) I
3824 had a plan (-) or at least I had imagined to graduate :from: college /ehm/ whatever (-) at age
3825 23 or 24 (,) I was 17 when I graduated from high school (,) (-) So /ehm/ I mean that even if I
3826 chose/decided to do something else later :or: choose any other college major (') I still had
3827 /ehm/ whatever this=this opportunity to change my major and do something else (,) I didn't
3828 want to graduate at age 30 or 35 (-) know what I mean (?) I didn't want to waste time (-)
3829 that's why (,) (-)
3830 *I: Don't waste time (?)*
3831 B3: Yeah (-) to waste time and not :to: graduate before 23 (-) 24 (-) know what I mean (?)
3832 *I: Uh huh (-) Uh huh (-) :and: right (,) :then: you told me (-) in regard to what you just said
3833 about IFPA (') you said that at the end of these two years the problem of being or not being
3834 hired came up (,) /ehm/ can=can you tell me a little more about this problem (?)*
3835 B3: /ehm/ yes /ehm/ because=because when companies/when they hire you to as an intern to
3836 go to IFPA (') they don't give you the guarantee that you will be hired afterwards (-) 100% (-)
3837 you don't have a 100% certainty that you will be hired afterward (-) after you finish the
3838 course (,) So (-) actually (-) /ehm/ it/this was constantly in the heads of the apprentices (') until
3839 the end of the second year (') you don't know whether you will be hired (') this is the problem
3840 (,) it turns into the problem of your life (,) Of course /ehm/ if you :want :and: have :plans: to

3841 continue in the company where you are doing your apprenticeship (,) (2) This ends up like
3842 a= a trauma (') "ah will they have job for me (?) Do they want me to stay (?) Was the work I
3843 did any good (?)” /ehm/ it ends up being a= a (-) I don't know if :I: can say a problem (-) but it
3844 is definitely in your head (,) (-) If you are going to stay or not (,) As I had already started col-
3845 lege (-) and I had guided my personal plans /ehm/ according to the trade course I was :doing:
3846 (-) :with: the company where I was working (') it became a problem for me (,) But I
3847 don't/shouldn't have had this type /ehm/ of thought (-) because /ehm/ the company/NCA
3848 /ehm/ I did a good job there (') and my reports always showed I was a great apprentice :and: I
3849 ended up creating an=an (-) unnecessary question mark in my head (,) Because I later talked
3850 with HR (') :and: they said "of course we'd find some job for you here (-) Eva"(,) So they
3851 called and asked me "which department are you interested/what is the department :that: you
3852 would be interested in working for (?) “ah I liked logistics (-) exports (-) I would be interested
3853 in working there” (,) :And: soon after that (-) they offered me a position (') and I ended up
3854 being hired at the end of the second year (,)

3855 *I: Uh huh*

3856 B3: So /ehm/ this was the problem (,) (2) But this was not just my problem (') it was general
3857 (,) (-) We saw that when (-) we reached the end of the course (') everyone started /ehm/ to
3858 wonder what would happen :will: I :get: a job or not (-) :and: /ehm/ and so on (,) (-)

3859 *I: Uh huh (-)*

3860 *Uh huh (-) :and: you said:that: it was a trauma and not just for you (-) but also for your*
3861 *classmates (-)*

3862 B3: Yes=yes (,) As I said (') to people who wanted to stay in the company and had it as a goal
3863 (') it turned into a :trauma: (-) because sometimes it happened /ehm/ that the company had no
3864 interest (-) or even the intern hadn't done a good job (') (-) then :they: (-) the company said
3865 "We have no interest in you staying" and /ehm/ this was a traumatic process to go through
3866 (((laughs)))

3867 *I: (((laughs))) Interesting (,) And you also mentioned Eva :that: (-) if I understood well (-)*
3868 *after=after NCA /ehm/ you received a better job offer (-) without having finished college (,)*
3869 *Did I understand this part right (?)*

3870 B3: /ehm/ not really (,) /ehm/ when was it (?)

3871 *I: You said in your life story :that: when you were already working at NCA (') you were of-*
3872 *fered a better job (-) but still without having a college degree (,) (-)*

3873 B3: /ehm/ IFPA (-) but I was doing or I had already finished IFPA (?)

3874 I: I believe you referred to the time you had finished IFPA (,)

3875 B3: Well (-) when I was going to IFPA /ehm/ you even can't /ehm/ leave the company you

3876 work for (') because they pay your trade course (,) Then you/it can't go through your head

3877 /ehm/ :simply: to drop the course (') (-) because you won't get a diploma (-) you get nothing

3878 (,)

3879 I: Uh huh

3880 B3: But /ehm/ ok=ok I know what I said (-) I=I mentioned /ehm/ when :I: was working at

3881 NCA (') :I: (-) I received an offer to come work :at: NH (-) which is a=a/ actually a company

3882 that manufactures tractors (-) and the use parts produced by NCA (,) :And: /ehm/ it was just

3883 that I hadn't yet graduated from college (') so I wanted to finish this first stage /ehm/ to gradu-

3884 ate (-) and only then start looking for a new job (,) (-) But (-) :when: :I: left and began work-

3885 ing at NCA (') I still had one additional semester in order to graduate from college (-) and I

3886 went to work at NCA (,) So I don't know (,) (-) Maybe I /ehm/ don't remember :exactly: in

3887 which context (-) I said this (,) At which point of my life history I said this (,) (-)

3888 I: /ehm/ it's ok (-) you got it (,) (-) But then /ehm/ I think in your life story (-) you also said (-)

3889 Eva /ehm/ you have just talked a little about that (-) but maybe you could /ehm/ explain a little

3890 :better: (') you said /ehm/ "when I was attending IFPA (') I started majoring in foreign trade

3891 not to waste any time" (,) :and: this time you are talking about here /ehm/ I couldn't under-

3892 stand/understand well (-) this was wasting time aspect (,)

3893 B3: So (') actually waste time /ehm/ is linked to :my: initial plan of :when: I was 17 (-) 18 (')

3894 :of: not wanting to get my degree :much: older (,) (-) So /ehm/ suppose / ehm/ if I started to

3895 do a course that I didn't like and then gave up /ehm/ did two or three years and then said "oh

3896 my (-) this is not what I wanted to do"/ehm/ it would be like :wasting: time in my education (-

3897) and what I'd like to do (-) it wouldn't be the thing that I would like to work with (-) know

3898 what I mean (?) So=so in my head it was like a waste of time (-) you attend another course in

3899 an area you wouldn't like to work (,) Of course :that: nothing is in vain (-) :that: everything is

3900 valid (-) it is undoubtedly valid (') but it was/I considered it a waste of time (,) (-)

3901 I: Uh huh (-) Uh huh (-) you also said that :the: biggest advantage of IFPA (-) was that you

3902 could enter the labor market /ehm/and that :without: a college degree (-) you can only find

3903 internships /ehm/ that it is harder /ehm/

3904 B3: yes (,)

3905 *I: What do you mean harder (?) Can you explain it to me (-) How is it for an apprentice at*
3906 *IFPA (,)*

3907 B3: No /ehm/ for me it wasn't more difficult (') but /ehm/ I'm/I saw people who attended the
3908 same college that I did (-) majoring in the same field as me :and: :who: sometimes had neither
3909 an internship nor a permanent job (-) because they were in the first or second term (,) Then
3910 :in: the third semester/third year (-) you need to find an internship position (,) But it is very
3911 difficult because /ehm/ companies sometimes are not=not interested in hiring :an: intern (-)
3912 :for: just six months (') :and: after that sees the intern leaving (') or because the company :has:
3913 (-) one /ehm/ whatever (-) one trainee program (-) and then you have to have this and that to
3914 enter (-) and=and then you (-) because now/you don't meet requirement x you don't qualify (-
3915) you know what I mean (?) Then I saw that :the: situation of my friends/of my college and
3916 roommates (-) was harder than mine (,) (-) Because I /ehm/ virtually (-) when I entered col-
3917 lege (') I was working (-) I had a position guaranteed during those two years (-) until I finished
3918 the two years of IFPA (,) (-) Of course (-) after this transition happens (-) at the end of the
3919 second year (-) comes "will I be hired or not (?)" (-) but=but this is what I considered difficult
3920 (,) For me it was (') because I had/when I=I started going to college (-) I already had an in-
3921 ternship position guaranteed for two years (,)

3922 *I: Uh huh*

3923 B3: It had nothing to do with college (-) I already had an internship (,) And I managed to use
3924 it for my college degree /ehm/ you get one=one/like (-) I was already an intern (') and I need-
3925 ed to do an internship during college (,) (-) So I asked at work :and: HR signed it (-) there was
3926 no problem (,) (2)

3927 *I: Uh huh (-) /ehm/ one more question (-) Eva (-) I would like to ask you /ehm/
3928 you said you have a Greek passport (?)*

3929 B3: Yes (,)

3930 *I: /ehm/ Because of your grandfather (?)*

3931 B3: Because of my grandfather (-) (,) My grandfather studied (-) this same grandfather who
3932 studied in Austria and met my grandmother who is Austrian (') they went to Brazil (') /ehm/ I
3933 could also have an Austrian passport /ehm/ but :the: Greek was easier to get (-) because of the
3934 documentation needed :but: we decided to request for the Greek (,) (2)

3935 *I: So you're Brazilian and Greek is that it (?)*

3936 B3: This (-) Uh huh (,)

3937 *I: Uh huh (-) and also it was /ehm/ at what point in your life did you become :Greek: (?)*

3938 B3: My mother went for /ehm/ all the documentation before I was 18 (,) (-) Now :I: I don't

3939 remember (') (-) but I think a little before that (-) I was 16 or 17 years old (-) possibly (,) (-)

3940 *I: Uh huh (-) right (,) Okay (,) (-) I have a few more questions /ehm/ more direct ones I would*

3941 *like :to: ask you (-) Eva /ehm/ some about IFPA (,) Good /ehm/ then (-) then /ehm/ what I*

3942 *wanted to ask you :is: can you tell me a little bit /ehm/ about the routine at IFPA (?) How was*

3943 *the routine at school (?)*

3944 B3: Well (-) in school /ehm/ classes started at 7 (') so we had to be there before 7 (-) in the

3945 classroom (') it was basically like it was in school (,) Then we :had: classes until noon (') (-)

3946 there are two classes if I'm not mistaken (-) there was a fifteen minute break (-) two lessons

3947 /ehm/ of=of 45 minutes /ehm/ from 7 to 7:45 (-) from 7:45 until 8:30 /ehm/ 15 minutes then a

3948 break (,) (-) Then from 8:45 until 9:30 (-) then 9:30 until 10:15 /ehm/ 10:15 to 10:30 and an-

3949 other 15 minute break (') then we had three more classes until noon (-) I don't remember now

3950 exactly (-) just do the math / ehm/ one class every 45 minutes (,) :And: then we had an hour (-

3951) an hour and a half free (-) we had lunch at school (') they have a cantina (') and /ehm/ some-

3952 times we went out somewhere (,) There were some people who had a driver's license (') and

3953 had a car /ehm/ I would go with them (,) /ehm/ I've always gotten rides from people (') be-

3954 cause at that time I was seventeen (') so I didn't have a driver's license yet (') (-)

3955 *I: Your friends would give you a ride you mean (?)*

3956 B3: /ehm/ yeah (-) I=I/there was a girl in my neighborhood who also went to IFPA (,) (-) We

3957 did it together (,) :Then: during another time I went with another girl whowas=was (-) :no:

3958 third year of high school (-) her father drove us (') and then I'd also go with her /ehm/ in the

3959 first year (,) Then in the second year (-) I :got: my driver's license (') and I had the car (') and

3960 then I drove to school (,) (-) :and: ok (') then we had lunch (-) /ehm/ going back to the routine

3961 (-) we ate lunch and then returned to class (-) and had class until 16:30 every day (-) except

3962 Fridays :when: we :left: (-) after lunch if I'm not mistaken (-) /ehm/ yes :on: Fridays (-) in the

3963 afternoon we were free (,) We had free time (,) (-) But it was from 7 until 16:30 (') it was only

3964 for one month (-) four weeks (,) (-)

3965 *I: Uh huh*

3966 B3: After /ehm/ :two: or three and a half months (-) /ehm/ two and a half months (-) three:

3967 months in the company (') then I went back to school (,) My=my course was in blocks (')

3968 *I: Uh huh*

3969 B3: There was also a weekly course (,) (-) there was another course in which clas-
3970 ses=classes were on Monday and Tuesday (-) at the school (') and then Wednesday, Thursday
3971 and Friday at the company (,) (-) That was the first year (,) then in the second year (-) you had
3972 to go to school Thursday, Friday and Monday (-) Tuesday and Wednesday to company (,)
3973 *I: Uh huh*

3974 B3: But mine was in blocks (') and :so: I only went to school for a month (') :and: after that I
3975 had to stay three months in the company (,) So during these three months (-) the company
3976 always had a schedule for you (') /ehm/ "you will come back (-) you=you will go to this and
3977 that department" (') /ehm/ :and: at the end of every phase in a specific department (-) you have
3978 to make a report (,) (-) The boss has to sign it and etc (,) (-) But the school was not honestly (-
3979) it wasn't the :end: of the world (') the school was very similar to the lessons we had in col-
3980 lege (,) (2)

3981 *I: Uh huh (-) Uh huh and how were /ehm/ talking more about your classmates (,) / ehm/
3982 who were your classmates (?)*

3983 B3: Well /ehm/ my classmates were from=from the same schools /ehm/ either from
3984 Schweizerschule São Paulo (-) or Porto Seguro School or (-) Humboldt School (') people I
3985 had seen in the hallway before at Porto Seguro (') but /ehm/ never talked to (,) :And: we ended
3986 up becoming friends (') /ehm/ there was :a: girl for example
3987 who :she: had already studied and she went back to IFPA (-) but I don't remember now (')

3988 *I: Uh huh*

3989 B3: but /ehm/ I don't remember now what year (') I know that :her: went back to school (-)
3990 and started studying at IFPA (') so she was a year older than me (') in school (-) but she was
3991 also my classmate (') /ehm/ I had classmates from also :from: /ehm/ Rio Grande do Sul (')
3992 who spoke German at home and attended German schools there :and: then went to São Paulo
3993 just to take the course (') (-) these people necessarily had :that: block modality (') because they
3994 came for a month to São Paulo (') stayed in the dorm there (-) :that: the school itself rented to
3995 the apprentices (') :and: the other three months :they: returned to Porto Alegre (,) (-) There
3996 was a girl :from: São Leopoldo /ehm/ also classmates from :Paraná: (-) near Guarapuava (-)
3997 who were /ehm/ people who spoke German at home (') but they wanted to do :this: technical
3998 course (') and then they had to /ehm/ as I said (-) do it in this block system (,) Because they
3999 went back home in that period they had to work (-) to the towns where they lived (,) (-)

4000 *I: Uh huh (-) :and: your class was combined (') /ehm/ so the folks coming from the country-*
4001 *side and the apprentices from Sao Paolo (?)*

4002 B3: Between=Between themselves they were much more (-) of course (,) Because they /ehm/
4003 live in this dorm (,) (-) /ehm/ well (-) then (') they knew=knew each other much more (,) But
4004 /ehm/ otherwise (-) everyone who was there was from German schools and we had already
4005 seen each other at some point (,) (-) So we /ehm/ eventually formed a group of friends and it
4006 was very cool (') people I have been talking to ever since (') people who were invited to my
4007 wedding reception (') (-) /ehm/ people I see as well :that: are super nice (-) that bring me good
4008 memories (,) It was a very cool group (-) and very=very interesting (,) (2)

4009 *I: Uh huh (-) uh huh (-):and: how was the relationship with the teachers (-) Eva (?)*

4010 B3: So (') the teachers were all Germans (') except the one teaching law (') that was Brazilian
4011 law (-) t we had :a: Brazilian teacher (') /ehm/ she was the only one (,) (2) /ehm/ :and: the
4012 Spanish teacher too :because: she was actually Brazilian (') but as=as/I think :that: she had a
4013 Spanish passport and had lived in Spain (') the teacher who taught Spanish (,) (-) But the rest
4014 were all German teachers (,) And the German teachers /ehm/ I had already had classes with
4015 German teachers before (-) actually during my entire life (,) By the third year of high school it
4016 was basically always the same (') so I'd say that (-) I don't know /ehm/ nothing special (-) or
4017 nothing extraordinary (((laughs)))

4018 *I: Uh huh (-) but the relationship with teachers (') was it a healthy relationship (?)*

4019 B3: Yes it was (-) yes (,) (-) No=no (-) it was=was cool (') because most of them were there
4020 for three or four years (') :they: /ehm/ didn't know much :and: many things about the country
4021 and they would at times tell us "I went to :Pantanal: (-) I did
4022 this :thing:" (-) /ehm/ for them everything was new (,) (-) /ehm/ :but: so /ehm/ honestly I don't
4023 remember (-) any names (((laughs))) I'd have to get my=my papers (-) my notebooks (-) my
4024 materials (,) Because :no: it wasn't something so /ehm/ striking (,) (2)

4025 *I: Uh huh (-) :and: maybe a*
4026 *little bit more about that (-) :the process: of your the choice to go to IFPA (,) (-) /ehm/ What*
4027 *helped you make this :decision: the process to enter IFPA School (?)*

4028 B3: /ehm/ what helped me (?) (2) /ehm/ I don't know (,) (-) /ehm/ the fact that my parents
4029 :had: supported me in my decision (') /ehm/ I :sought: their approval of what I was about to do
4030 (') (-) and my parents /ehm/ helped me a lot (') :because: in=in the process I had been chosen
4031 to work in a company /ehm/ smaller (-) which was just around the corner from our home (')

4032 /ehm/ among other companies too (') :but: (-) the fact that they oriented me /ehm/ "oh my (-)
4033 you got an offer from NCA (-) it is a :great: company (-) a :multinational: :and: etc (-) /ehm/ it
4034 is a little :more: (') but worth the effort "(,) (-) Then (') all /ehm/ the fact that I already had a
4035 company (') when I started doing the interviews (') and then /ehm/ all right (,) So I'll do that (,)
4036 (-) /ehm/ they supported me (,) (-) I don't know (') /ehm/ maybe the fact that I didn't know
4037 exactly what I wanted to study in college (') and :then: I=I wanted a light at the end tunnel (')
4038 to /ehm/ maybe unconsciously (') and they said (-) I would have two years (-) (') to really de-
4039 cide later /ehm/ if I :wanted: to stay in a company :or: if I didn't want to (,) (-) This also (-)
4040 led me to decide in favor of IFPA (') (2) It helped me (,) (2)

4041 *I: And you=you talked a lot in your life*
4042 *story about the issue of wasting time /ehm/ about starting college to save time (,) :And: enter-*
4043 *ing IFPA /ehm/ was it considered or was not considered by you as a waste of time (?)*

4044 B3 :: No: (-) no it wasn't (,) (-)

4045 *I: Uh huh (-) uh huh (-) then /ehm/ it was part of your educational*
4046 *plan /ehm/ say (-) your studies per se (?)*

4047 B3: /ehm/ anyway if I didn't like (-) or didn't want to continue working :for: a company :and:
4048 in the industry /ehm/ in an :office: (') I knew I'd end up with some qualification (,) so it'd not
4049 have been in vain (,) (-)

4050 *I: Uh huh (-) uh huh :and: as it/you as a former student /ehm/ Eva (') /ehm/ how is IFPA seen*
4051 *in Brazil (?)*

4052 B3: /ehm/ among people who know (') who know the course we are :talking: about (-) what it
4053 :is: almost=almost exclusively in the German schools /ehm/ know it well (') /ehm/ because
4054 /ehm/ :you: if you are dedicated (-) and a good employee to a company or an intern (') inevi-
4055 tably you will finish your apprenticeship and get hired :or: with a random great company (,) (-
4056) So /ehm/ one is highly regarded by people who want to continue in Brazil (') :and: :because:
4057 /ehm/ this is not the case if we speak about people who want (-) to do their /ehm/ Abitur (')
4058 because they want to go to college in Germany (-) for example (-) in the case of my sister (,)
4059 For her/for me it was very good (') my parents know that it was great (') but there was no rea-
4060 son for her to do it too (,) It is a great course (') :but: if she wanted to go to college in Germa-
4061 ny (-) /ehm/ it wouldn't solve /ehm/ her problem by going to IFPA (') (-)

4062 *I: Uh huh*

4063 B3: :and: so /ehm/ by what I see from my classmates (-) and the people who graduated with
4064 me (') /ehm/ it is a very good thing (,) At the time :that: you are doing it of course everything
4065 is a drag (') because it is :shit: like "this school :sucks: (') because everything is :crap: (-) and
4066 because teachers are not :good: and all"(,) (-) But after you leave (-) you see the result (') (-)
4067 you have a better job than the
4068 person :who: only went to college (,) Then /ehm/ today I think it is very good (,) I could only
4069 recommend it to other people (,) Because it is an opportunity (,) (2)

4070 I: *Uh huh (-) you=you said it*
4071 *has a good image for people who know the school (,) Who are these people again (?)*

4072 B3: People who went to German schools (') :and: have access to this information (,) since you
4073 can only /ehm/ take the course if you know how to speak German (') (-) then /ehm/ whatever
4074 /ehm/ not people who only :went: /ehm/ to Brazilians schools (') (-) /ehm/ when I spoke about
4075 it in college (-) my classmates said (-) "ah I am doing a trade course /ehm/ I'm an intern at
4076 NCA"(-) /ehm/ they asked "but this is a trade course (?) (-) they always had the question (,)
4077 Because nobody knows (,) (-) And they ask /ehm/ "ah (-) but is this at SENAI (?) :and: I said
4078 "no (,) It is not at SENAI (,) It is a post-high school course (-) in a German trade school (,)
4079 /ehm/ "Ok (-) but what school (?) /ehm/ they never knew (,) It is not known (') because as for
4080 Brazilian schools /ehm/ they don't even need to get to know about it (') because :for: you to
4081 do the course /ehm/ you need to know how to speak German (,) (-)

4082 I: *:and: what was their reaction*
4083 *when you talked about the course (?)*

4084 B3: "that's cool (-) interesting (,) But you speak German (?) And :they: always came to the
4085 question "cool (-) so you study in a German school (,)" /ehm/ I=I think the reaction was al-
4086 ways positive (,) It was a thing /ehm/ interesting (,) (2)

4087 I: *Uh huh (-) uh huh (-) and then /ehm/ you*
4088 *said (-) it had a good image for you (') (-) but that does not mean it has a bad image for some*
4089 *people right (?)*

4090 B3: Right (,) (-)

4091 I: *Uh huh (-) ok (,) :and: a little bit/a little more :open: question (-) perhaps I can also*
4092 *understand your point of view better /ehm/ (') (-) /ehm/ before (-) you/when you said that you*
4093 *were in :doubt: :and: didn't know what you wanted to study in college (') that you needed a*

4094 *light at the end of the tunnel* (') as you mentioned before / ehm/did you think/consider other
4095 schools (?) Were there other possibilities (?)

4096 B3: Other technical schools after high school (?)

4097 I: Yes (-) technical schools after high school (') any other options (?)

4098 B3: No (,) The only other option was to go to college then (,) (-)

4099 I: *And other technical courses* (?)

4100 B3: No (,) (-) I don't know another trade course (,) (-) I don't know any other (') I never
4101 thought about it (,) For me (-) there was no such possibility (') because you do a trade course
4102 /ehm/ just any (-) whatever /ehm/ :that: will not add anything (') it was better to go to college
4103 then (,) (2)

4104 I: *Uh huh* (-) *uh huh* :and: as=as is the image from/of a technical course here in Brazil
4105 (?) *What is the image you have* (?)

4106 B3: It depends (,) (-) The=the trade course is valid /ehm/ for a person /ehm/ actually this ques-
4107 tion /ehm/ is kind of complicated (') because :we: have to imagine two situations (,) First the
4108 person who will do the trade course :and: not go to college (') then :ok: /ehm/ you have a
4109 technical background and you will do this for the rest of your life (,) (-) /ehm/ then (-) imagine
4110 a mechanic who did a course at :SENAI: :and: started it at age 14 (-) or 15 (') and finishes it at
4111 age 18 :and: would become a technician (,) He finished high school (') has a diploma (-) a
4112 certificate (') :but: if he doesn't go to college (-) he will not grow (,) (-) He'll do this for the
4113 rest of his life (,) (-) So /ehm/ to what extent this /ehm/ is a good or bad thing /ehm/ it depends
4114 on your point of view (,) (-) If you are ok with this situation :of: doing this the rest of your life
4115 (') (-) :ok: :but: if you have bigger ambitions (') you say "oh my (-) Do I want to do a trade
4116 course like a :mechanic: (-) at :SENAI: (?) and then later when I am 30 or 40 years old (') my
4117 goal is to become an :engineer: (-) be a :leader: (-) I want to do projects :and: (-) :develop: this
4118 and that"/ehm/ you will not achieve it without college (,) Forget it (,) (2) Today (') the compa-
4119 nies I worked for (-) :there: were not so many (') but this is not possible (,) (-) Of course :that:
4120 there is the exception of the exception (-) it will always exist (,) (-) But the rule is :if: you did
4121 a trade course end of the story (') you are not well seen by companies (,) You must have
4122 :theoretically: a college degree in Brazil (,) (-) I'm talking about Brazil /ehm/ not about Ger-
4123 many (,) Because in Germany (-) the situation is extremely different (,) (-) It's totally the op-
4124 posite in Germany (,) (-) So /ehm/ I cannot tell you whether it is a good or bad thing to do (,)
4125 (-) It depends on your point of view (,)

4126 I: Uh huh

4127 B3: I /ehm/ did a trade course and for me (-) to me it was great (,) (-) what I did (,) But I also

4128 went to college and did a MBA (,) So (-) there is no way to compare it then (,) (-)

4129 I: So /ehm/ people in Brazil are also /ehm/ as you did (') they do a trade course and then go to

4130 college and then do a MBA (?)

4131 B3: Most people I know yes (,) /ehm/ (-) /ehm/ I cannot compare it with people / ehm/ who (-)

4132 did a trade course for example 30 or 40 years ago (') :that: did a trade course to become a me-

4133 chanic (') and :who: has worked with it his entire life (') and today may well be a leader (') but

4134 he did it 30 or 40 years ago (,) /ehm/ then (-) people who are my age (-) my friends (') /ehm/

4135 they went to college (,) I don't know anyone who has :simply: done a trade course (') and

4136 :hasn't: continued to study (-) in Brazil (,) This is important to mention (') because I know

4137 people who have only done_a trade course :and: came to Germany (,) But then :the: labor

4138 market is different here / ehm/ it is something else entirely (,) (2)

4139 I: Uh huh (-) uh huh (-) :and: maybe a little /ehm/ Eva (-) for me to try to understand better

4140 /ehm/ you said that in the technical course (-) /ehm/ if the person doesn't enter a university (-)

4141 the company will not hire him or her (,) That it is very difficult to have a leadership position

4142 and everything /ehm/ (-) /ehm/ so these people are from a different social class (?)

4143 B3: Yes (,) /ehm/ actually (-) :yes: (,) Because the technicians I know (') are these kind of

4144 people (,) Fortunately (-) I have not had to look for other possibilities (-) for another trade

4145 course (-) after I finished high school (,) Because /ehm/ maybe these people began to go to

4146 SENAI (') which is the only trade school I know (-) :that: is the trade school system that you

4147 do together with high school (') and they offer these courses /ehm/ general mechanics and (-)

4148 something similar (,) (-) So /ehm/ I guess people come from a lower class /ehm/ low (-) how

4149 do you call it (?) /ehm/ a social class :more: /ehm/ a little lower (,) (-) Because /ehm/ it is the

4150 same as (') you can't compare these people (,) Because people studying in German schools in

4151 Brazil (') which are private schools (-) :and: have a very expensive monthly fee (') are people

4152 who have to have a better condition to pay this monthly fee (,) So people inevitably come

4153 from a higher social class (-) this is for sure (,) (2)

4154 I: Uh huh (-) uh huh (-) /ehm/ it takes me back to that last point (,) I would like to ask you (-)

4155 Eva /ehm/ you said that :generally: it is very difficult to have a career if you just do a trade

4156 course and so on /ehm/ you mentioned as :well: /ehm/ that=that/ now at the end of your an-

4157 swer (-) this issue of social class (') how it is seen /ehm/ and (-) for you this point (-) that I

4158 *point I'm also interested in (') because in fact the course offered by IFPA is course in a Ger-*
4159 *man school but it is a trade course too (,) :And: you said that most people who do the trade*
4160 *courses have a different profile (,)*

4161 B3: Yes (,)

4162 I: *But IFPA is also a trade school (,) How do you see this situation (?)*

4163 B3: So (') but the trade course I did (-) is /ehm/ is a post-high school course (,) And the first
4164 thing I needed in order to be admitted /ehm/ was to be able to speak German (-) and the fact
4165 that you know how to speak German in Brazil /ehm/ already puts you above others (-) at least
4166 in São Paulo (') I don't know /ehm/ how it is in the South (-) where the vast majority speaks
4167 German (') :but: /ehm/ in São Paulo (-) either you are a child of German /ehm/ (-) of a German
4168 company director :that: has been living here for three or four years (') and went to Brazil and
4169 inevitably sends his children to a German school (') or you come from a /ehm/ a social class a
4170 :little: higher (-) of parents who have the dream to pay a private school /ehm/ and speak Ger-
4171 man (,) (-) So well /ehm/ for me that is it (,) (3) But you perhaps asked if it bothered me (?) /
4172 ehm/ I don't quite understand the question (,)

4173 I: *No /ehm/ just wondering how you perceived it (,) (-)*

4174 B3: Yes (,) But I (-) actually (-) I didn't have to deal with the situation (,) For me it was kind
4175 of normal (') (-) it is a possibility that there among German schools (') which actually :you:
4176 can only do it if you have minimal /ehm/ command of German (,) (-) So it didn't bother me (,)
4177 (-) It was one thing :that: I dealt with well (,) :And: also others who didn't know what it was
4178 (') they would say "interesting (-) wow that is cool (') I don't know this (-) but how is it (?)
4179 How does that work=work (?)"/ehm/ do you understand (?) (-) People ended looking at it with
4180 other eyes (,) (-) It is not a normal trade course (-) like the conventional ones people know in
4181 Brazil (,) (2)

4182 I: *Uh huh (-) this is an interesting fact /ehm/ people looked with other eyes (,) It is not like a*
4183 *conventional trade course in Brazil (-) /ehm/ interesting (,) (-) But as you just mentioned*
4184 */ehm/ what do you think are the reasons for it to be seen with other eyes again (?)*

4185 B3: Well /ehm/ the fact that you need to speak German (,)

4186 I: *Uh huh (-) so you think the language gives it a different perception then (?)*

4187 B3: The language (-) yes (,) (-) :Because: this is the decisive point (,) Whether you can speak
4188 German or not (,) (-) Not just anyone can do it /ehm/ a person studying in a regular Brazilian
4189 school comes and says (') "I want to do this trade course" (-) no (,) The first thing you need is

4190 to speak German (,) (-) So this is part of the elimination criteria (,) You know (?) :ok: (-) you
4191 can take a German test (') but you have to show a minimum knowledge (') (-) can you pass (?)
4192 :Ok: if you can then you do it (,) Otherwise you can't do it (,) (-) So (') that's why people end-
4193 ed/it caught people's attention /ehm/ people's attention (,) (-)
4194 I: Uh huh (-) :and: the last thing I'd like to ask you (-) Eva /ehm/ at any given time (-) did it go
4195 through your head (-) /ehm/ "well (-) I'll finish the IFPA and I won't go on to college (?)
4196 B3: No (,)
4197 I: Uh huh (-) and why it didn't cross by your mind (?)
4198 B3: /ehm/ no /ehm/ because I think :that: the schools where I studied :and: even at home (')
4199 this hypothesis was never considered (-) it never existed (,) (-) So :I:=I was more or less con-
4200 ditioned that I would at least (-) have a college degree (,) The trade course actually (-) would
4201 not solve my problem (,) I knew I needed to have a college degree (,) So I never thought of
4202 the idea of only going to IFPA and then doing nothing else (,) (-)
4203 I: Uh huh (-) what do you mean not solve your problem (?) What problem (?)
4204 B3: To have a college degree (,) (-)
4205 I: :and: what does it mean to you /ehm/ to have a degree (?)
4206 B3: College or IFPA (?)
4207 I: College (,)
4208 B3: Nowadays (') it allowed me /ehm/ to open some doors in the companies :that: I worked
4209 for (') (-) :and: I don't know what would have happened (-) if I didn't have a college degree (,)
4210 That I'll never know (-) of course (,) (-) Because from the moment you're in a good company
4211 (-) and do a good job (') /ehm/ I don't have the a management :position: I'm not a manager yet
4212 (,) /ehm/ then (-) I know the policy of the companies I worked for (') :that: they don't like to
4213 put people in leadership / ehm/ positions that don't have a minimum level of education (')
4214 equal to or higher than that of normal employees (,) (-) So=so perhaps it opened more doors to
4215 me (-) in the future (,) But /ehm/ the fact that I have college degree (-) I think that it helped
4216 me to get to where I am today (,) (-) Apart from the knowledge you acquire (,) Of course (-)
4217 and all (,) /ehm/ I'm not even going to go into details :that: what I learned in college also
4218 helped me a lot (,) :And: it help me /ehm/ at work (-) in my day to day work (,) It is not like
4219 I've majored in zoonosis (') and work in an office doing foreign trade nowadays (((laughs)))
4220 I: (((laughs))) right (,) and then you still did a MBA (-) right (?)
4221 B3: Yes (-) I still did a MBA (,)

4222 *I: Also because of the issue that you needed the certificate (?)*

4223 B3: Yes /ehm/ because when I finished college (') (-) I realized that I couldn't stop studying

4224 (,) (-) I even thought at that time about going back to college to get a second degree (,) But

4225 then I thought (-) I didn't know what I :would: do (-) I suddenly needed to=to rearrange my

4226 thoughts (,) (-) So to continue the learning process (') I decided to do the MBA :and: didn't

4227 stop studying (') anyway /ehm/ I ended up doing the MBA (,) (2)

4228 *I: Right (,) (-) it is okay (,) (-) From my side/my part these were questions I had for you (-)*

4229 *Eva (,) (-) /ehm/ thank you much for your participation (-) for the story you told :and: /ehm/*

4230 *now at the end (-) I'd just like to quickly ask you for feedback (,) What=What/how was the*

4231 *experience of telling a life story (?)*

4232 B3: (((laughs))) ah it is very complicated (-) Marcelo (,) /ehm/ because /ehm/ when we start

4233 talking about a certain point (') we don't know if we said everything (-) or if you are talking

4234 enough (-) even regarding the material you need for your research and everything else (,) (-)

4235 So /ehm/ to this extent (-) if it is important (-) and then sometimes I start talking about a point

4236 (') and then I don't know if it's an irrelevant information or if it is super important (,) (-) It is

4237 very difficult to know what you will talk about in your life story (-) what is important and

4238 what is irrelevant (,) (-) So /ehm/ it is very complicated (,) If you didn't/don't write on paper

4239 and don't know /ehm/ what exactly will be used for your research (-) of what I am saying (-)

4240 (') I believe it can be complicated (,) (-) But I found the experience worthwhile (-) it is pretty

4241 cool (,) (-) Because you end up rethinking some things (-) /ehm/ "why did I do this or that (?)

4242 But I never thought about it (-) our just about what I did (-) "/ehm/ really why /ehm/ whatever

4243 (-) I went to college to major in foreign trade (') but for me it was such a natural thing /ehm/ (-

4244) I was doing a trade course at IFPA (-) now I will go to :college: (,) (2) Now /ehm/ :thinking:

4245 about it=it makes me think "wow (-) would it have been really different if I hadn't done it all

4246 (?) So /ehm/ it was cool (-) very interesting (,) (2)

4247 *I: Good (-) Good (-) good (,) Thank you (-) Eva (,) Thank you for your participation and*

4248 *thank you for your help (,) This second part was also recorded, as agreed :and: I hope it was*

4249 *no problem for you (,)*

4250 B3: No=no problem (,) (3)

4251 *I: Great (,) (-) Thank you for your participation and good night (,) (-)*

4252 B3: Goodnight (,)

4253 *I: Thank you (-) Eva (,) (pause)*

10.4 Structural description of single case (1): Lisa Steinway

1. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 1 - 65)

Lisa's extempore story telling begins with a main narrative part, in which she is asked to tell her life story without any essential intervention from the interviewer. A first full size narrative unit discloses three crucial aspects regarding the informant's biography, namely the strong bond with and between her family members, her grandparents' occupation and how other family members met through her grandparents' friendship. The introduction of this narrative unit pre-announces the first content to be depicted, the life and occupation of her maternal and the paternal grandparents. The informant firstly reveals not to be particularly familiar with her grandparents' life story, as can be seen in: the first kernel sentence of this narrative unit "I probably won't (-) give you many details about my grandparents". The next is an argumentative commentary made by the narrator in order to confirm her lack of knowledge regarding her grandparents' biography.

Yet, the incumbent starts a narrative detailing in order to establish an initial social framework for the flux of events and social processes she has undergone. This descriptive passage discloses essential information on the interviewee's family milieu, an indispensable aspect to be addressed in a pragmatic analysis which provides facilitating conditions for the socio-biographical processes to be told, see Schütze (2008, p.22). The interviewee shares that her paternal grandfather has always had his own business and accountancy office. In addition, the informant's paternal great-grandparents also owned their own pharmacy. This demonstrates that the informant's father comes from a family that possessed certain financial means. Thus it is conceivable to plausibly ascertain the family had a favorable financial situation. Moreover, the incumbent makes it clear the family has its roots in Sao Paulo and that her family members were all born in this city.

The informant states her paternal grandmother has always been a housewife. The informant also comments about it in a reflective passage: "at that time women were actually full time housewives". The informant is probably making reference to the labor market scenario of the time. According to IBGE (1990) in the period corresponding between 1940 and 1980, on av-

erage, female workers comprised only 19% of all the individuals employed in Brazil. This reflective passage also implies a self-theoretical commentary made by the informant, who no longer acknowledges this fact as true or even acceptable; therefore, regarding it as an outdated occupation of women in Brazil.

The next kernel sentence is “my paternal grandparents actually knew my maternal grandparents”. One can conclude it was perhaps fostered due to propinquity or even similarity. The incumbent is not able, however, to provide any further information that would explain the conditions that influence the development of their friendship. The next important social frame-related evidence exposed in this narrative unit is the informant’s family roots. Her maternal grandparents have their roots in Italy and the maternal ones in Portugal. The informant clearly stresses her family has no roots in Germany whatsoever, most likely in an attempt to anticipate there was no concatenation of circumstances indicating a relation between her decision to undergo IFPA’s apprenticeship and her family’s roots or her ethnic origin.

The following is a narrative detailing passage providing further information on her grandparents. She describes her grandfather is a successful entrepreneur as he went from being an employee to a businessman. The next is again an attempt to explicate her lack of information regarding her grandparents’ biography, as in “I don’t know how they knew each other (,) (-) My maternal grandmother and grandfather”. Nevertheless the incumbent reveals in her narrative detailing the consequence of this friendship. She states her parents met due to their parents’ friendship, and also her aunt’s and uncle’s union had its origin in this friendship. Even though the informant is not acquainted with the conditions that led to this friendship, she is fully aware of the importance it had in the context of the development and growth of her own family “So everything came from this friendship”.

A remarkable kernel statement of this passage is: “our family is very close”. It is reinforced by the informant later in the same narrative unit. It indicates that the informant has a close family bond that was actually initiated between her grandparents. It is plausible to state it might have fostered trust and acceptance in the incumbent’s relationship with her family. One can observe there is a strong family bond, a stable social relationship between the informant and her family. The next is a very short narrative detailing about her mother, who has six

brothers and sisters, and also about her father who has four siblings. It is followed by an explication of the higher predicated the kernel sentence above entails, namely, “very close”. Lisa concretizes the adjective close by mentioning the frequent occurrence of family reunions, as in: “we always have family parties or we meet on Mother’s Day and Christmas (,) The entire family comes together”. It implicitly demonstrates the informant accepts as true that these social activities have encouraged her family bonding. It remains unclear, though, the reason such family social activities didn’t serve as a means to research family heritage or share family memories of fundamental importance to the entire family history as, for instance, the genesis of her grandparents friendship. In this passage the informant also reveals an ethnic issue related to her family “everyone has this Italian blood (,)”. She could be referring to two different aspects. Firstly, to a conceivable stigmatization of the individuals who belong to this ethnic group. Perhaps it is a reference to elements of communication identifiable in her family reunions, such as gestures and voice volume. The second aspect, and perhaps the most relevant, is that she regards her family as an “Italian” one, even though only one of her grandparents has their roots in the European country.

In the following narrative argumentative detailing the informant once again mentions the strong bond her family had “my family is very close”. She explains once again this higher predicate saying the strong relationship she had with her cousins and the frequency they met one another. It’s possible to perceive that the informant has lived in a harmonious family context, in which she feels accepted. She describes her family as unified, as a non-dysfunctional family, as it can be observed in: “we’re very close [...] we’re always seeing each other”.

The coda indicating the end of this first full narrative unit can be identified by the informant’s closing phrase with a falling intonation “I think this is what I know about my grandparents on/about their families :and: their lives before my parents met (,)”.

2. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 65 - 92)

This full narrative unit begins with a clear frame switching element, which is characterized by the temporal adverb *so*. This second narrative unit reveals central aspects regarding the informant’s parents’ occupation as well as education, the family’s inevitability of moving to the

countryside, the financial crisis in Brazil in 1990, her brother's occupation along with his education, and her own schooling. This narrative unit begins with the kernel sentence "So (-) my parents met (-) got married". The next passage is a purely textual sections of descriptive detailing made by the incumbent with the purpose of revealing further information about her family milieu which also vital for the comprehension of the flux of events. The informant, interestingly, does not further narrate about her parents' relationship. Yet she mentions their divorce later in the questioning part of the interview. Perhaps it might have posed a certain level of distress for the incumbent as it presents itself as a clear disparity in relation to her strong family bond, as already observed in the last narrative unit.

The next passage is purely descriptive and made by the incumbent with the purpose of revealing further information about her family milieu. Lisa relates that her father is an economist who has already worked for different companies, and that he holds a degree from PUC University, a private university located in Sao Paolo. This already indicates features of the interviewee's father's socioeconomic profile. He came from a family of merchants, attended a private university and was part of a selective clique in Brazil as, until 2000, only 4.4% of the population held a university degree, see IBGE (2011).

The next kernel sentence in this full size narrative unit is "and the crisis during Collor's presidency came back in 1990 or eighty something". The following is a conjunction indicating the results this process generated. The informant focuses on the descriptive detailing of this interlink of biographical importance and its outcomes, and ends it with a falling intonation, which is immediately followed by a two-second pause. Lisa continues here explanation with a spatial orientation; indicated by the adverb there with the purpose of focusing on the subsequent events in a new residential location. This descriptive narrative detailing is used for the construction of a textual section that may rationalize and secure the explanation of further outcomes in her biography regarding this interlink. This crisis happened in Brazil in the late 80's. In 1989 Fernando Collor de Melo became the new president in Brazil, and hyperinflation became a serious, problematic issue. This period was marked by a very low annual GDP growth rate and an increasing inflation rate in Brazil, which peaked at 764%. The next is a very important background construction to explain how this crisis affected her father's biography. Lisa explains that her father became unemployed and they had to move to the countryside

where living costs were substantially lower than in Sao Paolo. It is a very relevant interlink of biographical processes in Lisa's biography, in other words, this political change not only had an impact on her father's biography, but also on the biography of every other family member, including herself.

The next kernel sentence is "So he left for Silver Bay (-) he came to Silver Bay with the entire family". The following section is a descriptive narration detailing the changes this process has brought. Lisa's father started his own business, something that already ran in the family, as previously seen. The next passage is a continuation of the background construction previously started by the incumbent to justify the difficulties associated with the afore-mentioned interlink. She approaches the conditions in which her siblings and Lisa found themselves. She and her sister were still attending school and had to transfer to Porto Seguro Silver Bay, as opposed to her brother who had already finished high school at the time. Implicitly Lisa makes this contrast to demonstrate that her brother did not have to go through this difficulty. What is more, the interviewee states the entire family had to move to the countryside, due to her father's dismissal, based on a financial aspect "he decided to move to Silver Bay where the living costs were lower than in Sao Paolo". Moving to Silver Bay could have meant the informant was confronted with a situation in which she no longer had the possibility to control her own biography, which characterizes a trajectory of suffering. The informant became deprived of choice and was not asked for her opinion. She simply had to comply and move with her family to Silver Bay because she was still underage. Lisa basically had to leave Sao Paolo against her own will and, most importantly, she had to leave behind her school friends and peers to start living in a much smaller town, where she would essentially have to reconstruct her social environment and undergo a process of adaptation. This assumption is confirmed by the interviewee in the next narrative unit, as can be seen in "I kind of threw a tantrum [...] I didn't like to idea of moving to Silver Bay". Teenagers who have to move to a different location in order to start attending a new school tend to have more difficulties, given adolescents have a typical group-oriented personality. This was clearly a pivotal interlink of biographical processes in Lisa's biography and was certainly a condition to future biographical process.

The informant describes that, even though the family had to move to a smaller town due to financial reasons, she and her sister still went on attending a private high school in Silver Bay.

They continued attending the same school they went to in Sao Paolo, Porto Seguro School. This passage uncovers two different aspects. Firstly, it is an important indicator of the socio-economic profile of the informant. Porto Seguro School, founded in 1878 by German immigrants and previously known as "Deutsche Schule" (German School), is a private bilingual school located in the city of São Paulo, Brazil; it also has other units in the state of Sao Paolo. It is considered one of the best schools in Sao Paulo and its monthly fee can cost up to eight hundred Euros, see Porto Seguro (2012). Having attended such a school implies the informant belonged to a very selective group of the Brazilian population since only 37% of the Brazilian population aged 18 years old has a high school diploma and, secondly and most importantly, the informant attended a private high school. Between 2006 and 2010, for instance, private high schools accounted for only a little more than 10% of all enrollments in Brazil, see Brazil (2010d). A further pertinent factor relating to the informant's high school is, conceivably, the fact that her parents still attempted, despite the financial strain, to keep both daughters going to the same school they used to attend. On the one hand it could help diminish the need for adaptation due to the moving process, on the other hand it also demonstrates the importance given by her parents to their education taking place at a private school. Despite the unfavorable financial situation, they continued to attend a private high school. The next kernel sentence is "So (‘) my mother came too". The informant also talks about her mother's education and occupation in this narrative unit, revealing her mother is an architect. The informant says her mother worked on a self-employed basis for a certain time and then became a housewife after her brother was born. Interestingly, later on in the main narration, Lisa openly criticizes this attitude and even classifies it as antiquated. The coda indicating the end of this first full narrative unit is also a descriptive narrative detailing used by the informant to explain that her brother works with her father in his IT school, and that her mother only takes care of the housework. This close relationship between her father and her brother is also a source of conflict and sense of unfairness that will be approached by the incumbent in a later narrative unit.

3. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 93 - 151)

This full narrative unit begins with a clear frame switching element, which is characterized here by the temporal adverb *after*. This third narrative unit comprises different biographic processes and discloses crucial aspects regarding the informant's moving to Silver Bay, voca-

tional school attendance, moving into a new home and sibling socialization contrast. This narrative unit begins with an important kernel sentence “after I finished high school :I:=I started attending IFPA”. It is a clear presentation marker of a biographical process the informant went through. One can observe a typical formulaic verbal expression that describes an institutional expectation pattern in the biography of the incumbent. Yet, this kernel sentence is followed by an inner conflict the incumbent experienced and a very important supra-segmental marker, respectively “at the time I kind of threw a tantrum (‘)”. This kernel sentence is followed by an argumentative section. The informant explains she was in a relationship with a young man from Sao Paolo. It meant that moving to Silver Bay, without her consent, could have constituted a trajectory of suffering. The formulaic verbal expression “didn’t like the idea of moving to Silver Bay very much (,)” reinforces the undesired turn of events in the informant’s biography. In addition, moving to a smaller town due to negative reasons, namely unemployment and lack of financial means, could make the adjustment even harder. Consequently, the informant went through a biographical process structure, in an attempt to actively influence her biography. Hence she actively tried to find a way to return to Sao Paolo and the vocational school IFPA presented itself as a means to accomplish her plan. The formulaic verbal expression “I wanted to find something to do there in São Paolo (,)” is also a clear supra-segmental demonstration marker, and it makes it obvious the informant established a plan to change the course of her biography. Another clear presentation marker lays bare this institutional expectation pattern, which actually occurred due to a biographical action scheme derived from a trajectory of suffering, correspondingly, “ended up passing the admission test at IFPA (,)”. This choice also meant she had to move in with her grandmother, as it can be observed in the next kernel sentence in this narrative unit “then I started living with my grandma [...] in Harbor Springs [...] during the two years I went to IFPA”.

In the following there is a background construction, namely a narrative argumentative detailing, as to provide a better understanding of the difficulties the informant encountered when attending her vocational school program at IFPA. The first predicament experienced by the informant was the long distance between her new residence and the vocational school, and her means of transportation to travel across this route. Lisa mentions for the first time an important event carrier in her biography, the bus, as in “I started to take busses in São Paolo“. She attempts to legitimize her negative experience of using public transportation for the first

time in her life. Lisa is confronted with a new situation, and is forced to start a new experience of sharing a means of public transportation that she believes, even if unconsciously, does not belong to her socioeconomic status. This assumption can also be justified in the informant's vague higher predicate "[...] because until then I had a good life". The interviewee also associates "good life" with her mother's caring and protection. Further in this narrative unit, she explains it by stating "in short it wasn't something that a girl who went to Porto Seguro was used to (,)" . This vague higher predicate indicates the informant's discontentment with the fact she had to start commuting to her vocational school using the same type of transport individuals from an inferior social class used. Moreover, it also demonstrates the informant's despondency with the minor role her mother started playing in her life in terms of protection.

The next kernel sentence in this narrative unit is "these two years I went to IFPA were kind of complicated". It is followed by an argumentative section used by the informant to validate her statement. Once again she refers to the public transportation event carrier and also to the fact she had to engage in a routine that meant waking up earlier in order to commute to IFPA. An additional argument mentioned by the informant is the location of the vocational school, namely, Largo Treze de Maio. A certain contrast can be observed in the informant's rendering "it's not a very nice place". Unconsciously, the incumbent is conceivably comparing this locality to the wealthy one in which she grew up. Largo Treze de Maio is a neighborhood located in the outskirts of Sao Paulo and one of its main characteristics is the popular commerce, especially of products coming from the northeast region of Brazil. Lisa continues her justification by saying IFPA used to be located in this district when she attended the school.

The next section can be perceived as a reflective passage, seen from the present, used by the incumbent to evaluate her experience. She states "it wasn't something that a girl who went to Porto Seguro was used to (,) I wasn't used to it (,) do you understand (?) (2)". It is hereby implicit that the social frame she found herself in did not fit with her socioeconomic profile. Taking a bus to attend a vocational school in, according to the informant, an inferior district simply wasn't related to the social frame she was used to while going to her previous school, Porto Seguro, an elite private German school located in the same wealthy neighborhood in which the informant grew up. The inner conflict experienced by the incumbent due to a clash of social classes she was confronted with is exceptionally apparent. Lisa's biographical action

scheme had social and biographical outcomes that perhaps were not even predicted in advance, but that can be seen as significant conditions for her pessimistic appraisal, as in “the two years I went to IFPA were kind of complicated”. The next few phrases are also uttered in an attempt to legitimize this kernel sentence. The interviewee concretizes it by stating her father couldn’t afford to give her a vehicle and, therefore, she had to adjust to using public transportation as well as to a new routine of commuting to her vocational school. She also mentions once again her dissatisfaction with the minor role her mother gradually began playing in her life, as in “I was alone /ehm/ and no longer had my mother to wake me up (,)”. This explanation, that essentially secures the result of the informant’s evaluation of her difficulties, is evidence for the perception the informant has as of this biographical process she went through, in relation to her family socialization aspect. Lisa felt she had to endure this biographical process without her parents being included or involved. This lack of support experienced by the informant could have been an important condition to, as even plainly state by her, a crucial creative metamorphosis of biographical identity that occurred in her life story. This biographical process can clearly be seen in the formulaic verbal expression “So I became an adult during the time I went to IFPA”. This new important inner development in her biography is a result of a concatenation of biographical processes. One can see the inner changes of the narrator as the person having been involved in the events. Becoming an adult for her meant to live and get accustomed to social and biographical conditions that were new to her during this specific process. To summarize, these circumstances are described by the narrator as conditions that caused distress and annoyance.

The next part of this full size narrative unit deals with the difficulties related to the dual system apprenticeship. The kernel sentence “the teachers spoke only German (-) everything was in German (‘) and it was hard (-) especially for me (-)” points out a language barrier the interviewee experienced. The following background construction helps justifying this problem. In a contrasting manner, Lisa states she had to use German as a first language in her classes at IFPA, as opposed to the situation experienced by the informant at Porto Seguro School, where the German language was taught primarily as a second language. The second condition explained in the incumbent’s effort to legitimize her situation, that seems to have been almost beyond her own ability to deal with it, is a teacher named Müller. It appears this teacher was an important event carrier and played a significant role in the socialization process the in-

formant went through while attending IFPA. Lisa undoubtedly criticizes the perception he had of her in her higher predicate “it was difficult for me“. She expresses a feeling of unacceptability due to this teacher’s attitudes towards her. The background construction provided by Lisa demonstrates she believes this unacceptability arose from perhaps a lack of cultural awareness displayed by Müller who, according to the narrator, did not accept her ethnic origin. Lisa secures her negative evaluation of her language barrier by saying her communication with this teacher was of poor quality for she could not clearly understand him. What is more, the informant explains “most people in my class did understand him (,) because they came from German families (,) (-)“. This narrative detailing reveals two crucial aspects in this biographical process of the incumbent. The first one is that she felt culturally isolated at IFPA for the teacher she had nearly all her classes taught by did not accept her ethnic origin. It can be justified in her following higher predicate “I was a fish out of water (,)”.

The second aspect is that this isolation might have been reinforced by her poorer language skill that suddenly had to be changed from German as a second language to German as a first idiom. Thus one can say Müller’s lack of cultural awareness, the language barrier as well as her feeling of unacceptability played a fundamental role in her perception of IFPA and its apprenticeship, which might have created suffering and inner conflict.

The next kernel sentence in this narrative unit is “so that’s why I went to Germany (‘) when I finished the first year (‘)”. One can notice Lisa again takes control of her biography in a biographical action scheme. She explicates it was a decision made by her as to, apparently, improve her language skills. The informant does not continue to narrate about this kernel sentence; she only uses it to demonstrate the hurdles she had to overcome due to the language barrier she underwent at IFPA. She feared it could lead to failure and would, therefore, harm her entire process.

The next section is a clear reflective passage, in which Lisa evaluates once more from today’s perspective her experience during the dual system apprenticeship. She begins her assessment with a higher predicate “the first year was catastrophic“. She concretizes her negative judgment by relating it to her feeling of unacceptability, as in “my God (‘) what am I doing here at this school full of Germans (?)”. She also relates it to the aforementioned condition of a new

social frame she was exposed to while commuting to IFPA by bus. In this section Lisa unmistakably argumentatively describes this new social situation she underwent. She states she had to ride the bus to school with “people from the northeast region”, probably referring to the socioeconomic underprivileged immigrants from the northeast region of Brazil. These individuals migrated to Sao Paulo due to a strong industrial economic development this region was going through, especially in the period between 1930 – 1980. The informant hereby implies that she suddenly found herself among a social class she did not belong to. It can also be characterized as a sense of isolation. The informant might have suffered considerably due to this condition, which can be identified at IFPA, in her dislocation to the school as well as in relation to her parents who began playing a minor role in her biography since she moved back to Sao Paulo to attend this vocational school. It in all probability expresses a serious sense of not belonging. The need for social belonging— for seeing oneself as socially connected— is a basic human motivation and a sense of social connectedness can predict the outcomes of certain decisions; see MacDonald & Leary (2005, cited in Walton and Cohen, 2007).

Nevertheless, these conditions have led the informant to a first identifiable creative metamorphosis of biographical identity, as can be seen in her formulaic verbal expression “then I started to create and shape my personality (-) in order to create a basis for a professional life (-)”. It shows the extremely significant role IFPA had in the shape of Lisa’s personality. This biographical process the incumbent underwent entailed a variety of conditions that influenced her perception of the school as well as the experience she made while attending it. A presentation marker indicating a creative metamorphosis can also be seen in this passage: “that was the time I started to realize that life /ehm/ is hard for everyone (-)”. It is evidence for the suffering, the inner changes that outer events brought to her biography. Lisa underwent a serious process of identity change while attending IFPA, and one can state her biographical scheme to return to Sao Paulo was filled with endurance and distress, factors which were not foreseen by the incumbent ahead of time.

This narrative unit also approaches another kernel sentence: “I always thought it was too much for me [...] because my big brother didn’t have to go through this [...] My big brother worked with my father (-) :and: his life was calm (-)”. One can observe how the informant portrays her sibling socialization contrast. The informant expresses certain unfairness of all

the suffering she had to endure while undergoing her apprenticeship in comparison to her brother's biography. She is led to believe parental treatment was unfair in her case. By stating her brother worked with her father, she utterly weighs her condition against her brother's. As previously seen, Lisa felt alone and did not have her parents support her after returning to Sao Paulo. Her brother, on the other hand, had this protection Lisa lacked while attending IFPA. How siblings perceive parental treatment is important to their sense of fairness (Kowal, Krull, & Kramer, 2004). The informant's perception of her parents' treatment toward her sibling might have reinforcement her inner conflicts and may even have led to insecurity and also conflicts within her family, as in "we only talked about it when we argued (,)". This is an interesting passage for the informant fades out and avoids further narrating about this matter. She only uses a higher predicate to concretize it, as in "Plus /ehm/ at the time it wasn't very easy". This differentiate parental treatment has also led to inner conflicts and a sense of unfairness. This narrative unit ends with a reflective passage, in which the informant once more underpins her perception of this life process in which she attended IFPA. The informant ends this full narrative unit with a closing sentence in a falling intonation "when I had to go to IFPA (^) it was a real pain in the neck (-) let's say (,)".

4. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 151 - 160)

This full narrative unit begins with the kernel sentence "[...] But working at the company was excellent (,) (-)". This forth narrative unit discloses crucial aspects regarding the informant's apprenticeship at the company as well as her daily tasks at this corporation. A very interesting aspect regarding this narrative unit is its first word but. It demonstrates a contrast between the informant's perception of her apprenticeship at IFPA School and at the company (considering the educational modality took place at both sites due to its duality characteristic). The incumbent clearly positively evaluates her experience at the company as opposed to the experience she had at the school. The following passage is used to concretize the higher predicate observed in the first kernel sentence. The informant makes her perception of her internship at the company more specific. She begins her narration with the frame switching element so. It is followed by a kernel sentence "at KLS (-) I actually had the opportunity to get to know :all: the departments of the company". There is an argumentative passage attached to this kernel sentence used by the narrator to explicate the dual apprenticeship provided her with the op-

portunity to go through a job rotation process at the company. The informant evaluates this experience positively, as can be seen in the higher predicate “this program IFPA offers (-) is very interesting (,)”. She proceeds to concretize her higher predicate by stating that, even though she had to perform different unfulfilling tasks “you had to make copies and send faxes (‘) filing documents (‘) and so on (,)”, the apprenticeship was appealing due to the possibility it provided her of having a systemic view of the company as well as an opportunity to socially integrate “I know many people here“. Moreover, Lisa optimistically reflectively assesses her apprenticeship at the company by implicitly saying it was the entrance door, the genesis of her professional career in this company. It can be justified in the closing sentence in a falling intonation, followed by a two-second pause, “today it’s been more than ten years that I’ve worked at KLS”. One can detect the informant’s tone that suggests she feels connected and accepted at her company due to all the social contacts she claims to have there. It would constitute a noteworthy polarization in her biography in terms of social belonging and acceptance, which she lacked at school and could find at the company during her vocational training.

5. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 160 - 168)

This full narrative unit begins with the frame switching element *so*. This fourth narrative unit discloses crucial aspects regarding the informant’s returning to Sao Paolo as well as a condition presented in order to undergo IFPA’s apprenticeship. A typical formulaic verbal expression indicating a biographical action scheme is noticeably discernible in the first kernel sentence of this narrative unit “I found a way /ehm/ to be accepted by the whole family to go back to São Paolo (,)”. The informant actively shaped the course of her life by finding a possible way to return to Sao Paolo. Therein, it is possible to observe the first sequential combination of biographical process structures. Instead of undergoing a process of adaptation and loss, the informant ends her trajectory of suffering by vigorously trying to discover a way to convince her parents of her choice. The incumbent’s narrative explanation also entails an important remark. It appears she had to struggle with finding a possible way to return to Sao Paolo as well as persuading her parents to agree to the idea. It may also help justifying the unfairness experienced by the informant in relation to her parents. Even though they accepted her suggestion, she did not feel supported by them the way her brother was, as already pointed

out in one of the previous narrative units. It only demonstrates the key role her sibling and also parental socialization played in her biography during her vocational training period.

Following the first kernel sentence, there is an argumentative commentary used by the informant to secure the results of her action. Lisa undoubtedly states she did not start attending IFPA due to a particular interest in the chosen course or the school. She claims to have done it because she desired to return to Sao Paulo “I wanted to go back to Sao Paulo”. Her yearning to leave for Sao Paulo was very likely due to the relationship with her boyfriend at the time. One can notice a clear concatenation of biographical processes in the informant’s biography. Furthermore, it is also clear that the biographical action scheme in her life had a more significant role than the institutional expectation pattern, namely, undergoing IFPA’s dual apprenticeship so as to obtain further qualification in order to find future employment or follow a career. It seems a trajectory of suffering has triggered her interest in finding a possibility to actively shape the course of her life. This narrative unit ends with a reflective passage, in which the informant points out the benefits related to the dual system apprenticeship she underwent. She associates her professional maturity to her vocational training, as in “today I can see that if it weren’t for IFPA (‘) I probably wouldn’t be where I am today (-) with my professional maturity (‘)”. One can conclude the informant sees her apprenticeship as an indicator of maturity and seems to be thankful to have endured all the suffering and adjustments she had to submit herself to. It seems the informant found out what the very quality of her creative metamorphoses of biographical identity during her vocational training might have been. The last sentence of this narrative unit also illustrates this assumption “because I started at KLS because of IFPA (,) (3)”. Not only did she experience a serious process of identity change during her apprenticeship, but she also focused on an institutional career expectation later on, by continuing to professionally develop inside the company at which she did the practical part of her dual vocational program. The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit is a longer, three-second pause after a closing sentence.

6. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 169 - 184)

This full narrative unit begins with the clear frame switching element then. This fourth narrative unit discloses aspects regarding the informant’s IFPA’s apprenticeship completion, her

unemployment, her first job as a secretary at a new company, and the beginning of her tertiary education. The introduction of this narrative unit pre-announces the first content to be addressed, the end of her apprenticeship and the transformations this process entailed. The first kernel sentence in this narrative unit is “then (2) /ehm/ my apprenticeship ended at KLS (-)”. The following is an explication of a transformation occurred at the end of the informant’s apprenticeship. She wasn’t offered the opportunity to continue working for the company where she did the practical part of her dual system apprenticeship. Lisa claims to have understood the company’s decision and partially unconsciously reveals that she believed she was qualified and deserved a permanent position and attributed responsibility to the company for not hiring her. She also attempted to justify her post-apprenticeship dismissal by saying “It didn’t depend only on the apprentice (‘) but/it also depended on being in the right place at the right time (,) (-)”. Lisa’s makes this self-theoretical commentary as to associate her post-apprenticeship dismissal to a merely misfortune. This experience might have had a complex emotional impact on the informant. It is clear how she fades out and avoids further rendering on the matter. She noticeably avoids formulating inner development and does not expand on her higher predicates “right place at the right time“. Lisa fades out her awareness, since they might have been difficult and hurting. Once again she is confronted with, perhaps, the re-occurring sense of unfairness. After all the hurdles she had to overcome, which started with her father’s dismissal and the family’s moving to the countryside, to a certain extent she was not given the reward for such an immense effort. The incumbent had to experience different trajectories of suffering and, even then, could not see her endeavor culminating in a successful acknowledgement.

The next passage is a short narrative description of the events that followed her post-apprenticeship dismissal, as in “At that time there was no job for me (‘) so I left (,)”. Consequently, the informant starts another trajectory of suffering in her biography, after she became unemployed. It can also be observed in the formulaic verbal expressions “I was unemployed and had no college degree (,)”. Interestingly, Lisa refers to the fact that she did not hold a tertiary education degree, as if regretting not having done it. It could also be implied, very likely unconsciously, it might have been a period of reflective biographical work for the informant, as she might have questioned whether the path taken had been the most appropriate one.

Nevertheless, Lisa embarks in another biographical action scheme with the purpose of ending the distress arisen from her post-apprenticeship dismissal. The kernel sentence and also presentation marker is “then [...] I started sending out job applications“. Lisa once again attempts to shape the course of her biography by actively seeking employment. The next kernel sentence is “I /ehm/ started working at a company in Campinas called ORD [...] as a secretary”. Lisa applied for a position and successfully obtained it as can be seen in this institutional expectation pattern formulaic verbal expression. However, the informant obtains employment in an occupational area at which she didn’t steer her career. Lisa, as it could already be identified in the last narrative unit, did not look for this apprenticeship modality to obtain a professional qualification in the area in order to pursue a career as a secretary. However, it seemed to be the most plausible alternative for she had no other professional qualification. Lisa might have experienced an inner conflict at this given point of her biography due to the fact that she was then doing something she did not intend to, as in “it was not :all: I wanted to do in life”. The circumstances have somehow led her to opt for this path. Yet, she does not go into further details about it. She only mentions she worked as a secretary at this company for nearly seven months. It was the first informant’s permanent employment post-IFPA. The next kernel sentence “I started college and studied foreign trade (,)”. The informant does not further disclose any descriptive narrative detailing on this matter. Yet one can deduce her job as a secretary might have been a source of financial means as to finance her tertiary education. Lisa also does not disclose the conditions and/or reasons which led her to opt for her major, but it can also be inferred she had already had some experience in this specific field. She points out that the company she worked for after IFPA apprenticeship, ORD, worked with importation. What’s more, having worked at KLS has also probably exposed the informant to a global company that focuses its business on production as well as importation of steel, components, material, and elevators, among others.

The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit is a closing sentence with falling intonation, respectively, “I kept working at this company for about seven months (,) Until November of that year (-) or something like that (,)”. This sentence also clearly marks the end of a period in the incumbent’s biography to be followed by a later phenomenon.

7. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 184 – 196)

This full narrative unit begins with a clear frame switching element, which is here characterized by the temporal adverb *then*. This forth narrative unit discloses crucial aspects regarding the informant's IFPA's dismissal from her first post-IFPA employment at ORD, the interviewee's return to Sao Paulo and her new job at AHK. This narrative unit begins with the kernel sentence "Then (‘) another crisis came [...] so they dismissed me". The informant uses an argumentative narrative detailing at the introduction of this narrative unit to rationalize her dismissal. The informant argues that a crisis increased the dollar rate and, therefore, customers drastically decreased their importation business due to an unfavorable exchange rate. Lisa is probably referring to the currency crisis which happened in Brazil in the 90's. By 1999, Brazil owed \$244 billion or 46% of GDP to foreign creditors and the Brazilian currency suffered a great depreciation, which made the U.S. dollar increase dramatically. The following is a presentation of the transformational impact this economic situation had on the informant's biography "They also had to reduce their employee numbers (‘) so they dismissed me (,)". This was the second interlink of biographical process in Lisa's story. These interlinks have clearly endangered the development of Lisa's biography. Once again a collective economic change has had an impact on her life course and has, for the second time, culminated in unemployment; firstly her father's dismissal and then her own. Lisa's rendering seems to be rather laconic in this passage and she does not depict inner changes. She merely narrates the outer events and, in the following, she presents the consequences it posed on her biography back then. Yet one can infer that this trajectory of unemployment was very likely a source for distress and irritation for the incumbent. As she was attending a private university, (UNIP-SP) she found herself in a difficult financial situation and would once again have to postpone her desire to hold a tertiary education degree. In addition, it was the third time the informant had to deal with a recurrent issue in her biography, specifically, being jobless.

The informant once more made a serious effort to take back control of the situation. Although a clear supra-segmental marker is not clearly observable, one can assume she embarked on a new biographical action scheme process. Biographical process somehow eclipsed in this period of the informant's biography, as one can also identify an institutional expectation pattern in the formulaic verbal expression "that's when I started an internship at the Chamber of Indus-

try Brazil-Germany (,)”. The following kernel sentence is “so I went back to Sao Paolo“. Lisa then presents a background construction for the better understanding of the difficult transformations this biographical process has brought, as in “I was attending college at night in Campinas“. The next passage is an explication justifying why this process was considered complicated by the informant. In this segment there is a clear supra-segmental marker indicating a concatenation of biographical process “I went back to that kind of life (,)”. Lisa found herself again doing an internship and going from a permanent employee a step backwards in her professional career to work as an intern. She is also making reference to the time she underwent her apprenticeship at IFPA and the hurdles she had to overcome to accomplish it. Lisa once again mentions a key event carrier, namely, the bus. Lisa is once more refers to this means of transportation - and still perceives it as true, as something that does not fit in with her biography for she does not belong to the socioeconomic class that uses it on a daily basis. Moreover, the informant also discloses in her kernel sentence she was attending university at this time in the evening, likely due to the fact she had to work daytime to finance her own studies. One can infer the informant saw a significant importance on tertiary education for she had to struggle considerably to attend university after long hours at work.

In the following passage the narrator legitimizes her difficulties by descriptively narrating about the ordeal she had to undergo as to accomplish her goal of financing and attending tertiary education, specifically, commuting and enduring substantially long days “(,) I left at five in the morning and got back home at eleven at night (,)“. She worked in Sao Paulo at AHK and attended college in Campinas in the evening every day (these two locations are nearly 120km away from each other). This period can be seen as very difficult, and can be justified in the informant’s higher predicate “You need a :lot: of energy for that“. The term energy can also refer to the reduced hours of sleep due to her long days as well as a reduction in leisure time.

8. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 197 – 225)

This full narrative unit begins with two frame switching elements, which is characterized here by the temporal adverb then followed by a concrete time in the informant’s biography, the year 2000. This ninth narrative unit approaches the informant’s business trip to Germany in

order to work at Expo⁶⁸ 2000 in Hannover. This narrative unit begins with the kernel sentence “the year 2000 came along (,) And that year AHK sent me to Germany to work at a Brazilian stand (‘) [...] at Expo”. It is immediately followed with an evaluative passage that also entails a vague higher predicate “[...] this was a pretty cool time (,) It was great“. In a sequence the informant explains her vague predicate in a narrative detailing. The first part of this segment is purely descriptive. The interviewee explicates that AHK hired two groups of Brazilians to work in Hannover at the fair and that she was a member of the first group. She further reveals the group of ten people shared an apartment in Hannover. The following part of this narrative detailing is rather argumentative. The informant clarifies her higher predicate by stating the experience was “cool” and “great” due to the fact that she received a salary, which was clearly stressed “we got it all paid”, the freedom she had there, and the parties she could attend. This process in the biography of the informant could be very relevant for the entire biography for it was her first time abroad, far from her normal family and social context. It is also remarkable for it demonstrates the social frame of this process. Lisa’s new residential and professional experience is merely a premiere of a biographical process characterized by a harmonious social frame as well as a process involving professional tasks that were clearly positively evaluated by the informant, as can be seen in her next vague higher predicate “[...] I really enjoyed this time in Germany“. It is followed by an argumentative narrative detailing, in which the informant justifies her vague statement by expressing the constructive experience she had in her group. She felt accepted and expressed a sense of belonging as well, as can be seen in “we all got along really well (,)“. It might have played a crucial role in her perception of this experience, for this time the informant did not have to deal with unfairness or any kind of suffering in her biography. The next part of the segment provides further narrative description on how the working shifts were distributed at Expo in Hannover.

The next part of this narrative unit entails one more vague higher predicate “[...] it was a lot of fun“. It refers to the flexibility the informant had in terms of a working schedule in Hannover and how it allowed her to travel in Europe with her group. Lisa seemed to have enjoyed the socialization process she underwent while in Germany. Probably for the first time in her

⁶⁸ According to the website Hannover Messe (2012), Expo refers to the Hannover Messe which took place in the year 2000 on the Messegelände Hannover. It was a world's fair held from Thursday, June 1 to Tuesday, October 31, 2000.

biography, she could experience financial stability, social acceptance, a sense of belonging, an absence of suffering, and positively-evaluated socialization. The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit is characterized by a falling intonation and a paralinguistic element, to be precise, laughter.

9. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 225 – 238)

This full narrative unit begins with the frame switching element *and*, a connector. The introduction of this narrative unit introduces what happened after the informant's group was ready with their work contribution at Expo in Hannover. The informant provides a narrative detailing, in which she describes a scene of biographical importance by using direct speech, namely, how her former supervisor invited her to stay in order to assist the second group's coming to Hannover to work at Expo. The first kernel sentence in this narrative unit is "When the first two and a half months were over (‘) the group was about to go back to Brazil". Lisa is referring to the end of her stay in Hannover and her returning to Brazil after the fair. This very positively-evaluated experience was about to end and the informant would have to go back to her internship in Sao Paulo for, as she descriptively narrates, another group was coming from Brazil to replace them. However, the incumbent begins her next passage with a description of a scene of biographical importance that can be perceived in the direct speech used by the interviewee. Lisa's capability can be observed by her supervisor who notices her commitment. It was certainly, even if the informant was oblivious, a crucial biographical identity scene in the life of the informant. Seemingly, it might have been the first time she experiences another party's open acknowledgement and, perhaps a sense of fairness as opposed to what she had to resist in her biography so often.

The next segment of this narrative unit begins with a kernel sentence "I wanted to stay [...] I /ehm/ decided to stay". The following part entails an argumentative narrative detailing, in which the interviewee explains the reasons for her prolonged stay in Germany, specifically her leave of absence from university, which her mother had to organize for her. In addition, Lisa refers to a social relationship with a work colleague. It is also the first time Lisa clearly referred to her relationship to this individual "we became very close friends Carol and I". One can observe the social frame of her biographical process at the time. Lisa was not alone, and

she was not battling against a trajectory of suffering or feeling any unfair-result or treatment. One can infer this biographical process constituted an oasis in the informant's life.

The last kernel sentence is "I took a leave of absence from university". The following is a narrative description of how the informant managed to do it remotely with her mother's assistance. It is notable that the informant placed, apparently, more importance on the opportunity to continue living and working in Hannover than returning to Brazil as soon as possible to immediately continue her university education; a part of a career institutional process she was then undergoing. The coda of this narrative unit is represented by a closing statement and by a falling intonation, which is followed by a short pause.

10. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 239 – 257)

This full narrative unit begins with retardation pause and a frame switching element *so*. The introduction of this narrative unit reveals the returning of the first group hired by AHK to work at the Expo in Hannover to Brazil, and the arrival of the second group in Germany, of which the interviewee was also a member. The first kernel sentence in this narrative unit is "so (-) I ended up staying there until October (')". The following is a brief explanation of her social framework at that time. Lisa was not alone and could count on a social relationship during her stay in Hannover. The informant narrates about the arrival of the next group and describes it in a vague higher predicate "And that too was easygoing". The informant uses the word *also*, probably, making reference and comparison to the first group she worked with at Expo and all the conditions, previously mentioned, that contributed to her positive assessment of this process. In the following narrative argumentative detailing the interviewee explicates her higher predicate by stating it was tranquil due to the fact that the members of these groups were all the same age, they had a good relationship and their coexistence in the same apartment was not problematic.

In the following segment of this narrative unit the informant mentions another vague higher predicate "it was also a very good time (-)". The following part is characterized by an argumentative narrative detailing, in which she reveals it was a "good time" due to the fact that she could enhance her language skills, English and Spanish respectively. Interestingly, the

interviewee does not mention the German language, even though she was working in Germany. In this segment the informant also utters other benefits her work experience in Germany entailed. In addition to the language aspect, Lisa also demonstrates it had an impact on her social frame, too, as in the next kernel sentences “I met a lot of new people“. She optimistically portrays it due to two aspects, namely, social companionship and the opportunity to exercise as well as enhance her language skills.

The last sentence of this narrative unit is a reflective passage, in which the informant illustrates the advantages that arose from her language practice opportunity while working in Germany. From today’s perspective she evaluates it positively and mentions it has helped her professionally. Lisa is in all probability concatenating it with her career in the international trade business. Moreover, it might have had an impact on Lisa’s appraisal of her decision concerning her tertiary education course. The coda of this narrative unit is represented by a closing statement and by a falling intonation, which is followed by a two-second pause.

11. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 258 – 280)

This full narrative unit begins with two frame switching elements, which is characterized here by the adverb *so*. This approaches the informant’s desire to stay longer in Germany, after Expo, as well as her internship application for KLS. This segment entails the kernel statement “So (‘) when the fair ended in October (‘) Carol and I wanted to stay longer in Germany (,)”. The following segment elucidates how the informant acted as to consolidate her aspiration. Her former supervisor at Expo assisted her in the process of writing her CV, so she could begin applying for internships starting immediately after Expo was over. Once again the interviewee justifies that staying longer in Germany was plausible for she was on a leave of absence from university. It also demonstrates the informant kept her tertiary education in mind while being abroad and still had a clear aim to be reached.

In this passage the narrator has a scenic remembrance, clearly seen in her direct speech. This scene of biographical importance reveals Lisa was not alone, as can be seen in the cognitive figure referring to her social frame at the time “Carol and I wanted to stay [...] so we talked to our boss”. Lisa implicitly asked her supervisor about his perception of her language command

as well as her professional performance. The informant looked for approval as to determine her limits and, consequently, confirm whether or not she should advance with her intentions.

One can also notice an important event carrier in this passage of this narrative unit, more specifically Carl, in the following formulaic verbal expression “So he helped us”. Carl helped Lisa by encouraging the informant to further pursue her ambition to obtain a second internship in Germany before returning to Brazil. It sufficed her yearning for a favorable opinion she was seeking for. Moreover, he might have helped the informant with her CV writing and proofreading, also demonstrating his conviction of her competence. Carl was of crucial magnitude in Lisa’s biography. He assisted her twice during her stay in Germany (firstly with the extension of her employment period in Hannover and then with her next internship application) and was undoubtedly an individual who openly acknowledged the informant’s capabilities.

The next kernel sentence is “we wrote our CVs in German [...] then (-) we sent them out”. In the following, the interviewee describes in a narrative detailing she was looking for a three-month internship at a German company she was acquainted with, and she lists all the companies to which she sent her internship application. In the following passage “Then (‘) Carol did an interview at Bayer (-) and started working in Hamburg (,)”. The informant simply narrates about the outcomes of their internship application. It is also visible Lisa wants to inform she was once again alone and had to move on with her biography.

The next segment of this narrative unit brings another kernel sentence “I did an interview at KLS (‘)”. It is followed by a narrative justification as to legitimize her admittance to do her internship at KLS. Lisa assumes associates this internship offer at KLS with luck, being fortunate, as in “because I was also very fortunate to have my resume received by a German man (-) [...] who had already lived in Brazil”. The informant assumes she was offered this internship due to the fact that the interviewer indentified himself with the interviewee’s experience. It can be seen in the following scene of biographical importance in Lisa’s biography. Her direct speech shows how vivid this experience is in her memory, as in “I’ve seen here on your resume that you already did an internship with KLS in Brazil (,) I have worked there too”. Yet the informant’s rendering does not mention the fact that she had already worked for the same

company in Brazil and how it could possibly facilitate her admittance. She rather relates it to fortunateness and not to the previous work experience at the same organization and all the know-how she acquired during her dual system apprenticeship program. The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit is characterized by a falling intonation and a paralinguistic element, namely, laughter.

12. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 281 – 287)

This full narrative unit begins with two frame switching elements, which is characterized here by the adverb *so*. It reveals the outcomes of the informant's visa application process to prolong her stay in Germany. This segment counts with the kernel sentence "I started doing the paperwork to change my visa (')". The following part of this segment is an argumentative narrative detailing, in which the informant explicates the need for a work visa. In the following she states she obtained the visa as requested. The next part of this narrative unit is characterized by a vague higher predicate "But it wasn't easy". The informant is making reference to her visa application process and she explains it by arguing she had to travel to Bochum several times and, as it is located far from Hannover, she described it as a difficulty she had to undergo.

The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit is characterized by a closing statement and a falling intonation "But in the end thank God /ehm/ it worked out (,)". It certainly was a beneficial experience made by the informant for she accomplished a goal she had established and her efforts were "acknowledged" this time. Two individuals, Carl and the KLS manager, demonstrated they recognized Lisa's potential and qualifications. In addition, the informant's own efforts also culminated in a positive outcome. One can infer the interviewee might have felt more confident and secure due to this biographical process.

13. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 288 – 297)

This full narrative unit begins with the frame switching element in a connector and followed by the temporal adverb *then*. The introduction of this narrative unit establishes the informant's moving from Hannover to Bochum as to start her three-month internship at KLS.

The introduction of this narrative unit entails the kernel sentence “then I moved to Bochum (-)”. The following part of this segment is a descriptive narrative detailing about how the informant accomplished it. She looked at newspaper ads where she found the apartment she eventually moved into and lived in for three months. In this passage she mentions “I shared an apartment there with a German girl (,)”. This was the second time the informant lived in a shared apartment, where she had to deal with sharing and cohabitating with an unknown person. Perhaps one can argue her previous experience in Hannover was positively internalized, thus encouraging the informant to repeat her strategy. Yet, it also reveals Lisa was once again enjoying the possibility of a social relationship and, therefore, was not alone. The following segment is a narrative description of the strategy used by the informant in order to find a shared apartment in Bochum. Lisa makes it clear that she was looking for a possibility to live with other individuals, possibly due to financial as well as social reasons. The next kernel sentence is “I moved in with a German girl /ehm/ with Karen (,)”. It is followed by a narrative description about her former flat mate. Lisa does not further disclose descriptive information about her relationship with Karen. She only mentions her university major, physical education, and the period of time they lived together, namely three months.

The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit is characterized by a closing statement, a falling intonation and a brief pause “We decided /ehm/ that I’d live with her for three months (,) (-)”.

14. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 298 – 312)

This full narrative unit begins with a retardation pause, which is immediately followed by a time reference *at that time*. This narrative unit approaches the informant’s parents’ visit to Germany before her internship started at KLS in Bochum. The introduction of this narrative unit has the following kernel sentence “At that time my parents came to Germany on vacation to visit me“. The following is a short argumentative narrative detailing justifying her parents visit. She argues they came to visit for she had decided to stay longer than previously planned in Germany. This was also a scene of biographical importance and the informant could still remember it. She mentioned having called her parents to inform them about her decision. The informant states her parents might have thought she would stay for good in Germany, as in

“She may never come back“. It evidences her parents’ concern and also caring. It may have been a significant occurrence in the life of the incumbent as well. She could then realize her parent’s caring and possibly diminish the sense unfairness (already previously mentioned). The next sentence of this narrative unit is a descriptive narrative detailing. The informant states her parents stayed for about a month, and the informant also discloses it was the period after Expo was over and before her internship in Bochum started. She further describes that she had the opportunity to travel with her family and aunt in Europe⁶⁹. A further relevant aspect in this narrative unit is her parents’ preoccupation and also their support, as in “we’d better go visit her“. Although it is not clearly stated by the informant, one can argue her parents didn’t oppose to the idea, on the contrary, they decided to go visit her. It could have been an important sign of acceptance and support, too.

The last sentence of this narrative segment brings a vague higher predicate “in the end it all worked out pretty well (,) You know (?)“. The informant does not clearly explicate this higher predicate. However one can argue it entailed different conditions, some of which were even unconscious for the informant. Lisa is very likely referring to the fact that she could count on other people’s acknowledgment regarding her capability, she could also experience her parents support, and her efforts were finally paying off. In addition, one can perceive Lisa was going through an institutional expectation pattern and a trajectory of suffering was no longer present in her biography. In the end of this segment the informant also says “you know?” as if requesting understanding from the interviewer, who confirmed with a paralinguistic marker “Uhum”. The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit is characterized by a closing statement, and a falling intonation “in the end everything went well (‘) and I stayed there /ehm/ for six months (‘) because it was just a temporary contract (,) (2)”.

15. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 313 – 326)

This full narrative unit begins with two frame switching elements, which is here characterized by the adverb *after*. It approaches the informant’s apprenticeship at KLS in Bochum. The in-

⁶⁹ One of the relevant aspects of this trip is related to the family financial situation. According to IBGE (2012) in the year 2000, only 3.5 million Brazilian actually went abroad on vacation. This represented about 4.5% of the Brazilian population at the time. Nowadays, in 2012, this number has increase considerably to 50 million, which represents nearly 30% of the entire population.

roduction of this narrative unit includes the kernel sentence “I began working in their logistics department (,) (-)”. The following is a descriptive narrative detailing, in which the informant enunciates the department she worked for, marketing, as well as a description of her daily tasks in her internship. This segment also has a vague higher predicate “it was a nice job“. The informant justifies it by stating it was artistic and, one can say, it probably encouraged her to further develop her creativity. The second vague higher predicate is “(-) in the end (‘) it was great“. This is clear evaluation of this experience made by the informant. Lisa refers to the opportunity as a possibility to expand her business-related contacts within the company as well as the opportunity to work for KLS in one of its units abroad. The third vague higher predicate in this passage is “This was /ehm/ really good“. In the following argumentative narrative detailing, the informant affirms it is related to the contacts she has made while doing her apprenticeship in Bochum. All in all, one could say she had a positive experience and was very likely, according to her words, accepted and welcomed by the group. Moreover, the informant possibly sensed she could achieve her professional goals, was qualified for it, and even other parties recognized it. She was once again working for the same company that dismissed her after her dual system apprenticeship, and it might have reinforced her desire to continue her institutional expectation patten biographical process.

The last segment of this narrative unit entails the fourth and last vague higher predicate is “these three months in Bochum were really good (-)“. In the following argumentative narrative detailing, the informant mentions it is related to two main aspects, namely, working at KLS, a company she had already worked for, identified with and done her dual apprenticeship at, and the opportunity she had to further improve her language skills. Even though it is not mentioned by the interviewee, it is possible to ascertain she was referring to German and English. The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit is characterized by a falling intonation and a brief pause.

16. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 327 – 355)

This full narrative unit begins with two frame switching elements, which is characterized here by the adverb *so* immediately followed by the second adverb *after*. This narrative unit approaches the informant’s return to Brazil and her new temporary job at KLS in Brazil. The

introduction of this narrative unit entails the kernel sentence “I did have some contact with KLS from Brazil [...] KLS Brazil called me”. The following is a descriptive narrative detailing, in which the informant enunciates how this contact was made. Lisa supposes it was only a coincidence and her internship in Germany was not the reason for this contact. KLS Brazil called her home in Brazil to offer her a temporary job. The informant also mentions the company in Brazil was surprised she was working in Germany for the same company for they had no knowledge of it as in “wow (-) she is there in Germany (?)”. One can argue that the paralinguistic feature “wow” refers to the significance this process had for the informant as well as for a potential employer. One can also mention this process may have been of significant importance for the informant could have realized the company had acknowledged her as trustworthy and competent, hence their call and job offer. It might have been an important factor in the construction of self-esteem. Conceivably, this event has increased the interviewee’s overall evaluation, appraisal of her own worth. Moreover, it somehow backs up the hypothesis that she was not hired after her apprenticeship due to a lack of vacancies in her department, and not due to a low level of commitment or a possible lack of interest the company had.

The next kernel sentence is “my mother gave me their phone number and I called them (-)”. In the following passage the interviewee describes how she contacted KLS in Brazil and the reasons for this temporary job offer, which were actually two. The first one was to replace a secretary that was going on a maternity leave and second, and perhaps most important, they recognized and remembered Lisa’s work during her apprenticeship. It was certainly a crucial concatenation of events the narrator was involved in, and it may have led to inner changes for she was then certain of her competence and also positive performance during her apprenticeship, to the extent that she was remembered and consequently offered a temporary job. This was a scene of biographical importance in Lisa’s life as well. There are different direct speech markers to be seen in this segment.

In the following narrative, the informant mentioned that she accepted the job offer and that she would go back to college. Once the interviewee depended on her income to pay for her tertiary education, this offer also arose at a proper time. She was returning to Brazil and as she describes “I would be looking for jobs or internships“. The following part of this segment is a

descriptive narrative detailing, and the informant tells how and by whom the interview was done in Brazil at KLS. She mentions her previous contacts at KLS helped her obtain this temporary job. Moreover, she also says she would replace a secretary who was going on maternity leave.

The next kernel sentence in this narrative unit is “I’d go back and would have an interview with the manager of KLS Brazil (,) So (‘) that’s what I did (,) (2)”. The next is a narrative description involving another event carrier in Lisa’s biography, to be precise, Mr. Wilson. Lisa explains they already knew each other and that he was the one who indicated her for the job. Lisa also justifies the job offer by stating she was already acquainted with the department and the daily work for she had already done it all during her dual system apprenticeship. Lisa keeps following her institutional expectation biographical process. What’s more it was the first time Lisa clearly associated her IFPA apprenticeship as being the reason for employment. She could perceive that her efforts were at last being rewarded.

The next segment of this narrative unit entails a vague higher predicate “But (-) in the end everything went well (‘)”. She is referring to all the conditions involving her temporary job, the process of coming back to work at KLS once again and possibly, unconsciously, to a concatenation of events in her biography that had a very significant meaning. She finally realized her initial biographical action scheme as to change the course of her biography due to an interlink that led to her father’s dismissal and, consequently, their moving to the countryside, eventually brought a recompense. In the following one can observe the kernel sentence “I stayed there /ehm/ for six months (‘)”, followed by an argumentative detailing where the informant explains it only lasted 6 months for it was a temporary replacement, and the official secretary was just about to return from maternity leave. The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit is a closing statement, a falling intonation and a two-second pause.

17. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 355 – 371)

This full narrative unit begins with two frame switching elements, which is characterized here by the adverb after immediately followed by a time reference “*those six months*“. This unit approaches the informant’s new, permanent job at KLS, in Brazil, after the end of her six-

month temporary job replacing a secretary. The introduction of this narrative unit entails a kernel sentence “After those six months (‘) I began working in their logistics department (,) (-)”. The following is an argumentative narrative detailing, in which the informant enunciates she was offered the chance to stay at KLS. Once again Mr. Wilson, a significant event carrier in Lisa’s biography, helps the informant in her institutional expectation pattern, more specifically, with her professional career. She descriptively explicates he was the same manager who offered her the temporary job, and who ended up offering her the possibility to stay and go on working for KLS permanently. It constituted another scene of biographical importance in Lisa’s life and is vividly remembered by her in a direct speech marker “Lisa (-) would you like to keep working at KLS (?)”. The following is an evaluative commentary regarding Lisa’s perception of the company, as in “I loved the company (‘)”. The next sentence “/mhm/ I wanted to keep working in my area (-) I didn’t want to pursue a career as a secretary (‘)”. It reveals Lisa still aimed at pursuing a career in her institutional expectation pattern biographical process, but not in the field of her dual system apprenticeship. IFPA served as an important professional tunnel leading to career opportunities, but it was no longer needed for the informant had already reached her destination. Therefore, working as a secretary was no longer an option. Moreover, it is safe to say it isn’t a common profession for individuals coming from a family milieu such as Lisa’s, and the informant also made it very clear that undergoing IFPA’s apprenticeship was never aimed at becoming a secretary and pursuing a career in the area.

The next passage is an argumentative narrative passage justifying her unwillingness to continue working as a secretary: “I was going to college majoring in international trade (,) And if he had any positions in one of the import or export departments (-) then I’d like to try (,) I’d like to stay (,) (-)”. Lisa reached a vital point in her biographical process. She did not consider being a secretary to be her profession any longer. She was already attending university and, therefore, she assumed it also demanded a different position in the company. She is also very assertive for, implicitly, she demonstrated she would leave the company in case she wasn’t offered a job in her “current” professional field.

The next segment of this narrative unit is a descriptive narration of how the manager made contact and finally organized a vacancy for the informant in the export department. Once

again the informant refers to this event carrier. Mr. Wilson assisted Lisa in achieving her professional goal and steered her institutional expectation pattern in a desirable path, as in “he didn’t pull strings (‘) but he referred me to two managers for an interview”. This event in Lisa’s biography marks the end of her professional experience in the office clerk field. It is a line dividing her biographical process. IFPA’s apprenticeship was crucial in this process. Nonetheless, Lisa finally freed herself of this unwanted aspect that accompanied her decision to undergo her dual system apprenticeship. The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit entails a conclusive kernel sentence “So (‘) I ended up staying at KLS and working in the export department (,) (2)”, which is followed by a closing statement with a falling intonation and a two-second pause.

18. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 372 – 399)

This full narrative unit begins with two frame switching elements, which is here characterized by the adverb *after* immediately followed by a time reference “after a few years”. This unit approaches the informant’s new job opportunity at a new department at KLS, in Brazil. The first kernel sentence in this narrative unit is “After a few years /ehm/ (-) I finally started to work in the area I was studying (,) (2)”. In a sequence, the informant justifies that she could only start working in her area (international trade) after four years. At last, Lisa achieved her aim of working in her field, the one she was majoring in. The next segment is a narrative description of her new job at the export department. The last sentence of this segment is an evaluation made by the informant of her new position at the company, as can be seen in: “so I learned a lot in these=these years I worked at the export department”. It is a reflective passage, in which the informant sees the importance this position had on her further job experiences, for she had the opportunity to get acquainted with crucial aspects of the company’s international trade before achieving her next position at KLS.

The following kernel sentence is “Then (‘) in 2006 or 2007 (-) two departments at KLS merged (-)”. It is followed by a narrative detailing explicating how it occurred and the transformations it generated in the professional life of the informant. Lisa mentions two departments (import x export) merged and that in this process she was assigned to be the manager of this new department, a fact that can be confirmed in the next kernel sentence “In 2007 (-) I became the

boss of the international trade department (,) (2)”. The next passage is a further descriptive narrative detailing explaining the conditions that led to the opening of the position she obtained as well as the merger of the import and export departments. It is followed by an argumentative commentary for legitimizing the results and her evaluations of this experience. Lisa explicates she did not have sufficient knowledge in the field of importation and, therefore, had to learn a lot about this new area.

The following narrative description “because despite merging /ehm/ the idea was to reduce the number of employees [...] we had a workforce reduction” reveals an important aspect in Lisa’s life, namely, the fact that it was apparently the first time in her biography that she was not thrown into a trajectory of suffering in such a situation as it had already happened before. On the contrary, she was offered an even better position, which demanded more responsibility. Lisa clearly climbed the career ladder fast and has already become a manager. However, it took a considerable amount of effort and it was not only once she had to undergo a trajectory of suffering in her biography. Even though she wasn’t hired after the completion of her apprenticeship, she continued clearly pursuing her institutional expectation pattern biographical process, which is a very dominant process in her life.

The next segment of this narrative unit is merely a descriptive narrative detailing. The interviewee explains the difficulties the aforementioned merger brought and how the new department dealt with it. She mentions employees had to learn new procedures about import and export and that there was a “workforce reduction”. One can also observe from this sentence that not only wasn’t the informant dismissed in the merging process, but she was promoted. Hence it is possible to argue the company saw the opportunity for professional growth in her as well.

The following deals with the following reflective passage “today thank God (‘) the group working in the foreign trade division (-) has already mastered both import and export (,) (-)”. The informant is referring to the new learning process personnel had to go through due to the merger of these two departments at KLS. The last segment of this narrative unit begins with the expression “in short“. This elucidates the beginning of a coda of her extempore narrative story telling. The following sentence brings the closing up of the content of the autobiograph-

ical story, in which the informant says “that’s what happened in my life (((laughs)))”. The last sentence of this coda can be considered a very short pre coda segment that refocuses the communicative attention from the time of the life story, the autobiographical experiences, to the current time as in: “since 2007 I could really see a significant professional growth at KLS (,) (2)”. Yet, Lisa does not end her rendering and continues her coda in the following passage. As the pre-coda and the coda segments are generally intensively used by the informant for biographical analysis, normally entailing a narrative and descriptive segment dealing with the present phase of the life history it is comprehensive that Lisa would go on with her narration. Thus, the informant’s generates a split coda that will be structured in the following narrative units.

19. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 400 – 424 – First part of split coda)

This full narrative unit begins with the frame switching element *and*, a connector. Instead of ending her storytelling, as expected in the last narrative unit, the informant continues with her extempore narrative storytelling. Lisa’s interview has a clear split coda, divided into three parts, as can be seen in three distinctive markers in the interview, respectively “Well (-) in short (-) that’s what happened”, “So (‘) that was it (,) (3)”, and “So (‘) I think that’s it (,) (3) that’s my life so far”.

This narrative unit deals with the first part of Lisa’s split coda and is part of the closing of the content of her autobiographical story. The first noticeable evaluative commentary made by the informant is “since 2007 I could really see a significant professional growth at KLS (,) (2)”. Lisa can explicitly perceive her professional growth, which is driven by her considerably dominant institutional expectation pattern biographical process. Lisa is only referring to the period between 2007 and 2012, and she evidently believes 2007 was a turning point, when she began seeing a factual professional development. However, she might be unconsciously aware of her overall development in the company since her dual system apprenticeship. The informant climbed the career ladder in a very visible way. Firstly she started working at KLS as an apprentice. Later on she had the opportunity to work at one of its units in Germany. After this experience abroad, she was firstly employed as a temporary secretary in Brazil and

then permanently to work at their export department. And finally she reached a management position, becoming responsible for the entire international trade department.

The following kernel sentence is “actually (‘) at the beginning of 2012 (-) I changed divisions again (,)”. The following is a narrative detailing elucidating the reasons for this change. Basically, the informant argues it occurred due to a company need and her lack of time to perform certain tasks in her management position, as in “And began taking care almost exclusively of our logistics contracts [...] (‘) but since I spent most of the time doing daily operations (‘) I ended up not doing it (,) Then (‘) this year (-) the manager decided to leave me out of the daily operations division and I moved to this contracts division (,)”. This descriptive explanation is also linked to the kernel sentence which can be observed at the end of this segment “I am no longer in charge of the international trade operations (,) (-)”.

The next part of this narrative unit is a descriptive detailing of the informant’s new position in the company, as it be observed in “my job today [...] is directly linked to :cost: reduction (-) :price: reduction, :completion: of activities [...] that's what I do at KLS today”. Yet, the interviewee does not see it as a step backwards in her career ladder, on the contrary: “it is also a very strategic position”. She justifies this vague higher predicate by saying that her cost reduction projects go directly to the directors. Thus one could say she is probably inferring that she has a higher chance of job and effort recognition, and that this will hopefully be an advantage in her career. This passage also reinforces the indication that there will be a continuous personal future with regard to the present dominant institutional expectation biographical process.

The next part of this segment contains argumentative assessments, also typical of coda segments, reflectively made with the purpose of emphasizing the informant’s positive perception of her new position in the company as well as her overall achievements within her current biographical process, as can be observed in “that’s why [...] I believe I’m in the right place here at KLS (,) (2)”. The informant once again refers to a self-theoretical commentary already made at the beginning of her extempore storytelling, when she mentioned that she was not hired by KLS after her dual system apprenticeship because: “she wasn’t in the right place at the right time“.

The next segment is an emotional, evaluative narration, which is also reflective as it is judged from today's perspective. The informant states she is fond of her job and believes she is where she belongs, as in: "I'm in the right place". In addition the informant mentions "I still have a lot to learn /ehm/ (-) we're always learning a lot of things (,) But I believe I'm on the right path (-) to grow even more in my profession (,) (-)". Thus, one can observe once again a very strong institutional expectation pattern, here implicit in the informant's eagerness to climb the career ladder, in which she is following up an institutionally shaped course of life. It becomes clear that the informant wishes and will further pursue this dominant biographical process.

The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit is characterized by a closing statement, as can be observed in: "So (') that was it (,) (3)". It is also a clear marker indicating the coda of the informant's extempore storytelling. However, Lisa continues it after a falling intonation and a longer 3 second pause, once her interview encompasses a three-part-split coda.

20. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 424 – 489 - Second part of slit coda)

The introduction of this narrative unit is rather a reflective passage. The interviewee addresses the overall shape of her life history so as to evaluate and associate her professional success to the apprenticeship she underwent at IFPA in Sao Paolo. She states that "it all started with IFPA (-) because if it wasn't for IFPA (') I wouldn't be at KLS today (-) I wouldn't be in such a position (,)". It demonstrates the contribution IFPA had in the shaping of a benign overall fate in Lisa's life history up to now. Even though she had to endure trajectories of unemployment and suffering, she can nowadays comprehend the significant impact it had on her dominant institutional expectation pattern.

The following is also a reflective passage seen and evaluated from today's perspective. The informant seems to have gained clarity about the overall shape of the life history up to now and she believes she has achieved even more than actually previously intended, as in: "I still think I am a young person (-) I'm only 33 years old (-) and everything went very well (-) very fine for me (,)". This passage also brings two higher predicates, also common in coda segments. Several adjectives highlight the informant's perception of her own biography "young, well, fine, fortunate, prepared". Lisa's next sentence is very remarkable and discloses crucial

biographical information as well: “to be in the right place at the right time (‘) to be /ehm/ prepared (-) well (‘) at least someone believed I was prepared at the time (,) (-)”. For the third time Lisa mentions her self-theoretical commentary about being in the right place. As for “someone who believed I was prepared”, Lisa is referring to two very important even carriers in her biography, namely, Carl who was her supervisor at Expo Fair in Hannover, and later Mr. Wilson at KLS in Brazil.

The next segment of this narrative unit deals with an argumentative assessment of the present life situation and how the informant had to struggle to actively shape the course of her life. She explains that “it=it also /ehm/ depended very much on my own effort (-) everything that happened up to today (‘)”. Hereby she is inferring that she had to go through different biographical processes counting exclusively on her initiative. It all began with her first biographical action scheme, so as to avoid a trajectory of suffering, which originated with an interlink of biographical importance. It also includes the trajectory of suffering she underwent while attending IFPA and all the new social frame she had to get accustomed to.

In the following the informant clearly demonstrates once again the importance the current institutional expectation pattern has in her biography by stating: “I thank God I could contribute and (-) /mhm/ and meet their expectations (,) The manager’s expectations (-) the expectations of the entire board and so on (,) (-)”.

The last segment of this narrative unit begins with a higher predicate “at KLS (‘) actually (-) I’d like to have something more (,)”. It is followed by an argumentative detailing, in which the informant expresses her desire to do a professional exchange program at another KLS unit. Yet, she explicates there is an institutional barrier that impedes her from doing it, for the managers of the company she works for don’t give it much importance. This last higher predicate also underlines Lisa’s drive for professional accomplishment, and that her current biographical process is unquestionably going to be continued. The following sentence “I’d like to do it if I had the opportunity (-) the opportunity to work at another KLS unit (,) (2)”. It also demonstrates her future aspirations in the professional area of her life and mirrors her yearning for climbing the career ladder, thus making the institutional pattern a crucial biographical process structure in her overall biography.

The next passage begins with the adverb actually. The informant uses it to emphasize the facts of a situation mentioned in the last narrative unit, specifically the opportunity to work at another KLS unit as to experience working or doing a professional exchange program. By stating the kernel sentence “I had an opportunity to do some projects (‘) so I worked at KLS in the United States in 2007 (,)”, the informant seems to remember a relevant experience made in her professional career and suddenly goes back to a clear narrative detailing part. She describes her project developed in the USA, as it can be observed in her rendering. It is astonishing how much the informant developed professionally within this company. By the year 2007 she had already worked for three international units, USA, Germany and India (which will be mentioned in the next part of this split coda), apart from her regular experience in her permanent job in Brazil.

Next, the interviewee begins a reflective narration, in which she evaluates her experience in the USA in her biography. She depicts it as a positive experience, as it becomes evident in: “it was really nice” and “it was also good“. These vague higher predicates are then explained in the following parts of this segment. She believes it was beneficial and constructive due to the fact that she could improve her English skills and had the chance to learn a lot about the company. The following is also a narrative detailing explaining how she helped implement a management tool at KLS in the USA during her stay there. She once more describes it as a constructive event in her life and, interestingly, she mentions phrases that, to a certain extent, confirm she has been given a sense of recognition which could have possibly reinforced her very strong institutional expectation system of career paths, as one can perceive in: “it was very well accepted at the organization (‘)”, “everyone liked it [...] it was very well accepted”, and “It was super great (-) very nice (,)“.

The next phrases of this segment constitute a short reflective passage: “So KLS gave me many opportunities”, followed by “I’m extremely grateful to this company (,)”. It helps identifying the importance given by the interviewee to her career path. What is more, Lisa is fully aware of the hurdles her biography had and of every aspect she had to overcome as to achieve her goal. In the following sentence, she attributes all the opportunities she has been given at KLS to IFPA, as in: “It all originated at IFPA (-) so it was very good (,) (2)”. The informant is

implying that this was the right decision to be made, evaluated from today's perspective, though. As a matter of fact, Lisa's first biographical action scheme did not have attending IFPA and obtaining further qualification as to enter the labor market. As the informant plainly stated, at the beginning of her extempore storytelling, it was rather an action as to end with a trajectory of suffering that had its genesis in an interlink, more specifically, the political and economic crisis in the 90's that was presented as the main cause for her father's dismissal and consequent moving to the countryside. However, an unintended aspect of her biographical action scheme ended up shaping the course of her life and also dictating the dominant biographical process in the biography of the informant. In other words, IFPA initially presented itself as an opportunity to return to Sao Paulo, without generating further expenses for her parents, with the purpose of resuming her affective relationship for Lisa revealed she had to leave her boyfriend in Sao Paulo when she moved with her family to the countryside. Yet, IFPA gave the informant the opportunity to start working at the company where she basically developed her professional career.

The subsequent sentences of this narrative unit are a narrative detailing of another kernel sentence: "We currently have some projects in India and in China too". The informant also discloses in a very brief narrative description she has been to India in order to assist the company in one of KLS's projects. The next passage "I don't know if that's what you wanted to hear (' but my life story is pretty much about my professional achievements (,) (2)" characterizes a key part of the coda element of extempore narrative story telling. The informant attempts to refocus the communicative attention from the time of the life story content to the present time of the actual ongoing communication and situation of the interview setting. The succeeding sentence of this narrative unit noticeably underpins once again the significance a career path has in the informant's biography. Moreover, as previously stated, it is reasonably clear that the interviewee intends to follow up expectations of institutionally defined paths.

The succeeding part of this narrative unit is an argumentative assessment. The informant argues modern women focus on their jobs and that it is their priority. She includes herself in this definition and the informant is very assertive about it, as in: "work is actually our priority". The work priority aspect must be given attention for the informant indicates her work is more important than other institutional expectation biographical aspects, for instance, could proba-

bly be family and/or housework, activities that her grandmother and her mother had to do. It is also conceivable that the informant could face difficulties balancing these two biographical expectations simultaneously in her life. Another aspect, which should be considered in relation to her last assertion, is as a matter of fact related to the informant's mother. She became a housewife after the children were born, as the informant described at the beginning of her extempore storytelling. Perhaps Lisa considers her mother, exactly like her own grandmother, an inadequate woman or not an example to be followed professionally.

The following is a closing statement “and that's what I did over the past ten years (-) I just worked (((laughs))) (2)”, followed by paralinguistic features, namely laughter and a pause. It is a clear marker of the end of the main narration part of the narrative interview. However, the informant continues her split coda by refocusing the communicative attention from the time of the life story contents. Lisa starts refocusing attention to the time of here and now by posing the question “what am I doing now (?)”. It is immediately followed by an argumentative commentary, as in “I'm also doing something that came from this work that I did over the past ten years (,) Something that is part of this professional growth (,) (-)“. The attention grabbing fact arises from the expression professional growth. The informant constantly fortifies her drive and desire to shape her biographical gestalt so as to emphasize an institutional expectation pattern.

The next kernel sentence helps understanding her above-mentioned commentary, as can be seen in: “I am (-) /mhm/ building a new house here in the same condominium where I live today with my mother (,)”. The next segment is a descriptive detailing, which is followed by the sentence “So I can finally have my own place (,) (3)”.

The coda of this narrative unit is characterized by the sentence “but I don't know what else to tell you (,) (2) help me (,)”. The informant seems to have brought her story to a close. However, she still wishes to go on with her extempore storytelling and actively asks for input and/or a question. Thus the interviewer questions in a very openly manner, without focusing on any specific aspect or topic, whether there is anything else the interviewee would like to add, as in: “(-) is there anything that you may have forgotten that you'd like to add (?)”.

21. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 490 – 543 - Last part of slit coda)

This narrative unit begins with the kernel sentence “well (‘) I didn’t say much about my family (,)”. The informant re-addresses her family milieu and descriptively conveys that her father still owns and works for the same company he used to, but that he’s practically going into retirement. Lisa also reveals her parents got divorced in the meantime, as in: “My parents got divorced in the meantime (-) shortly after they came back from Germany (-)”. It is noticeable this specific process might have been difficult for the informant. She simply did not mention it in her rendering. Lisa did not provide any details of how and why it happened, she only mentioned the period when it happened. Yet, Lisa does mention some of the outcomes generated by this event. In a descriptive narrative segment the informant discloses her father purchased a house near her mother’s house. She justifies it by saying “He did it to stay close to us (-) to stay close to us and to /mhm/ his parents (-) who also live here (,)”. Once again she states her family is united, as it can be observed in: “a lot of people from our family live here in the same condominium”.

The informant also reveals her father had another child who also lives nearby and with whom she has a good relationship. The next part of this current family description deals with her sister. She majored in tourism at a private university in Campinas and lived in New Zealand for a few years. The following segment brings the kernel sentence “New Zealand (‘) I went there to visit her“. The informant then descriptively narrates how she could go visit her sister and portrays the experience positively. In this same segment the interviewee goes on to say that her sister returned to Brazil and started working in logistics. Her professional change led to her, interestingly, starting working in the same sector as the informant; Lisa probably had an impact on her sister through sibling socialization.

The coda of this narrative unit is also the coda is expressed in the sentence “So (‘) I think that’s it (,) (3) that’s my life so far (((laughs)))”. It is an explicit textual referral to the global story line of the autobiographical narration and the overall biographical shape or ordering of the life history. The interviewer thanks the informant accordingly, and the interviewee ends her contribution by saying: “I’m glad to help and hope you’ll be able to use the material (-)

everything I've said (,)"'. This last sentence demonstrates the informant enjoyed the experience of contributing and telling her life story.

Questioning Part I

1. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 545 - 571)

The questioning part of the interview starts with the interviewer thanking the informant for her life story narration and also kindly requesting the incumbent to reply to various questions that still remained vague and/or demanded further narrative and/or descriptive narration. The interviewee visibly agrees, as can be seen in: "There is no problem (,)", and the first query is posed. The incumbent is asked to present complementary descriptive narration on her family milieu. The informant's reply begins with a descriptive narration about her family members' place of origin along with their current place of residence.

The first kernel sentence in this segment is "we're all from São Paulo (,)"'. She makes it known the entire family was born in Sao Paolo, except for a step brother who was born in Ashland. The second kernel sentence refers to her brother "my first brother was born in 1977 (')". She further describes this segment stating she doesn't remember the hospital at which her brother was born. However, she once more states he was born in Sao Paolo. The third kernel sentence refers to her sister "My sister was born in 1981 (,)"'. Lisa proceeds with her delineation of her sister's birth and mentions she was born at a hospital in Sao Paolo as well. In the following passage the informant once again reiterates she has lived nearly her entire life in Sao Paolo⁷⁰ in the district of Morumbi.

The next is an argumentative detailing in which the narrator explicates how her siblings and herself wound up going to a school called Porto Seguro due to the fact that the school was located closed to their residence in Sao Paolo. The informant assumes they attended this spe-

⁷⁰ Sao Paolo is the largest city in Brazil. It is the capital of the state of Sao Paolo, which is the most populous Brazilian state, and exerts strong regional influence in commerce and finance as well as arts and entertainment. Sao Paolo has the largest economy, by GDP, among Latin American and Brazilian cities. Its GDP per capita is the second highest among the larger Latin American cities as well as in Brazil, behind only Brasília.

cific school due to a purchase opportunity; see Brennan & Marriott (1996), due to the proximity of her residence and the educational institution. However, one must take into consideration that Porto Seguro is a German private elementary and high school founded by German citizens, in a German colony in Brazil in 1878; see Porto Seguro (2012). It reveals two important aspects regarding the incumbent's biography, specifically, her family's socio-economic status as well as the exposure to German culture while attending this particular school. Porto Seguro School even offers Abitur in Brazil and many of its employees are German citizens. The school also counts with German classes and also offers educational trips to Germany; see Porto Seguro (2012). In addition, this is a private school and, therefore, has a selective clientele. According to MEC (2010) only 14.7% of all Brazilian students are enrolled at private elementary schools in the country. As for high schools, the number is even more striking for only 11.8% of all Brazilian students can afford to attend a private high school. Porto Seguro elementary school tuition costs on average R\$ 1,884.00 a month (approximately €715), whereas high school tuition can reach up to R\$ 2,000.00 a month (approximately €750); see Jornal Estadão (2012). This amount represents nearly 3 times the minimum wage in Brazil and, interestingly, only 6% of all Brazilian families earned more than that in 2009; see Census (IBGE, 2010). Thus, attending this specific school seems to be a social-economic predisposition condition too. This factor certainly had an influence on the decision of Lisa's parents to enroll her, as well as her siblings, at Porto Seguro School.

This narrative unit ends with another important piece of information. Yet the informant ceases to further describe it and with a falling intonation finishes her contribution, therefore, indicating the coda of this unit. In this coda the incumbent tells that her family had always lived in Morumbi, a district of Sao Paulo. It also reinforces the general idea regarding the informant's socio-economic status. According to Folha de Sao Paulo (2010) it is considered to be very sophisticated and also one of the wealthiest neighborhoods in the city.

2. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 572 - 587)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is then asked to disclose further information on her family milieu, namely, about her grandparents. In this narrative unit Lisa explains where her grandparents were born and talks about their current place of residence. The first kernel sentence in

this segment is “My paternal grandparents were from São Paulo (,)”. The next segment is a descriptive narrative detailing about her grandparents. The informant mentions that they lived in different cities in the state of Sao Paolo and that she used to visit them in the locations where they resided.

The second kernel sentence in this segment is “my maternal grandparents [...] always lived in Harbor Springs“. Lisa also informs that her maternal grandparents had their own business, an accountancy office, which is nowadays administrated by one of her uncles. It also reveals crucial information about the informant’s family milieu and her socio-economic background. Harbor Springs is a borough located in Sao Paolo, markedly the wealthiest district of city, and it includes many elegant neighborhoods inhabited by the Brazilian elite.

This narrative unit ends with another kernel sentences “My mother (-) in her childhood (-) lived /ehm/ how is this neighborhood called again (?) (-) well, it’s near Morumbi (,)”. It could be stated that her family has, on the whole, only lived in noble districts of Sao Paolo.

3. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 588 - 626)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is asked to provide supplementary descriptive narration about the neighborhood where she resided with her siblings and parents in Sao Paolo. This segments starts with the kernel sentence “when we moved there (‘) when my father decided to /ehm/ (-) to buy a home there (‘) there was nothing there (,)”. The next is an overlapping narrative as well as argumentative detailing segment. She argues that the neighborhood was a growing district at the time they moved there, as in: “there weren’t many buildings (-) there weren’t many shops (‘) but it was starting to grow (,) (-)”. She also describes the exact location of their residence in the district, as can be observed in her following rendering.

The next segment is a reflexive passage, in which the informant describes, based on a comparison with the past situation of the district and its current development, the significant growth this district has gone through within the last years. She compares the road conditions and number of residences in the area nowadays with the conditions of the location when they first moved there. The next is a narrative description of the neighborhood currently, and the in-

formant even stresses in her pronunciation how much the district has developed financially, as in: “nowadays it’s a very expensive neighborhood (,) it has got millionaire constructions and buildings“. She concludes her reflective comparison by stating the neighborhood has significantly developed and that it has become a busy district of Sao Paulo.

The next segment starts with a higher predicate “it’s a good neighborhood to live in“. Lisa doesn’t go on explicating the optimistic adjective used in her sentence. Yet she mentions her parents had to drive her everywhere as everything was far from their residence. It meant she had to stay home a lot or depended on her parents to go somewhere. Hence, one can state Lisa had a more limited mobility in the urban area where she resided. It could also point to a lack of independence, which could lead to a decreased socialization. It is a very important marker indicating a contrast in Lisa’s biography before and after she started attending IFPA School. The informant probably felt awfully overwhelmed when she had to suddenly become independent and begin caring for her spatial mobility in the urban area. This overpowering situation is also confirmed by the informant, as already seen in the previous narrative units. Lisa constantly referred to the bus she had to take to go to school, and how she experienced it as unusual, as an event carrier that did not belong to her socio-economic status.

The coda of this narrative unit is a closing statement with a falling intonation, in which the informant states her lack of mobility independence due to residential location, as in: “I didn’t go out very much“.

4. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 627 - 638)

In this narrative unit the informant is asked to further clarify one of her doubts concerning the exact time she started attending IFPA School. The incumbent starts her answer with the kernel sentence “before I started attending IFPA, I moved to Silver Bay“. The following is a narrative detailing regarding what occurred before and after the informant began attending IFPA in Sao Paulo. Lisa informed that she went to Porto Seguro in Sao Paulo until the second year of high school and then moved to Silver Bay with her family, where she finished high school at the same school; Porto Seguro – Silver Bay Unit. Right after graduating from high school the interviewee returned to Sao Paulo to start attending IFPA School. Even though Lisa does not

justify the motives that led her family to choose specifically this city of Silver Bay, in the countryside of Sao Paolo, one can deduce that the existence of a Porto Seguro unit in Silver Bay could have been a condition taken into consideration by her family before moving there.

The coda of this narrative unit is a sentence followed by a short pause. The informant mentions she lived with her grandmother in Harbor Springs while attending IFPA. However, she does not disclose any narrative detailing on the matter in this narrative unit. However, one can also see the disparity Lisa saw on a daily basis while going to school. She had to use public transport, a means of transportation she wasn't used to, to go from an elite neighborhood to a popular, commercial area of Sao Paolo where the school was located.

5. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 639 – 709)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is then asked to disclose further information on her family's social, financial condition before and during the time she attended IFPA in Sao Paolo. The interviewee begins her reply with the kernel sentence "My father worked at Sony". However, the informant does not descriptively narrate about her father's occupation. Lisa only attempts to validate the conditions that enabled her family to reside at the district of Morumbi, as in: "he didn't buy it just like that (,) he had to get a :mortgage: and so on".

The next important evaluative commentary made by the informant in this segment is "somehow we've always been a middle class family". It demonstrates the incumbent is aware of her socioeconomic status and finds in her family's assets and their residential location the validation for it. The next kernel sentence is "Collor's plan⁷¹ came along", which is immediately followed by a typical formulaic verbal expression indicating a trajectory "then things started getting a little harder". This last sentence is a very lucid supra-segmental marker of the begin-

⁷¹ The Collor Plan is the name given to a collection of economic reforms and inflation-stabilization plans carried out during the presidency of Fernando Collor de Mello of Brazil, between 1990 and 1992. The Collor plan combined fiscal and trade liberalization with radical inflation stabilization measures. The plan was announced on March 16, 1990, one day after Collor's inauguration. Its intended policies included to replace the existing currency, to freezing 80% of private assets for 18 months (receiving the prevailing rate of inflation plus 6% in interest while frozen), implement an extremely high tax on all financial transactions, to elimination of most fiscal incentives, temporary freeze on wages and prices, among other measures.

ning of a biographical process, namely, a trajectory of suffering. However, this process has its genesis in an interlink of biographical importance, here characterized by a collective trajectory.

In the following narrative detailing, the incumbent descriptively narrates about the transformations these political and economic changes caused in her family. Her father became unemployed and, as her mother didn't have a job, the family found itself under financial strain due to the expenses they had, as the interviewee mentions in: "my father had three children going to Porto Seguro, which is an expensive school" and (in addition, he had to) pay the mortgage, utilities and so on".

In the next passage the informant stops the flow of her narration to make an argumentative commentary "but I think things were a little easier back then (-) /ehm/ things were not so expensive". Lisa assumes the cost of living used to be lower and that was the reason her family could afford living at Morumbi and send all three children to Porto Seguro School. The interviewee concludes her reflective argumentative narration stating her family belonged to the middle class. She is implicitly trying to convey the idea her family wasn't extremely wealthy. However, the informant's perception is to some extent inaccurate. Her family lived at Morumbi District in Sao Paulo in the 80's. In this decade inflation was unbelievably high in the country and reached up to 4,853% between 1989 and 1990. It was a difficult financial period for the majority of the working class in Brazil for income couldn't cover all the absurdly high prices caused by the hyperinflation. Therefore, one can assume Lisa's family indeed had a very favorable financial situation and was not affected by the political and economic scenario until 1990, when the new president, Fernando Collor, became the first leader directly elected by the people after the end of the Brazilian military government; see Folha 2011.

In the next passage, the informant reveals her father even obtained employment at another company for a short period of time, but it closed down due to the difficulties the Brazilian economy was enduring at the time. It reveals that Lisa's father made an effort to keep the family in Sao Paulo. However his next dismissal led the family to a cul-de-sac financial condition. The informant even acknowledges "then he couldn't find another job". The incumbent also mentions her father has a degree in engineering, which he obtained from a private univer-

sity in Sao Paolo. Lisa tried to convey that even though her father had a tertiary degree he couldn't find employment in that period of crisis.

The next kernel sentence is "that was when he decided to come to Silver Bay". She explicates the family's residential change occurred due to financial problems. The next is a narrative detailing providing further factors involving the selling of the house in Sao Paolo and the money used to buy another one in Silver Bay as well as a computer school. Lisa mentions that "with the rest of the money he (her father) could start his own computer school". This might have been a time of great distress for the entire family and every member was certainly particularly affected by these abrupt changes. Apparently, the IT school became the family's main financial income in that period. The following narrative passage can be seen in: "we managed to keep the same standard of living". It is followed by an argumentative detailing in which the informant reinforces the difficult financial situation the family was going through, "my father just couldn't make ends meet anymore", and how they had to ask for her grandparents to assist them financially, inclusive of paying their school tuition in Silver Bay, as in: "they had to ask my grandparents for financial help". In the following argumentative description, Lisa rationalizes the reason for borrowing money from her parents. It also seems to be a scene of biographical importance in the life of the incumbent. She uses direct speech to reveal what her father said at that time: "one is already in the third year of high school (') the other one in the second year of high school (') changing school doesn't make any sense". It was a clear attempt to maintain the children at the same school as to provide an equal quality of education and, conceivably, a way to diminish all side effects caused by this significant change. Another important aspect to be considered is the informant's perception of her own family as being very united. The aid provided by her grandparents during this time of complications might have reinforced her discernment as well, as in: "our family always helps in time like these".

As it can be observed the entire family was affected by this political change and the incumbent found herself undergoing a process at which she didn't aim. Lisa unexpectedly saw herself in a position she was not capable of actively shaping the course of her own life anymore. She was forced to move with her parents to the countryside, leaving behind her school classmates, peers and, most importantly, an affective relationship she had with a young man in Sao Paolo. In other words, the informant was underage, still attending high school and, most im-

portantly, depended on her parents' financial assistance. Therefore, she did not have any possibility other than accepting her parents' resolution to their financial difficulties.

The next higher predicate emphasizes how the situation negatively affected the family, as can be seen in "things got a little ugly in this year". It is another supra-segmental marker indicating a new process in the life of the incumbent. It is followed by a short argumentative detailing used by the informant to rationalize her parent's attitude "(only by moving to the countryside we could) keep the same standard of living we had before". She goes on legitimizing it by saying that, due to the low cost of living in the countryside, they were able to afford another equally high-quality condominium, and all three children could continue attending the private Porto Seguro School.

The next kernel sentence in this segment is "(after ending last year of high school in Silver Bay) the following year I went to IFPA". Another argumentative detailing is attached to this kernel sentence. Lisa attempts to legitimize her decision to undergo IFPA's dual system apprenticeship by referring to the absence of school tuition fees, to the apprentice's salary, and also to the fact she would live with her grandmother while she attended this vocational school, which would not generate further expenses related to rent and utility costs. Lisa describes it as "financial independency" and also justifies her action by stating "it was also /ehm/ a way to help the family not to have even more expenses. Interestingly, the informant seems to associate her decision to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship as a way of contributing to her family's financial restructuring for all her arguments are linked to budgetary motives.

The next narrative detailing makes reference to the fact that her sister was also still attending high school at Porto Seguro and that her brother had just started studying at PUC University, also a private college. However, the informant explicates, in an attempt to validate her higher predicate: "but it wasn't so difficult". She explains that her father already had another source of income by then, more specifically, the IT school. The incumbent discloses descriptively that her father was earning enough money to pay for her brother's college tuition at a private institution, as well as her sister's school tuition at Porto Seguro.

The next passage is rather evaluative and reflective. The interviewee believes they could keep the same standard of living as they used to have in Sao Paolo. However, the next higher predicate “it wasn’t a high standard of living” is made by the informant so as to secure a determined perception of her family socioeconomic status. Lisa believed they did not belong to an upper class, possibly due to a comparison the incumbent constantly made while going to Porto Seguro School.

This assumption can be justified in the following kernel sentence: “we didn’t belong to the rich kids’ group“. This sentence immediately prompted the interviewer to ask for further narration to comprehend and concretize this statement. The incumbent explains it in an argumentative detailing by saying that her classmates at Porto Seguro, described by the interviewee as an elite school with incredibly expensive tuition fees, belonged to this group for they were extremely wealthy, as opposed to her own family’s financial situation. In the following she argues these “rich kids” belonged to this group due to the ostentation displayed by them at school. Lisa rationalizes it by stating: “(these rich kids and) the branded clothes they wore as well as the imported cars their parents drove“. The next passage reinforces the perception the biography incumbent had of herself and her family in terms of financial matters, as in “the vast majority of students at Porto Seguro were like that (but) there were also some people who didn’t belong to an elite (!) and this was my case“. One can see Lisa, even though her family had a satisfactory financial situation, experienced social inequality at school. It is conceivable that Lisa underwent a sort of segregation process at school, in which she belonged to the “non-rich kids group”. The ironic tone used by the informant seems to reveal some criticism in relation to the opposite group. One can assume Lisa perhaps felt, at times, inferior to the vast majority of her classmates, for her parents belonged to a different social class. Interestingly, though, is that the interviewee has the same attitude of segregation towards the ones who belonged to an inferior social class, as it could previously be observed in her narrative description of the individuals who shared a bus with her on her way to IFPA School.

The coda of this narrative unit brings a reflective narration of the informant’s financial situation. She reflects on the topic and concludes her family “wasn’t born wealthy“. However, they always went to “good schools [...] and everyone always had job . “Good schools” is also a higher predicate, which is not further explained by the narrator. Yet, it can be inferred she is

referring to the private school she and her siblings attended, namely, Porto Seguro in Sao Paulo and its unit in Silver Bay. The last sentence of this narrative unit seems to be contradictory in its essence: “we never received an inheritance from our grandparents (-) or something like that before“. Yet, Lisa seemed not to remember she had just revealed her grandparents indeed had to provide financial aid in a time of difficulty.

6. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 710 – 720)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is then asked to disclose further information on her mother’s occupation after the birth of her siblings. In the following passage a kernel sentence can be identified “my mother worked until my brother was born“. In the subsequent narrative detailing the incumbent describes her mother education and profession. She explains her mother went to trade school and did a trade course in architectural drawing. It’s also possible to observe how the narrator portrays this educational modality. She uses the word just as she refers to her mother’s vocational course. Implicitly, one can notice Lisa depicts it as an inferior educational modality by the incumbent. This is a contrastive evaluation, in all probability made in comparison to tertiary education. This supposition can also be rationalized in one of her sentences in this passage: “my mom did a technical course on architectural drawing (!) but she didn’t go to college“. It could also express that her mother merely went to a vocational school. In some way it discloses an unconsciously self-theoretical postulation of the informant. Lisa visibly accepts as true that secondary level VET is not as worthy as a tertiary education degree. It could also be noticed in the incumbent’s actions in her biography for she pursued and followed the tertiary education path after obtaining her vocational education diploma.

In the attached narrative detailing, Lisa describes her mother’s professional tasks as a secondary activity in her life, as in: “So she still does some drawings now for people who want to renovate their houses“. The word can be considered as a description of something purely done on occasion. It appears the informant has a slightly negative perception of her mother’s occupation. She seems to be criticizing her VET qualification, and in addition, her mother fulfills a role Lisa does not accept as true anymore, more specifically, the role of housewife.

The last segment of this narrative unit is a narrative descriptive detailing, in which the informant describes her mother never went back to work and has always taken care of the house work, even in times of crisis. The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit is a sentence uttered by the informant with falling intonation. In this last sentence the informant makes clear that her mother became a homemaker. The informant also justifies her mother's occupation, being a housewife, was the result of: "she didn't start working with my dad or anything like that".

7. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 721 – 736)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is then asked to disclose further information on her sister's tertiary education. It was also an attempt made by the interviewer with the purpose of having the informant further narrate about her siblings' education.

In the following passage a kernel sentence can be identified "my brother passed the entrance examination to study business administration at PUC". The following is a narrative descriptive detailing about her brother. He was born in 1977 and is, therefore, older than the informant. The informant's brother holds a degree in administration from PUC University. In the following narrative detailing, the incumbent states once again her brother also attended Porto Seguro in Sao Paolo and then passed the entrance examination and began attending PUC University⁷².

In the following passage a kernel sentence can be identified "my sister after she finished school (') about three years after me". The following is a narrative descriptive detailing about her sister. She is the youngest of all three and also graduated from Porto Seguro High School. She also passed the entrance examination and majored in tourism at PUC University. Upon graduating she left for New Zealand, where she worked for three years before returning home to Silver Bay. The coda of this narrative unit is characterized by a closing sentence with a falling intonation "and now she is back (-) she's living with us again". It demonstrates Lisa

⁷² PUC is a private university and was considered, in 2011, as one of the top ten private universities in Brazil; see Censo da Educação Superior (2011). In addition, the average monthly tuition fee for the business administration course is 2.000 reais (nearly €750.00); see PUC 2012.

still lives with her mother and sister in Silver Bay, where they first moved after Collor's crisis in 1990. It is not an atypical situation in Brazil for 25% of all young adults aged between 25 and 34 years old still live with their parents; see Pnad (2011).

8. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 737 – 765)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is then asked to further descriptively narrate about the period she lived with her grandmother while attending IFPA in Sao Paolo. Lisa begins this narrative unit with a short narrative detailing about her grandmother. The informant states she was already a widow by the time they lived together. The next is a higher predicate "it was nice for her". It is explicated by the incumbent by saying her grandmother could have companionship and someone who she could live with, once she lived by herself. Lisa clearly describes her relationship and living with her grandmother as a harmonious state of affairs, as it can be observed in the adjectives used by the informant to describe this process: "very pleasant [...] it was very calm and quiet". This cohabitation situation was apparently beneficial for both parties. Lisa's grandmother could profit from social companionship, for she was widow and lived alone, and the informant could reside there at no cost while attending IFPA.

Yet, the subsequently segment of this narrative unit shows the obstacles of this period in the life of the informant. This segment begins with a higher predicate: "it was also an awfully difficult period". It is also a formulaic expression indicating Lisa's suffering during this period. The word difficult is visibly stressed by the informant, indicating a period that demanded great physical as well as mental effort, a period of endurance. The interviewee reveals that she had to wake up very early to take a bus to go to IFPA School, which took her approximately an hour. It was clearly a situation the informant wasn't used to. As a matter of fact, this was entirely different to the circumstances she was accustomed to while she lived with her parents and was going to elementary and high school. As Lisa mentioned in the previous narrative units, during the time she went to Porto Seguro School, her parent's cared for her spatial urban mobility and also took care of her financially as well as emotionally. Lisa ends her argumentative description re-stating this last assumption by saying: "So it was a difficult period because of this".

The last segment of this narrative unit is a narrative detailing regarding the informant's living conditions with her grandmother. Once again she positively evaluates it by saying: "always talked a bit and watched soap operas together". The next part of this narrative unit is a short description of her grandmother, who she depicts as: "quiet, nice, and super active".

Then the interviewer prompts the incumbent to further narrate about her grandmother's financial condition while she was living with her. Lisa begins with a kernel sentence "my grandmother doesn't have any financial problems either". The next is a narrative argumentative detailing explaining her previous statement. She states her grandmother had a huge apartment and that her grandmother has income from renting properties and finds herself in a good financial situation. Lisa justifies her grandmother's wellbeing by revealing her grandfather had bought properties and had assets during his lifetime, and these were then inherited by her grandmother. The coda of this narrative unit is characterized by a closing statement with falling intonation and also a higher predicate: "and it was like that when I lived there (-) easy-going". She is referring to the financial situation of her grandmother as she was asked at the beginning of this unit.

9. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 766 – 799)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is required to further descriptively narrate about a higher predicate said during her main narration that remained imprecise: "I began to take buses, because until then had a good life [...] a girl who studied at Porto Seguro wasn't used to something like that [...] these two years of apprenticeship at IFPA were a little complicated".

She begins this narrative unit with an argumentative narrative detailing in order to explicate her higher predicate. The informant firstly says: "we lived in Morumbi and it is a good neighborhood . Lisa tried to point out the dissimilarity between her residential area and IFPA's location. One could argue the school used to be located at a district where individuals who belong to her socioeconomic class were not supposed to be a part of. Secondly, the informant revealed her mother used care for her spatial mobility in the urban area of Sao Paulo, as in: "I didn't have my mother around to drive me and pick me up from school". It was a contrast for the incumbent once she became obliged to use public transportation, without any maternal

protection, in order to go to IFPA. In the following narration, the informant discloses she did not have an automobile and, therefore, was compelled to use public transport to reach the school, as in: “I even asked my dad for a car (,) but my father couldn’t afford it”. Lisa’s next sentence also indicates a creative metamorphosis of biographical identity: “it really changed my life“. The informant is making reference to the period of time she went to IFPA. This given phase brought a diverse set of outer changes that have influenced the inner development of Lisa’s biography. The incumbent had to start acting autonomously, mingle in a social frame she was not accustomed to, and endure a lack of maternal protection.

In the next passage the interviewee uses another higher predicate “I didn’t have a life of a princess” to rationalize the predicaments she had to undergo while attending IFPA. Lisa makes an argumentative narration based on a comparative commentary. She associates it to the fact that she had to use public transportation to get to IFPA School, a situation which she wasn’t used to. Lisa probably didn’t use public transportation in her childhood and was not encouraged by her parents to become independent in terms of urban mobility. On the contrary, the informant lived in a closed condominium and had her mother drive her whenever needed or necessary.

Lisa proceeds with her narrative talking about her predicament by using a higher predicate: “a girl who studied at Porto Seguro wasn’t used to something like that“. Lisa elucidates that, according to her discernment, only lower-skilled, manual workers use this type of public transportation, as in: “only unskilled bricklayers (,) it’s something differ (,) (-) I had to take buses to work with all the housekeepers, with the manual workers (!) only with people from lower social status”. Lisa makes a brief social frame description as to justify the incongruity this collective environment exposed her to. Lisa is aware of her own social status, and expresses an inner conflict, to a certain extent, for not finding herself in a social frame she believed she belonged to, as in: “it was a shock at the beginning”. Lisa’s social frame description is followed by an argumentative passage, as can be seen in: “my social :status: is quite different, I belonged to :middle class: (-) my family had :car: and so on”. Suddenly the incumbent was confronted with an utterly different social world to the one she was accustomed. Lisa simply couldn’t comprehend at the time that she started becoming independent from her

family's protection and that, as an individual, she could not afford the living standard her parents provided her.

The next passage entails extremely reflective and evaluative commentaries, as in: "we also learn from these situations". It demonstrates a central situation of biographical importance as there is a peak in the concatenation of events and the identity change of the narrator as former *dramatis persona* is experienced by herself. Lisa explains, in an argumentative detailing, that this process has led her to realize that an outer event was generating inner changes, as in "we really have to grow up to get what you want". The informant goes on explicating this inner change by saying: "I began to realize that I also had to go for it, I had to find an occupation, a profession, I had to make my money and I had to start my own life". The informant herewith explains how she started having a perception of maturity during this specific biographical process she went through. One can observe she considers self-financial provision and lower parental dependence as conditions to achieve adulthood.

10. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 800 – 815)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is then asked to disclose further information on her preparation for IFPA admission test at Porto Seguro School. The introduction of this narrative unit makes clear reference to the questions posed by the interviewer: "at Porto Seguro I had German lessons (-) but it wasn't once a week". The interviewee continues her reply in an argumentative narrative detailing by making it clear Porto Seguro School offered German language classes only as a foreign language. The informant elucidates in her argumentation that she did not have other subjects taught in German. In other words, Lisa did not learn German as a primary language. However, Lisa explains she had German classes as a foreign language on a daily basis.

The next kernel sentence in this narrative unit is "I did IFPA's admission test with the German knowledge I had". It is followed by an argumentative narrative detailing, in which the incumbent states she had a good language command and, therefore, did not need to further prepare for the exam in terms of language, as in: "I did the exam without studying or preparing too much for it (!) and in the end I passed". Lisa carries on with her rationalization by stat-

ing she had German classes from first grade until the end of her high school education. The last sentence in this passage is rather evaluative, and the informant reveals a certain apprehension about her performance in the admission test, as in: “I probably barely made it (((laughs))) but I passed (,)”. This reflective assessment demonstrates the magnitude it had in the institutional expectation pattern the incumbent was undergoing. Furthermore, Lisa does not subconsciously undermine her own efforts. On the contrary, the informant willingly attempts to pass the test, despite a certain perceived disparity between her language command and the difficulty of the test. Lisa’s judgment could also be related to previous exposure to other entrance examinations. In the subsequent narrative units, the informant will precisely justify this supposition for she did not pass the university entrance examination at two different public universities.

The final section of this narrative unit commences with a validation regarding the motives the informant presented for the absence of a need to appropriately prepare for the admission test. The informant comments: “I like languages, I like German, like English (-) I always did well on these subjects”. It demonstrates Lisa’s own discernment of her ability as well as interest in the subject. Hence, it could also point out an assertive self-belief in her ability that could have led the incumbent to assume she was prepared to successfully take IFPA admission test. It would, therefore, characterize a matter of choice due to the fact that, from a number of alternatives, she decided to take this specific admission test. In other words, she already possessed the necessary pre-requisites for the test. This argumentation leads to the last sentence of this unit which indicates the coda: “it wasn’t so hard to pass IFPA’s admission exam”. However, the incumbent’s perception of the difficulty of the exam was only developed after she experienced the process.

11. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 816 – 873)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is required to unveil additional narration on her daily routine at IFPA after she started attending the school. This narrative unit reveals crucial details on the informant’s discernment of her own experience during this process as well as her judgment of the school itself.

The introduction of this narrative unit is a narrative detailing containing a description of the individual's attendance and routine at IFPA School. She begins by pointing out how the dual system⁷³ was conducted in her course (office clerk⁷⁴). The informant had to attend school twice a week and work at a company (KLS) three times a week. One of the first aspects mentioned in her narrative detailing in this narrative unit about her daily routine was the bothera-tion evoked by arising in the early hours of the day and catch a bus as to get to IFPA. This means of public transportation, a clear event carrier in the biography of the incumbent, is moderately recurrent in the informant's narrative and certainly helped the informant shaping her perception of this social unit, which was also part of her IFPA apprenticeship daily rou-tine.

Lisa continues a description of her daily routine at IFPA stating "we stayed there from seven in the morning, I think, seven or seven thirty until five o'clock ". In the following the inform-ant makes an evaluative commentary regarding her last descriptive sentence. Lisa affirms the-se days at school were perceived as a cause for weariness and disinterest. IFPA intensive timetable was portrayed by the incumbent as uninteresting, and might have triggered mental weariness as well due to the fact that the informant had to endure long days of information input in German, a language she had clear limitations. Hitherto, the informant acknowledges such a tight schedule was indispensable for apprentices had to attend school only twice a week, as in: "but it had to be like that [...] they had to concentrate all classes".

The following sentence is a higher predicate regarding her daily classes at the IFPA School, as it can be observed in "it wasn't very easy". The next segment is an argumentative narrative detailing, in which the interviewee informs all subjects were taught exclusively in German. It was a source of concern for the incumbent, as it can be observed in the adjectives used by her in "I was very concerned, worried". She feared not being able to deal with the situation and that her German knowledge would not suffice, to the point she would fail her classes due to her lack of language command, as in: "I thought I wouldn't pass that year". It is remarkable how the informant felt prepared for the admission test and then feared failing due to a lack of

⁷³ Dual education system combines apprenticeships in a company and vocational education at a vocational school in one course.

⁷⁴ Office clerks are responsible for executing a wide range of administrative tasks associated with the daily func-tions of an office.

language skills. Perhaps the admission test did not precisely place her language level. However, it is necessary to consider the fact that the informant switched the status of her language acquisition from learning German as a second language at Porto Seguro School into using it as a primary language to acquire knowledge in the office clerk field at IFPA. Moreover, the fear mentioned by the informant in her higher predicate relates to different conditions, namely, her inability to comprehend the content in German, the lack of trust and assistance in her teacher, the self-assessed perception of language inequality between herself and other classmates, and the lack of control the situation generated. The uncertainty of the informant's success fostered Lisa's apprehension and it was certainly a condition that influenced the negative perception of the school developed by the incumbent.

Lisa continues her narrative detailing by stating her office clerk apprenticeship did not have many students in comparison to other ones such as *Industriekaufmann* or *Expedition*. The informant assumes in her evaluation that the other courses might have been more motivating due to the number of apprentices as well as the more balanced number of male and females in the classroom. The following sentence is a higher predicate indicating, once again, Lisa's assessment of the VET training program she underwent: "my course was not very interesting". Lisa clarifies it by saying her course had only eight apprentices, nearly half what other courses had. One can observe certain regret in the words of the informant's. Another important factor to be considered is the number of apprentices in her course, office clerk. Not only it demonstrates a lower demand or preference for this course, but it could also indicate the incumbent opted to do the admission test for a course she would have higher chances to pass the admission test, as if she feared failure. Although it is not explicitly uttered by the informant, it is possible to make this assertion based on the fact the incumbent had already failed two university entrance examinations (it will be mentioned and narrated by the informant in the subsequent narrative units). What is more, Lisa, to a certain extent, was in desperate need to return to Sao Paolo after her parents moved to Silver Bay to resume her relationship with her boyfriend and, therefore, might have opted for a more accessible path to accomplish her objective.

The following evaluative passage is also of vital importance for the informant: "it was interesting: because that's what I chose". It is a marker demonstrating a post-choice cognitive

dissonance. In other words, to a certain extent, the informant simply had to positively assess it because it was a decision she made herself.

The next part of this narrative unit approaches a very important issue, respectively, the informant's plain motive to seek this educational modality. This segment begins with the kernel sentence "I didn't choose it because I wanted to be a secretary". It is immediately followed by a succinct argument stating that her main purpose was to further acquire and improve her German language command. The next is a further argumentation, and the informant rationalizes her previous declaration stating she would like to further develop her German language skills as to avoid forgetting what she had already acquired at Porto Seguro School, where she learned German as a foreign language for several years. One can already observe and state that the informant did not look for this apprenticeship modality as to follow as career in this area, in other words, it did not seem to be a career choice. Yet, she wound up making the decision to start attending IFPA. Therefore, it is possible to affirm other social (affective relationship), biographical (interlink) and institutional conditions (failed access to higher education) played a more important role in her decision-making process.

The next argumentative narrative detailing entails the following rationalization: "I wasn't really thinking about getting professionally prepared or about becoming a secretary or anything like that". Once again it is perceptible her decision was not based on career aspirations or choice. The following part of this segment the informant reflectively mentions that undergoing IFPA apprenticeship led her to start working at KLS, where she did the practical part of her dual system apprenticeship. In the following, the incumbent clearly expresses her unwillingness to become a secretary and that she had other career aspirations. The next sentence is also a reflective rendering, in which Lisa laments choosing her specific vocational course, as in: "if I had known I'd go to college to study international trade later, I'd have chosen the *Expeditionkauffman* course". It becomes clear that the informant had educational aspirations regarding tertiary education. The next argumentative sentence supports this assumption "I wasn't even thinking of what I wanted to do study in college". It was not a matter of knowing whether she would go to college or not; it was possibly a condition related to early career indecision.

The next sentence seems to be the coda of this narrative unit. It begins with the frame switching element *so* and ends with a falling intonation and a two-second pause, as in: “so that’s how our daily routine was like“. However, the informant goes on with a narrative detailing about her routine at IFPA, mentioning the classes she had and repeats the word *German* four times in only a few sentences, perhaps in an attempt to justify the reason already previously expressed in this narrative unit that she underwent this apprenticeship at IFPA as to continue improving her German language skills.

In the next segment of the narrative unit, once again the informant expresses her perception of the apprenticeship she did at IFPA, in Sao Paolo. Firstly, the incumbent descriptively narrates and also makes clear some unknown concepts related to the subjects she had to take at IFPA. This narration ends with a higher predicate “in fact, I didn’t really enjoy going to IFPA”. Lisa’s view of her apprenticeship can also be observed in this passage in the adjectives used by her to describe it as “boring, uninteresting and weird”. It can be justified in different aspects; more specifically the informant regrets having chosen the office clerk apprenticeship course, her German language limitations, her teacher’s lack of comprehension and support, her feeling of being socially disconnected, and her fear of failure. In addition to these conditions, it is necessary to add up the informant’s recurrent event carrier, the bus, and her need for adaptation to a totally new social frame.

The last segment of this narrative unit begins with a higher predicate as well; to be precise, “everything was kind of weird to me”. This represents a clear evaluation provided by the informant. Lisa expresses the experience of undergoing her apprenticeship at IFPA as unusual and possibly as an uneasy biographical process. In the following she argues: “I didn’t really feel like going to school (,) but being at the company was nice”. In an argumentative statement, the incumbent mentions the fact that she only “really learned” at the company. Implicitly, she is expressing her experience of working at a company during her apprenticeship as positive and constructive. Unambiguously, the informant believes the knowledge acquired in her apprenticeship came from the practical experience acquired at the company. In the following segment, Lisa descriptively narrates about her apprenticeship at the company and portrays it as: “very good” and as an opportunity she had “to learn the basics“. The incumbent sees her experience at the company as a positive and appealing process, which could have led her to

perform to best of her ability. Moreover, this positive process she went through might have shaped the image she had of this company, which certainly could have reinforced her self-esteem and made her believe she had made the right decision, namely, to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship. Yet, the next evaluative sentence expressed by the interviewee, in a reflective passage, she demonstrates regret and a feeling of disappointment about her own apprenticeship course once again and wishes she had opted for another one, as in "if I had done the Industriekaufmann apprenticeship at IFPA, maybe I'd have learned more and perhaps I'd have been more interested in this school". She validates her statement by saying that her course was uninteresting and she plainly affirms she didn't want to pursue her professional career as a secretary. Once again one can perceive that Lisa did not have interest in the chosen course and it does not clearly constitute a career choice. The informant's dissatisfaction with her chosen course and the profession it assigned her might entail a social condition. It is conceivable Lisa could not cognitively accept the thought of working as a secretary for the rest of her life. Lisa might have gone through an inner conflict regarding her apprenticeship course for her socioeconomic profile, as well as primary and secondary schooling, do not match the occupation she was qualifying for at IFPA School.

The last part of this narrative unit is a short description as well as an argumentation justifying her actions, as in: "but things came somehow together (') I had to go to school if I wanted to go to the company (,) so I ended up doing both things". It can be said she is implying she would rather only go to her company if she had the chance to choose it. However, as it is a dual apprenticeship, Lisa was compelled to attend school, an experience which made her feel uncomfortable as repeatedly expressed by her in numerous pessimistic adjectives in this narrative unit "weird, boring, uninteresting, not good".

12. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 874 – 905)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is required to further narrate about a higher predicate, specifically, "I felt like a fish out of water at IFPA". This narrative unit reveals central information on how the informant experienced this process from a socialization perspective while undergoing her apprenticeship.

Lisa begins her reply with an argumentative detailing to justify the reason she felt socially excluded in her course at IFPA. She feels detached from social relations within the institution she attended due to language motives. In her narrative detailing she explicates she didn't speak German at home as her classmates did. In addition, she mentions the teachers were native speakers as well. Lisa felt intimidated and at disadvantage. The informant evaluates the experience by stating "so I had tremendous difficulty". Lisa's lower language proficiency level led her to a negative discernment and, consequently, a sense of social detachment. The incumbent associates the language barrier to one specific teacher, as it can be observed in one of the kernel sentences of this narrative unit: "I had problems with only one teacher. The problem was that this teacher, he taught almost all subjects, he practically taught all subjects". It validates the importance a single teacher can have on the incumbent's experience. This specific teacher played a role of a deleterious event carrier in Lisa's experience, as in "it was hard because he didn't help me much (') I couldn't understand". Noticeably, neither did this educator motivate nor did he assist Lisa with her language limitations. The informant vividly remembers his indisposition to provide language assistance and her efforts to comprehend the content of the lessons. It remains unanswered, though, if IFPA's teachers receive any sort of language teaching education and awareness for they need to teach and deal with different language levels in the classroom.

In the next passage Lisa descriptively narrates about her German skills and she describes it as poor, as it can be observed in the following passage: "I didn't speak German well (-) half of what I said was wrong". In the following passage, she clarifies the motive that led to a conflict with this teacher and how he evaluated her language proficiency: "he didn't accept that I couldn't speak German". It raises the questions of whether teachers possess the necessary cultural awareness and if they competently exercise their teaching didactic as to deal with certain apprentices' difficulties such as language barriers. It could have a crucial relevance on their perception as well as outcomes. Lisa continues her narrative in a brief evaluation of how this teacher's unawareness and/or lack of language didactical training had an impact on her and how it led to an inner conflict that can be observed in her description: "I had the impression that he was always thinking "what is she doing here? She doesn't speak German, doesn't come from a German family, so what is she doing at a German school?". At the same time the informant also started developing her own perception of this teacher, as in: "what is he doing

here in Brazil? Because he lived in Brazil and couldn't even say thank you in Portuguese. So there was some friction between us". It also demonstrates how apprentices can be equally unprepared to deal with their teachers' cultural background.

In the last passage the informant continues her narrative detailing with a higher predicate: "it was very easy for them, for the other girls, it was very easy". Lisa argues that her classmates spoke German at home as opposed to her, and did not have to face the same language barriers she did. Therefore, Lisa could have felt alone and isolated, partially actively inducted through her teacher and also moderately passively through her classmates. The informant clarifies she did not have difficulties with the contents covered in class, but rather with the language in which they were taught: "I had problems with the language [...] it was the only problem". This narrative unit is of vital importance to Lisa's perception of IFPA's apprenticeship and it shows teachers surely play a key role in the construction of this perception through their socialization with the apprentices. Teacher's cultural awareness as well as language teaching didactics is of vital importance and can conceivably surge or reduce levels of anxiety and frustration, especially due to language barriers ignored or not even accepted by the teachers.

It's also necessary to point out the informant had severe language difficulties for a substantial change occurred in her language acquisition process. Lisa began using German as a primary language at IFPA in order to learn contents of a new professional area. It did not match her previous experience made at Porto Seguro School, where she learned German as a foreign language.

13. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 906 – 964)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is asked to disclose further information about the period of time she did her internship at AHK⁷⁵ in Brazil. Lisa begins her reply with the kernel sentence "while I was going to IFPA I did an internship at KLS". In a narrative detailing, she describes how she returned to KLS after her IFPA apprenticeship. She claims to have finished her apprenticeship and then she spent three months looking for employment and that was

⁷⁵ The Chamber of Commerce and Industry Sao Paulo endeavors to represent the overall interests of the German industry and commerce in SP, Brazil.

when KLS contacted her for a secretary position as to replace their permanent secretary for a period of four months. The next kernel sentence is “while I was replacing the secretary at KLS, I got a call from ORD which was located in Campinas”. It is clear that Lisa was trying to actively shape the course of her professional career and was trying to avoid future unemployment, given that her internship would end in a few months. Lisa argues that ORD was near her house. It was probably a determinant condition on her decision to accept this position due to the fact that she had a close relationship to her family and this was an opportunity to relocate and be close to her parents. In the next narrative argumentative detailing, the informant also states KLS probably would not be able to offer her permanent employment for their secretary would return after four months. The next sentence plainly demonstrates Lisa’s decision to embark in this institutional expectation pattern biographical process, as in: “ok then [...] so I can’t decline this opportunity”. The next sentence, also a narrative detailing, shows how her manager at KLS had a biographical influence on her decision. Lisa narrates a scene of biographical importance, in which KLS’s manager can be identified as an event carrier. This manager advised the informant to accept the job offer and pursue a career at the new company, as in: “you have a bright future ahead of you, don’t worry I’ll handle the situation here“. It is reinforced by Lisa’s evaluative description of his perception of her development “he thought I was on the right path and that I had to go on“. This scene of biographical importance reveals Lisa’s need for approval, and it seems it made her feel secure about her decision to leave KLS. The manager’s recognition and praise were a positive way of highlighting the informant’s strengths, her efforts and/or qualities. This manager’s perception might also be related to Lisa’s internship at KLS during her IFPA apprenticeship. It is also a relevant point regarding the future impact of IFPA on the incumbent’s biography. Once IFPA apprentices attend a dual system, they are exposed to companies that could trigger their desire to pursue a career, which can help reinforce an institutional expectation pattern.

The next kernel sentence is “then I left KLS and went to Campinas (,) to work at this company”. The next is a descriptive narrative detailing providing details regarding the company itself and the informant’s occupation. She was hired to work as a secretary and translator. She describes her tasks in a higher predicate by saying: “it was a challenge too because I had to start learning everything about orthopedics [...] it wasn’t easy”. Two aspects of her higher predicate draw one’s attention. Firstly, it showed the necessity of the German language in her

future employment, a condition which caused her a lot of frustration during IFPA's apprenticeship. Secondly, she obtained employment at another German company based in Brazil, which demonstrates a clear connection to her apprenticeship and her last employment. It's therefore already possible to identify the importance IFPA had on the informant's post-apprenticeship biographical processes. In other words, it certainly opened doors for the informant in the labor market.

The next segment is a continuation of the previous descriptive narrative detailing. Lisa explicates the tasks she had to perform at ORD, and one of them was to attend orthopedic fairs. Lisa uses an important higher predicate to describe this experience "it made me open my horizon". She explicates that she saw many physically-challenged individuals and that "it wasn't a reason for them not to do anything". It might have reinforced the incumbent's discernment of herself and her desire for achievement. As she was not physically-challenged, she might have felt compelled to continue achieving further goals in her biography. It could also be a point which influenced her institutional expectation patterns that can often be found throughout her biography.

The next segment begins with the kernel sentence "unfortunately a crisis came, the dollar crisis". This crisis is also called the samba effect and refers to the nearly 35% drop in the value of the Brazilian real that occurred in 1999. The effect was caused by the 1997 Asian financial crisis. It led Brazil to increase interest rates and to institute spending cuts and tax increases in an attempt to maintain the value of its currency. These measures failed to produce the intended effect and the Brazilian government was forced to float its currency against the US dollar, which led to the dramatic decrease in its value; see Brazil (2010). The informant mentions the consequences it had on ORD: "they had to reduce staff and I was dismissed after only seven months". Once again Lisa found herself forced to actively shape the course of her biography in order to avoid any suffering that could be caused by a future trajectory of unemployment. This economic conjuncture led Lisa to an important decision that can be seen in the next kernel sentence: "I started sending out resumes, I started going to college". It is interesting to observe that an external event had a very important impact on the incumbent's biography. The situation she found herself in during this biographical process has prompted her to look for further qualification, respectively, in tertiary education. In order to reach her goal the inform-

ant had to enter a private university and had to finance her own studies, as can be seen in: “as I had to pay for college by myself (-) I got a job at a company here in Silver Bay”. These phrases also entail another kernel sentence “I got a job at a company called Saint-Gobain, a French company“. Once again Lisa demonstrates how she could take full control of her biography and through her own effort could start attending college to obtain further qualification. In the following she descriptively narrates about the French company and its products and also reveals she worked at their logistics department. For the first time, she was hired to work at a different department other than performing office clerk tasks. However, in a higher predicate “I didn’t like it very much”, the informant’s dissatisfaction with her new challenge can be observed. Lisa makes clear she was not enjoying the experience and validates her assessment by saying “I wasn’t working in my area, international trade“.

Even though she had just started, and did not hold a degree in international trade then, she already felt it had become her profession once she started majoring in this field at university. It seems it marked a division in Lisa’s professional life, going from being a secretary to working in the international trade area. Therefore she decided once again to change the course of her biography by starting another internship at KLS (company which she had already worked for twice). She reflectively evaluates it as “a great decision“. She decided to do it due to the fact that she started working with international trade at KLS only after being back for six months at KLS. The next is a short narrative explaining the consequences her decision posed on her future tasks and responsibilities at KLS: “then I was chosen to represent AHK Brazil in a fair in Hannover in 2000“.

there is a reflective passage in the coda of this narrative, where the informant comes to the evaluative conclusion that it all happened because of the samba crisis in 1999, which was another interlink of biographical importance in the informant’s life. Interestingly she does not seem to be aware of the fact that it also happened due to IFPA’s apprenticeship for that was her way in to KLS for the first time as an apprentice. She associates her success to her own efforts, but does not mention IFPA as a catalyst for it. What’s more at this time IFPA’s apprenticeship was the only professional qualification she had and it certainly played a key role when she obtained employment in order to be able to pay for her university tuition fees.

14. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 965 – 995)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is kindly required to further provide information on the period of time after she went to Hannover in Germany with the purpose of representing Brazil at Expo Fair. Lisa begins her reply with the kernel sentence “then in June of the year 2000 I began working at Expo“. The incumbent begins with a description of her occupation and of the fair itself. The next kernel sentence is “before the end of this fair, I made some contacts“. Once again Lisa attempts to actively shape the course of her biography by sending her resume to different German companies in Germany in order to find an internship there. The next sentence is also a kernel sentence “I did an internship at KLS in Bochum“. The next is a very evaluative passage provided by the informant. Lisa describes this short sequence of events as accidental “But it was just a coincidence“. The informant once again does not relate it to her apprenticeship at IFPA and the fact it led her to KLS in Brazil. It is also implicit in her next statement “No one helped me here in Brazil (-) I got it without any help or anything” as if she hadn’t worked for the same company before and as if she wasn’t sufficiently qualified for the position. Moreover, one can observe the informant’s need for achievement and high degree of independence. Even though she does not acknowledge the non-coincidental conditions which might have led her to obtain the internship, she is aware of her own, individual effort in this process. The next passage is a descriptive narration of how she obtained the above-mentioned internship. The interviewee claims once more it was a coincidence for the manager who received her application had already worked for KLS in Brazil. She believes she was offered the internship due to a certain identification the manager might have felt towards her for he had already worked in Brazil.

In the coda of this narrative unit, Lisa starts with the frame switching element so as to explain how her interview happened. She uses the word actually before stating “he went to Hannover (-) and did an interview with me right there at the fair“. The adverb used by Lisa implies that she would expect the fact to be the opposite of that stated. However, the informant seems to demonstrate her need for significance by stressing her accomplishment and also by forcing the interviewer to realize it. The last sentence of this unit is also a kernel sentence which was not expanded upon: “I just got another visa and began my internship there in Bochum at KLS“. It reveals once again an already central biographical process in the life of the incumbent, respec-

tively, an institutional expectation pattern, which can be observed in the typical formulaic verbal expression “I began my internship”.

15. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 996 – 1010)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is asked whether KLS in Germany acknowledged her qualification. The question was posed with the purpose of prompting the interviewee to provide further narration on this specific matter. The interviewer aimed at obtaining further aspects regarding the acceptance of IFPA’s certificate in Germany. Equally relevant are any comments made by the informant regarding the importance IFPA had on the process of obtaining an internship at KLS in Bochum, Germany.

Lisa begins her reply with an argumentative detailing arguing her CV explicitly revealed she had already done an internship at KLS in Brazil. The informant continues her rationalization stating “I just wanted a three month internship“. In other words, Lisa believes she obtained the internship mainly due to its short duration and her previous experience at the same company in South America. She once again does not directly relate it to her dual system apprenticeship, as the genesis for this opportunity.

The following passage entails an evaluative passage that serves as guidance for the following narrative description: “I can’t say they had me do a lot of things while I was there (,) it wasn’t too much of an advantage for them (,)”. The informant assumes it was not a beneficial situation because the company did not give her relevant tasks. The informant justifies this opportunity by arguing it was merely goodwill shown by one important event carrier in her biography, the manager at KLS in Bochum, as in: “it was more about this man who wanted to help me /ehm/ he wanted to help me getting this internship“. All in all, this period of time once again clearly reinforces the institutional expectation pattern the informant was undergoing. Moreover, it was a period of time the informant had finally achieved a balance in her biography and that entire time of distress she had to undergo while attending IFPA were over, as in: “It was really nice (-) everything kind of fit together, you know“. The informant is unconsciously also saying she found herself in a situation where conditions were favorable regarding her professional plans and her own inner development. The informant was not working as

a secretary, she had the opportunity to work abroad and practice the language she constantly complained about having a command limitation, she was attending university, and the company that once dismissed her was finally acknowledging her competence and giving her an internship opportunity in Germany. Lisa was finally experiencing favorable circumstances and the days of her trajectories of suffering due to an interlink, father's unemployment, the temporary loss of contact with her biographically important boyfriend, her feeling of not belonging, among other difficulties, at IFPA, and her social frame shock due to exposure to a recurrent event carrier, the bus, as a public means of transportation, seemed to be over.

16. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 1011 – 1032)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is asked whether questions about her IFPA dual system apprenticeship were posed during her interview for the internship position at KLS in Germany. Lisa's reply is negative and apparently unimportant because it has already faded out her memory, as in "I don't remember". Lisa once again attempts to rationalize her assumption, that it was done based on helpfulness, by stating her situation mirrored the manager's. In addition the informant believes he "had sympathy for Brazil". The informant further tries to justify her supposition in the following narrative detailing. Lisa reveals she shared moments of socialization with the manager outside KLS, as in: "he even invited to come visit him and his family on a weekend". The informant continues her argumentation regarding the manager's sympathy for Brazil, and mentions his daughter was born there and, as the entire family lived there too, they all spoke Portuguese. Clearly, this manager, as a human event carrier, played a significant role in the professional course of the informant. Lisa also recognizes it, as in "I believe I was just very :lucky:". However, the informant still does not relate it to the dual system apprenticeship she underwent, and she does not plainly mention being qualified for such an opportunity.

The coda of this unit is rather reflective. Lisa evaluates the outcomes of her efforts to find an internship in Germany after Expo in Hannover. Her institutional expectation pattern process was accomplished, and the help of an event carrier was especially decisive. The informant assesses this process positively, as in: "in the end everything went well". Lisa justifies this higher predicate by implicitly saying it was the starting points of a professional reencounter

with the company, and a few months later, she would go back to Brazil to work for KLS in Sao Paolo.

17. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 1033 – 1058)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is inquired to disclose additional narrative about the tertiary education she was acquiring at the time. The interviewer attempted to obtain supplementary details regarding her choice, type of institution and how this period of time was experienced by the informant. The interviewee commences her reply with an extremely crucial piece of information, here presented in a kernel sentence: “I /ehm/ first time I did an entrance examination: (-) I was trying to get into veterinarian school (') it was shortly before I got into IFPA, in fact . This was not mentioned by the informant in her first main narrative part of the interview. Lisa had apparently an absolutely different target in her institutional expectation pattern biographical process. She attempted to pass the entrance examination⁷⁶ to study a major which is completely unrelated to her current occupation. Lisa continues her narrative detailing stating she did not pass the entrance examination and, therefore, couldn't start studying veterinary medicine. Lisa also reveals she took the university entrance examination and IFPA's admission test concomitantly, and she only decided to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship after receiving the negative results concerning her university entrance examination. As a result it is clear that IFPA was not the incumbent's first choice to follow her institutional expectation pattern. The informant tried to take a different educational path. However, an institutional condition impeded her from shaping this biographical process according to her primary desire. IFPA's apprenticeship was a second option used by the informant as to realize her desire to return to Sao Paolo and end her temporarily loss of biographically important individuals, namely, her boyfriend and possibly peers.

In the following passage Lisa makes an argumentative commentary in order to rationalize her future decision to major in international trade, which is visibly unrelated to her primary desire to major in veterinary medicine. She explicates “after I finished IFPA [...] I realized it had

⁷⁶ It is a competitive examination and is the primary and widespread entrance system used by Brazilian public as well as private universities to select their students. The exams often span several days, usually two, with different disciplines being tested each day. It was implanted primarily as a way to prevent nepotism or some other form of unfair or beneficial selection of candidates.

nothing to do with me [...] I realized that my area would be international trade“. Lisa justifies her inner change by stating it could provide her with further career possibilities and that she could grow professionally in the area. It demonstrates the importance IFPA had on her future educational and professional career attainments. The informant utterly changed her occupational aspiration due to the experience made while attending her dual system apprenticeship.

The next kernel sentence is “I did the entrance examination only at UNIP“. It is a private university located in Sao Paolo. In 2009, the university had nearly two hundred thousand enrolled students; see UNIP (2012). Lisa continues her narrative mentioning she only took this university’s entrance examination and started studying in 1998. Lisa reveals she had just finished IFPA’s apprenticeship when she took the entrance exam. She feared having her goal of accessing tertiary education being once again impeded due to an institutional condition, as in: “I did the examination, but I didn’t assume anything (-) I didn’t think I’d pass“. Yet, the informant passed the entrance examination and started majoring in international trade at this university. It is, however, important to mention that UNIP isn’t among the 100 best universities in Brazil.

18. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 1058 – 1113)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is inquired to disclose additional narrative about the entrance examination taken as to access university to major in veterinary medicine.

Lisa begins her answer affirming she attempted to pass two entrance examinations, firstly at USP⁷⁷ and then at UNICAMP⁷⁸. In the following descriptive narrative she tries to explain these institutions are public and belong to the state of Sao Paolo. The following is a kernel sentence “I didn’t pass the entrance examinations“. It is attached to a brief argumentative narrative detailing saying it was the motive that made her give up her objective of majoring in veterinary medicine. It is, however, relevant to state that USP and UNICAMP are, respective-

⁷⁷ It is a public university in the Brazilian state of São Paulo. It is the largest Brazilian university and the country's most prestigious educational institution. According to reports by the Ministry of Science and Technology, more than 25% of the articles published by Brazilian researchers in high quality conferences and journals are produced at the University of São Paulo, see ANPEI (2008).

⁷⁸ It is a public university in the state of São Paulo, Brazil. Unicamp is responsible for around 15% of all Brazilian research and has 53.6% of its students at the graduate level, see ANPEI (2008).

ly, first and third top universities in Brazil, and its entrance examinations have a fierce competition. Veterinary medicine at USP University had in 2012 more than twenty candidates per vacancy; see FUVEST (2012). The interesting aspect regarding Lisa's rendering, though, is that UNICAMP does not offer the course of veterinary medicine. Perhaps she attempted to study general medicine at this university. In this case, competition would have been even more severe, for this course had in 2012, for instance, more than 110 candidates per vacancy.

It is remarkable in the next passage how the informant attempts to wipe out her memories regarding the entrance examinations at these two public universities. After a three-second pause, Lisa abruptly interrupts the flow of her narration and does not provide any additional details. It was already a "gap" left in her main narration, and it was only superficially and most likely difficultly mentioned in this questioning phase of the interview. The informant seems to be ashamed of the situation and immediately starts narrating about different, unrelated matters, which were not asked in the question posed by the interviewer. Schütze (2008) explains these precarious experiences are still left on the dominant story line as traces in the form of vague, indirect or symptomatic markers, since the permanent mechanism of grading the biographical relevancies exerts its epistemic power, and its permanent working even shows on the surface level of the dominant presentation line of autobiographical story telling. It is also true in Lisa's biography for she at different times displayed a fear of failing as well as her vague attempt to justify veterinary medicine was not the most appropriate course for her.

Hence, Lisa fades out her awareness and begins an unrelated descriptive narrative about her work at Expo in Hannover, Germany. The "gap" left between her first answer to the interviewer's question and her further narrative detailing is enormous, and only reinforces how painful and shameful this experience was for the informant. Nevertheless, the informant uses the kernel sentence "I was selected by AHK to go to Germany". The following is once again a complete narrative description of her selection process to represent AHK in Germany and her desire to stay longer in Germany after the end of Expo Fair in Hannover. This narrative was already done in a very similar manner, and is explored in this structural description in narrative unit number eight of the main narration part of the interview.

19. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 1114 – 1152)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is prompted to extra narration on the period of time her parents went to visit her in Germany. This period corresponded between the end of Expo Fair in Hannover and the beginning of her internship at KLS in Bochum.

The informant begins her answer with the kernel sentence “as a matter of fact, my father was already thinking that I’d stay in Germany forever“. The following is an argumentative detailing used by the incumbent to justify her parents visit. Lisa explains she ended up staying substantially longer than initially planned. The informant explicates she had to call her parents as to inform them about her decision to stay longer in Germany and that it prompted them to go visit her, as in: “then they book the flight, they decided to go on this trip“. It is attached by a background construction that hadn’t been mentioned in the informant’s biographical rendering yet, more specifically, her parents’ divorce. Lisa uses a kernel sentence as an introduction for the justification of a second reason for their trip to Germany: “my parents were getting divorced“. The following passage is a validation of their need for such a trip. Lisa explains it was a way to escape from their turbulent daily life in Brazil, and an experience of relief for the following period: “difficult moment they were going through“. The informant also reveals in her narrative detailing she only became knowledgeable about the situation once they told her upon their arrival in Germany. This passage is followed by a brief narrative description detailing the emotional conditions of both her parents. Lisa states her mother was undergoing suffering and suffered from depression. Lisa does not provide any clear emotional description regarding her father, but it can be argued her mother was the one under bigger emotional distress. The informant also states their decision to get divorced was made while she was in Germany, and implicitly in a reflective passage, Lisa laments not being close to her parents to assist them at that time or even help avoid such a turnout of events, as in: “I guess I somehow just wasn’t there /ehm/ and I simply didn’t go through this experience with them (,)“. Lisa ends her narrative on the matter saying they handled the situation well, but she does not plainly narrate about any impacts it had on her own biography. The following sentences of Lisa’s answer focus on the current description of her parents’ relationship to each other. Lisa describes it as harmonious and that they still have contact whenever her father comes to visit them.

This last passage is followed by further descriptive detailing; once again reinforcing that her parents' divorce occurred while she wasn't present. Yet, she does not further comment on the issue and fades out slowly, finishing her answer in a vague manner only stating: "everything went well".

20. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 1153 – 1191)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is inquired to present additional narration on the period she returned to KLS in Brazil to work as a secretary.

Lisa begins her reply with the following kernel sentence "when I was doing an internship at KLS in Bochum [...] my mom called me and said someone from KLS here in Brazil is looking for you". It is attached to a narrative detailing used by the informant to stress she was doing an internship at the same company in Germany at the time. It is followed by a vague higher predicate, respectively, "it was a coincidence". Lisa explicates her vague assumption stating the company in Brazil did not know she was working at KLS in Germany. The next passage is a clear narrative detailing containing a full narrative of all the events involved in the process of getting in contact with KLS in Brazil as well as the negotiation to begin working for them once again. Lisa once again mentions Mr. Wilson, an already previously cited event carrier in her biography. The informant states he was the manager she would be a secretary for at the company in Brazil. Lisa tries to rationalize this job offer by saying she had already had some experience in the department (relating it to her IFPA apprenticeship, even though she does not clearly say it), and also due to the fact that Mr. Wilson helped her obtain this temporary job; she only replaced their permanent secretary who was on maternity leave. Lisa ends her argumentative commentary used to justify the reasons for KLS Brazil to have contacted her arguing: "And also because I think that what I told them on the phone, sounded just great (-) that I was doing an internship in Germany". Implicitly, the informant could be stating it was an opportunity for the company that once dismissed her. It was a chance to realize she was qualified and able to achieve professional goals.

The next passage summarizes this narrative unit. Lisa says that receiving a phone call and a job offer from KLS Brazil caused a sentiment that is still difficult for her to describe, as in “I think I don’t know (,) but I think it boosted a little to my morale“. This episode in the life of the incumbent was crucial for the development of her personality for it surely improved her confidence, discipline in her career path, and willingness to perform her assigned tasks. After undergoing a considerable amount of distress during her apprenticeship and not being hired upon graduation, she might have felt insecure, in doubt about her qualification, choices, capability as well as performance. It appears a biographical gap was closed once KLS contacted the informant offering her a job. The sum of working for the same company abroad and the recognition of her competence were the summit Lisa had to reach as to fully understand she definitely could achieve the goals established in her institutional expectation process, namely, pursuing a professional career.

The coda of this narrative unit is used by the informant to return to her narrative detailing. Lisa reveals she began working for KLS in Brazil only a few days after her arrival from Germany.

21. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 1192 – 1254)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is asked to present additional narration on her sister. The interviewer requests for clarification about her sister’s education and current occupation. The informant begins stating that her sister did not attend IFPA School, and confirms she studied at Porto Seguro, too. The following is a descriptive narrative about her sister. The interviewee explains her sister started majoring in tourism at PUC University⁷⁹ upon graduation from high school. Right after college graduation, her sister worked for different hotels and, later, moved to New Zealand.

The following narrative detailing contains an important commentary made by the informant. Lisa’s sister, after working in the tourism field for a while, wanted to change her professional

⁷⁹ The Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo (Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo, often abbreviated as PUC-SP) and popular known as simply PUC or the Catholic University (Universidade Católica) is a private and non-profit Catholic university. It is one of the largest and most prestigious Brazilian universities; see PUC (2013)

occupation. The informant made the following commentary about her sister's desire: "but that's what she chose, that's what she studied (((laughs)))". Lisa is perhaps unconsciously relating it to her own experience. She had to overcome very difficult barriers and trajectories to change the course of her profession from being a secretary to becoming a manager.

The informant continues her narrative, detailing about her sister saying she eventually found work at a restaurant and later at MGM. She worked with contracts made in the USA and, according to Lisa, was hired due to her language skills. Yet, she was not satisfied and still wanted to obtain better employment. The following passage is a scene of biographical importance, and the informant vividly remembers the words she told her sister at that time, as in: "'why don't you try to get a job in logistics" you know (?)". Then the interviewee rationalizes her suggestion and affirms her sister's English skills would be an asset in the field of logistics. Her sister decided then to undergo vocational training as to obtain qualification to enter the labor market in the field of logistics. Firstly, the interviewee describes this modality as: "then she took an international trade course, a fast course (,) a technical course (,) it was fast (') (-) I don't know how it was exactly". Lisa even describes it as: "she had some sort of qualification in logistics". It demonstrates the informant assumes this educational modality is not highly acknowledged or accepted, even because she believes higher education is necessary, as already previously observed in her narrative. This passage also shows the biographical influence the informant had on her sister's life through a sibling socialization process.

The next passage is a description of her sister's professional attainments in the field of logistics. Lisa reveals her sister has been actively working in this field and that it is her current professional occupation. The end of Lisa's reply contains another important commentary regarding her sister's education and the informant's perception of it, as in: "but she didn't major in logistics or international trade (') but she works with logistics now too". It demonstrates Lisa does believe tertiary education is more important than vocational training and that, despite her sister's insufficient qualification, she is also working in the same area she does.

Questioning Part II

1. Question I (transcription: Lines 1255 - 1280)

In this question Lisa is asked whether she used or had access to any sort of information about IFPA School prior to her verdict to undergo its dual system vocational training. Lisa's reply is negative. However, in the sequence of her answer she uses a kernel sentence to begin a narrative detailing: "I already knew a bit because I attended a German school". It is followed by an argumentative narrative detailing used by the informant to justify the exposure she had to different educational paths she could have followed after high school graduation. As the informant attended a German school, Porto Seguro School, she also had the opportunity to attend an introductory presentation delivered by IFPA School at Porto Seguro School. In the following passage Lisa states: "and I was wondering about what I was going to do:". It can be observed the informant went through a period of indecision in the choice of her educational path. Nonetheless, she opted to attend IFPA School. What is more Lisa also disclose the principal of Porto Seguro School had already worked at IFPA School and was, therefore, a source of information for the students of the informant's high school. The incumbent says she was acquainted with the school and its education quality. It also demonstrates the influence her school, as an educational institution, had on her decision to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship in Sao Paolo. Lisa was exposed to two important sources of information and impulse, respectively, the principal of her school and the propaganda made by this individual at the Porto Seguro School, as well as the active advertising made by the vocational school at this German high school through on-site presentations.

The following passage is a reflective evaluation of the informant's familiarity with IFPA's apprenticeship prior to her conclusion to undergo their vocational system program. Lisa argued she was not truly acquainted with particulars about IFPA, and that it was not tertiary education. Lisa refers to IFPA's apprenticeship as a vocational training program and makes it very clear it is not equivalent to a university degree. In other words, compared to university education, the informant considers it to be a substandard educational modality.

The next passage begins with an argumentative commentary used by the informant to legitimize the fact that she knew about the existence of IFPA. Lisa begins her justification by stating: “because here in Brazil we don’t have this (,) it is only in Germany that they have this *Berufsschule*“. The informant attempts to argue this educational modality does not exist in Brazil. Yet, secondary vocational training has existed in Brazil for several years. It seems the incumbent did not have access or simply was never exposed to this kind of information. Lisa continues her justification by stating: “here in Brazil, we have technical courses and all (!) but the technical courses are done together with high school (,) that’s what we have”. Once again the informant demonstrates not to be acquainted with the vocational system structure in Brazil. Brazil offers secondary VET in three different modalities, already presented and discussed in chapter 3, being one of them the post-secondary level VET, namely, IFPA’s case. The only crucial dissimilarity between IFPA and other regular secondary-level VET schools in Brazil is the dual system characteristic, in which the apprentices acquire theoretical knowledge at the vocational school, and practical knowledge in the company. However, this difference was not pointed out by the informant in her legitimization.

Lisa ends her rationalization stating: “it's really something that only who understands about Germans schools know“. The informant assumes she only knew about IFPA’s apprenticeship as she attended a German high school. The last passage of this passage entails a further kernel sentence related to her narrative about the vocational school, “I could not imagine how the admission test would be”. It is immediately followed by a typical formulaic verbal expression indicating an institutional expectation pattern, as in “I just went there and did it [...] and it worked (,)”.

2. Question II (transcription: Lines 1281 - 1298)

In this question Lisa is asked whether she assumes someone influenced her decision to undergo IFPA’s dual apprenticeship in Sao Paolo. Lisa begins her argumentative narrative detailing summarizing key facts regarding her choice. She mentioned once again the effective relationship she had at the time and her desire to return to Sao Paolo as to continue it, for it was interrupted due to her family’s moving to the countryside. Lisa further explains she was seeking an educational program, be it tertiary or secondary, which could serve as a solution for her to

return to the capital. This emotional relationship disruption played a very important role in Lisa's biography. Moreover, moving to the countryside with her family, a fact that had its genesis in a financial crisis that culminated in her father's unemployment and consequent financial incapability to continue living in Sao Paulo, might have been a problematic experience for the informant in a family-related context. Once the family's moving to Silver Bay was precipitated by a tough financial problem, one can argue the whole family underwent a situation of distress. Hence, Lisa was faced with different conditions which appealed to her immediate return to Sao Paulo, namely, the probable stressful home environment, the disrupted affective relationship, the loss of peers, and the entire process of re-adaptation to two different social frames, her new school and the new location itself.

In the following part of her argumentative detailing, Lisa refers to an institutional barrier that hindered her following her first established goal to return to Sao Paulo and sit the university entrance examination. Once she failed the examination, she was compelled to find another path to accomplish her goal. Thus, IFPA became a feasible option, because the informant was already slightly acquainted with the school's VET program. Lisa ends her rationalization by saying: "I thought I'd try IFPA then (,) at least then I would go back to Sao Paulo". The expression used by the informant at least seems to demonstrate it was not her ideal choice, but rather a last resort. Interestingly, the incumbent did not embark on an institutional expectation pattern exclusively with the purpose of following up institutionally shaped and normatively defined courses of life. Lisa's measure was an attempt to escape a trajectory of suffering she was forced into, regardless of her personal desire. In other words one can observe a clear biographical action scheme, which eclipsed with the informant's decision to commence an experience characterized by an institutionally shaped and normatively defined course of life. One can also argue the informant faced an effort justification paradigm, which arises whenever individuals voluntarily engage in an unpleasant activity to achieve some desired goal.

The next important kernel sentence in Lisa's reply is "my parents :supported: me". The informant encountered parental support and encouragement in her decision, and justifies it by stating they approved of the fact Lisa would attend a dual system apprenticeship. It represented a financial relief for the family and a solution for the ceasing of Lisa's anguish. Lisa unconsciously reveals the significance her parents' support had as a condition in her choice. The

informant ends this passage about her parent support by arguing: “then I thought ok let’s do this“. Lisa proceeds with her argumentative narrative though, and shows the particular influence her father had in this decision making process. As he had already had a positive experience working for a multinational, he ended up influencing Lisa to follow his professional footsteps. Lisa, on the other hand, might have felt secure about her decision for she counted on a role model who could give her needed guidance, and perhaps even provide connections. It may have been an important condition for Lisa’s apparently close relationship to her father. The informant seems to have a father as a clear role model regarding professional career matters. The next clear condition presented by the informant to enter IFPA School is the opportunity to enter the labor market at an early age, as in: “I had the chance to enter the labor market at the age of seventeen or eighteen“. Moreover, Lisa was convinced that the possibility to work for a multinational company was an asset offered by the dual system apprenticeship.

Lisa concludes her response reinforcing her decision to embark on an institution expectation pattern biographical process, which can be inferred in the utterance: “all right, ok, let's start doing it then (-) let’s see if I like or not“. The last sentence of this reply is an evaluative, reflective clarification used by the informant to articulate that this experience was successfully endured, and that, despite the trajectories of suffering she underwent, the outcomes regarding her institutionally shaped and normatively defined course of life were fruitful.

3. Question III (transcription: Lines 1299 - 1308)

In this question Lisa is asked whether she considered following other educational paths than IFPA, especially other vocational training schools with the purpose of undergoing secondary level vocational training. Lisa’s reply commences with the statement “I don’t remember if said something about it“. Implicitly she meant to convey she definitely did not think about other possibilities, which is confirmed by her in the following passage of her response, as in: “No (,) I did not“. Nevertheless, Lisa’s reply does not entail the fact that she did have another option in mind. Her primary alternative was to enter a higher education institution with the purpose of majoring in veterinary medicine. Once again the informant steers clear of this delicate topic in her biography that to a certain extent contributed to an undesired adjustment of

the path she would have to follow to initiate her institutional expectation process, more specifically, obtaining qualification to enter the labor market and follow a professional career.

4. Question IV (transcription: Lines 1309 - 1316)

In this question Lisa is asked about the possibility of undergoing secondary level vocational training in an integrated or concomitant modality. The interviewer aimed at gaining further understanding of the secondary level VET options taken into consideration by the informant. The informant's reply begins with "we had the chance (-) to do this technical type of high school [...] but I didn't want to do it, I didn't choose to do this". Lisa reveals she had the opportunity to attend a secondary level VET course, which comprised regular high school education and vocational training under a single curriculum. The central aspect is that the informant had already been exposed to, at least, one additional option to undergo vocational training, but she opted not to follow this educational path. Lisa had the opportunity to graduate from a teaching secondary level VET course. It was an option for individuals attending high school education prior to 1996, when the reformulation of the educational regulation in Brazil was modified; please refer to chapter about the structure of VET in Brazil.

5. Question V (transcription: Lines 1317 - 1328)

In this question Lisa is directly inquired about her perception of the office clerk apprenticeship she underwent at IFPA School in Sao Paolo. In addition, the informant was asked for extra argumentation on the correlation between her socioeconomic profile and the vocational educational path she chose to follow. Lisa's reply is used to categorically deny her desire to follow a career in the field of her vocational training, as in: "I didn't do it because it was an office clerk course". She uses an argumentative narrative detailing to rationalize that she absolutely did not undergo this secondary level VET with the intention of becoming a secretary. In the following, Lisa makes a reflective commentary affirming she provisionally appreciated the experience of working as a secretary, but it apparently served as a tool used to achieve other career goals, and this tool was abandoned as soon as it reached the informant's aimed educational as well as professional ambitions.

The following passage of the informant's response is an argumentative commentary made within her social context about the profession she was acquiring in her secondary level vocational training at IFPA. Lisa explains she was probably asked about and even criticized for her decision. The informant argues individuals that belonged to her social frame context perceived the profession as a line of work filled with unfulfilling tasks, as an occupation that did not fit with the expectations placed upon her by the individuals socializing with her. Lisa clearly shows traits that indicate she experienced a cognitive dissonance process while undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship program, as in: "I didn't really care" and "I didn't worry about it". One can observe there was an effort justification paradigm in Lisa's inner development. The informant was compelled to follow this path to achieve her goal to return to Sao Paolo. As a matter of fact, she attempted to access tertiary education to become a veterinarian, but was impeded by an institutional barrier. It serves as evidence to demonstrate the informant believed this was not the ideal option, but as she clearly mentioned in a previous narrative unit: "at least then I would go back to Sao Paolo". Lisa's option came with a price for her decision which was inconsistent with her own discernment about the ideal educational path to be followed for an individual coming from her socioeconomic context, as well as with the perception the actors that belonged to her immediate social frame had of her vocational training. Thus, the incumbent had to suppress these judgments and add more consonant beliefs that outweighed the dissonant beliefs. This assumption is confirmed by the informant in her argumentative commentary: "I just wanted to do the course to continue, to go on learning German". Lisa's social identity development was certainly put to a test during this biographical experience, and she certainly had to defend and show commitment to her belief in several different situations of socialization during that period.

6. Question VI (transcription: Lines 1329 - 1344)

In this question Lisa is requested to provide further argumentative detailing on her decision to access tertiary education after having finished IFPA's apprenticeship. In other words, the interviewer aimed at identifying the motives that led her to look for further qualification. Lisa's reply begins with a rationalization used by the informant to justify her access to university. She states "because only this IFPA course (ˆ) it is only recognized by some companies (-) by German companies (,) but it does not replace a college degree". It is an important assumption

made by the incumbent for it reveals the perception the informant has of IFPA's apprenticeship representativeness in the Brazilian labor market. It appears the informant is implicitly trying to convey Brazilian companies are not familiar with IFPA's dual system course, and they assign more value to a higher education degree.

The following passage is a further justification containing additional motives that led Lisa to look for further qualification. Lisa states: "I always had this in mind", which only underpins the assumption that IFPA's apprenticeship was merely a second choice. Lisa's next assessment is: "I need to go to college (-) I need to have a diploma in my :curriculum:". The informant expresses her motives by using the term need twice in a sequence. Lisa assumes she necessitated a tertiary education degree. Although it was not clearly said by the informant, Lisa probably wanted to comply with the requirements the labor market had in Brazil. She was compelled to obtain a higher education degree in order to access the labor market and start working for a Brazilian company.

She further rationalizes her motives by arguing: "everybody was going to college". The informant, through a self-theoretical commentary, is very likely referring to the individuals that surrounded her in her social frame at the time. She further states: "everyone does it right after high school . Lisa's statement is not absolutely wrong. She attended one of the best private schools in Sao Paulo and the vast majority of its students tend to enroll in higher education institutions and not in secondary level vocational training (please refer to chapter 3, profile of secondary level VET students in Brazil). To name a clear example, at Unicamp (one of the universities where the informant didn't pass her entrance examination) less than 25% of all candidates had attended a public school during their entire high school education; see UPA (2013). This scenario has been changing, though, through the new implemented quota system in Brazil (please refer to initial chapters).

Lisa continues her rationalization by saying she was an exception in her social frame context, as in: "I didn't go this normal path Brazilian students normally go". Lisa is also implicitly talking about the choice made by individuals who belong to a similar socioeconomic profile, individuals who attended a German private elite school such as Porto Seguro School, and whose parents live in wealthier neighborhoods in Sao Paulo. The informant continues to ra-

tionalize her choice, regarding university access, affirming IFPA is simply not provide you with a tertiary education degree. This assumption is attached to an evaluative sentence used by the informant to express her perception of IFPA's apprenticeship certificate value. She affirms: "it was just a plus (,) (-) but it does not replace college". This vague higher predicate used by the incumbent is an attempt to convey it was seen as additional but not definitive qualification. Lisa also argues her employment at the time triggered her interest in obtaining further qualification with the purpose of climbing the career ladder within that enterprise, as in: "I thought an international trade course would give me good chances to really get into a :company: (-) and /mhm/ it'd be easier to enter the labor market".

7. Question VII (transcription: Lines 1345 - 1352)

In this question Lisa is asked about what she would probably have done in case she hadn't gone back to Sao Paulo to begin IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. The informant replies the question saying: "maybe I'd have done a prep year for the entrance exams". She rationalizes her statement arguing she had already taken the entrance examination twice and that she would almost certainly continue to prepare for the examination in order to access tertiary education. Lisa makes a reflective commentary in the following passage stating at that time her goal was to pass the entrance examination, a fact which did not happen. Lastly, the informant states: "I wanted to study veterinary medicine, that's what I had in mind (((laughs))) (-) nothing to do with me, right (?)". It is also marker indicating a cognitive dissonance process, which is still present in the informant's inner development. Lisa has been trying to resolve this dissonance between her action and belief by simply changing her beliefs. Thus, she assumes, and even requests for agreement, veterinary medicine is not the most appropriate course for her.

8. Question VIII (transcription: Lines 1353 - 1400)

In this question Lisa is required to make a comparison between her parents' educational and professional achievements and her own achievements. The interviewer aimed at comprehending the extension of the influence her parents had on her decision regarding both aspects. Lisa begins her reply with the kernel sentence "professionally, I can only relate to my father". It is

followed by an argumentative narrative detailing explaining the motives for the similarity seen by the informant between herself and her father. She argues her father has also worked for a multinational company and also has some English language command. Her mother, on the other hand, is described by the informant as a low-achiever to a certain extent. The following is an argumentative commentary as to justify the current importance of speaking a foreign language when attempting to enter the labor market. Lisa goes on by stating: “it’s difficult to talk about this”. It is also clear Lisa is not accustomed to do biographical work.

The following passage entails a higher predicate: “but I’m on my way to big things (-) I think“. This higher predicate also supports the assumption that Lisa will very likely continue following her current dominant biographical process. The informant is absolutely determined professionally, and will most likely proceed with her institutional expectation pattern.

Lisa carries on with her reply stating: “at my age, my father was already providing for an entire family“. The incumbent makes a comparative analysis and argues she still wishes to accomplish other objectives. She proceeds with the kernel sentence: “I still live with my mother“. She explicates it by saying she does not have the similar financial means as her parents’, and is not able to financially afford providing for an entire family the way her father did. This passage is followed by a self-theoretical commentary: “but the world is different nowadays, we live in a different time now (,) Today I don’t even think about having three children (,) (-) I’ll have maximum one“. The informant’s commentary assists validating the postulation that Lisa will in all probability follow an institutional expectation pattern process. However, it seems the informant will focus substantially less on the foundation of her own family. Lisa is driven and appears to be on a search for further career growth within the labor market.

The following is a justification to her self-theoretical commentary above. Lisa affirms it is very expensive to raise a child. Yet one can see how Lisa will reproduce the options her parents’ made regarding their children’s education. The following is another self-theoretical commentary made by the incumbent. Lisa explains a modern woman is not a housewife any longer for both spouses need to work in order to keep a certain standard of living. Lisa once again makes reference to her mother and she seems to disapprove of her course of life, becoming a housewife after the children were born. Lisa criticizes this fact very openly as a mat-

ter of fact, as in: “this time in which a mother could be a full-time mother is simply over (-) like my mother was (,) :today: it’s no longer an option“. Lisa is also making reference to an occurrence that has been increasingly developing in Brazil as a whole. IBGE (2012) published that women are studying longer and more frequently seeking for further qualification in Brazil. In addition, there is a constant increase of female workforce in the Brazilian labor market. These last data published in 2012 also pointed out that Brazilian women are having children at a much older age than a decade ago and are, therefore, prioritizing entering the labor market and obtaining further education.

Lisa continues her self-theoretical commentaries and states: “we also see things differently now (') because we got used to having a little better standard of living“. The informant explicates she is currently building a house, apparently a modern, luxury one. She states: “we don’t want to start small“. This last self-theoretical commentary is certainly part of the personality development lived by the informant throughout her biography. Lisa has always achieved at higher levels in her professional and educational development, and it is plausible she aims at her private life goals using the same criteria. The informant is very ambitious and goal-oriented. Apparently, living with her mother is not exactly her desired objective. However it is not the first time in the informant’s biography she had to endure an effort justification paradigm. In other words, Lisa once more voluntarily engages in an unlikable activity to achieve a certain desired goal.

9. Question IX (transcription: Lines 1401 - 1411)

In this question Lisa is required to argumentatively narrate about her choice regarding IFPA’s apprenticeship. The interviewer asks the informant whether she perceives her choice as a more ambitious alternative in comparison with the majority of the individuals seeking professional qualification in Brazil. The informant replies in a reflective argument that she was not aware of the impact IFPA would have on her professional career. The following is a clear reflective assessment of her decision to undergo IFPA, as in: “today I can see that it was essential for me to be where I am today [...] if I hadn’t studied at IFPA, I wouldn’t be here today“. Lisa rationalizes that IFPA was the institution responsible for providing her the opportunity to enter the labor market to work for a German multinational company. Lisa is certain

that her apprenticeship was the genesis for the subsequent career accomplishments achieved in her biography.

In the last passage of her response, Lisa once again emphasizes she was not aware of the consequences IFPA's educational modality would have on her biography, as in: "at that time I didn't know the significance IFPA had (.) (2) so, no, I wasn't very ambitious (.) but now I see that this decision has made all the difference". This last reflective passage plainly demonstrates the influence IFPA's apprenticeship had on the development of Lisa's identity. It was certainly a crucial condition that helped triggering the significance assigned by the informant to the establishment of a successful career and the exacerbated focus on an institutional expectation pattern. It is notorious the speed in Lisa's objectives in her biography before accessing IFPA she focused on caring and further conducting an emotional relationship, whereas after IFPA professional development was the core objective in her biography.

10. Question X (transcription: Lines 1412 - 1425)

In this question Lisa is required to argumentatively narrate about the reputation of IFPA School. The question was posed in a manner that demanded the informant answer in a reflective argumentative detailing. The informant's first utterance comes in a form of a vague high-level predicate, as in: "it is very good". The following is a justification made by the informant through a comparison between the former and the current location of the school. Lisa explicates the school moved to a bigger building in another neighborhood of Sao Paulo. Afterwards, the informant makes an interesting commentary: "I only went to Interlagos once, when my sister did IFPA admission test". Even though Lisa's sister did not undergo the apprenticeship at IFPA, she took the admission test and was about to follow in her sister's footsteps. The informant does not further disclose and cannot remember the motives that led her sister to abandon the idea of attending IFPA's apprenticeship.

The following kernel sentence relates to the day Lisa accompanied her sister to the admission test at IFPA, in its new location in Interlagos District, as in "I went there to see the school". It is attached to an argumentative detailing used by the informant to explicate the school was

bigger, and she assumes the courses offered by the school might have been further developed and that there are more candidates interested in the school's dual system apprenticeship now.

The last passage is a clear answer to the question posed by the informant. Lisa states "I believe it does have a good reputation". However, she rationalizes her positive perception of the school's status stating the school is only known by individuals in direct contact with German primary and/or secondary schools in Brazil.

11. Question XI (transcription: Lines 1426 - 1446)

In this question Lisa is required to argumentatively further explicate her perception of the school's apprenticeship modality in general. The informant begins listing the strengths perceived by her in IFPA's apprenticeship modality. Lisa explicates the dual system VET modality has two different important aspects, namely, the possibility of obtaining a profession, and the opportunity to immediately start working at a company. Lisa uses a higher predicate to describe her perception of this aspect, as can be seen in: "this is fantastic". The informant also makes a self-theoretical commentary stating this secondary level dual system modality should be disseminated in Brazil, independent from the German context. The following passage is again very crucial for it regards the perception of the informant of IFPA's apprenticeship in comparison to other regular secondary level VET offer in Brazil. Lisa rationalizes that Brazil does not have secondary level dual system apprenticeships the way it is offered by IFPA. Moreover, she refers to secondary level VET in Brazil in a tone of degradation. Lisa can't even recall the name of the institutions offering VET in Brazil. In the following self-theoretical assumption, the informant associates these institutions, such as SESI and SESC (please refer to chapter 3 to gain further knowledge about these institutions), as educational establishments for individuals who couldn't afford to attend a private elementary and high school. She argues these institutions are attended by those coming from public schools, and that the individuals who attended private schools, access university after graduating from high school. Lisa further explicates her self-theory by stating that the socioeconomically privileged individuals enter university and only start working upon graduation, whereas socioeconomic underprivileged individuals look for VET institutions, such as the ones above-mentioned by

the informant, with the purpose of obtaining some sort of qualification to enter the labor market as soon as possible.

Nevertheless, Lisa also perceives it as a disadvantage. She states IFPA gives you the opportunity to access the labor market immediately, at an early age, and not only after graduating from university. Yet, Lisa seems to deny the fact that IFPA is an institution providing vocational education and training too. It seems the informant attempts to diminish any cognitive inconsistency. Lisa rationalizes her actions and perception and clearly points out only the positive aspects of the educational modality she underwent. On the one hand the informant does believe VET institutions in Brazil are aimed at the socioeconomic underprivileged. On the other hand, she attended the same educational modality, even though she does not belong to such a social class. Thus, Lisa seems to have become sensitive to inconsistencies between her actions and belief. Therefore, she has a clear tendency to portray it positively and denies or suppresses any negative aspects related to it.

The last passage is used by the informant to justify there are no disadvantages in the dual system offered by IFPA, and that she has a positive perception and is convinced of its effectiveness.

12. Question XII (transcription: Lines 1447 - 1476)

In this question Lisa is required to argumentatively narrate about her perception of the importance secondary level VET has in the educational path of individuals in Brazil. The informant asks for clarification and once again states “we don’t have it here in Brazil“. Lisa assumes vocational schools in Brazil do not offer this modality of secondary level VET, respectively, subsequent modality. After a short pause, she seems to remember these VET courses do exist in Brazil. However the informant has a mistaken conclusion and believes only universities offer such courses. She clearly mixed secondary and tertiary level vocational education and training.

In the following self-theoretical commentary, which once again overlaps with the informant’s perception of IFPA’s apprenticeship modality, Lisa explicates Brazil should definitely offer

secondary level dual system apprenticeships in order to establish a consistent cooperation with the Brazilian companies to further qualify workforce in the country. Lisa further rationalizes the strengths of IFPA by arguing: “if you do a technical course here (-) the institution, the school does not have this cooperation with a company (-) like IFPA has“. Lisa explicates regular secondary level VET schools in Brazil only demand their apprentices do internships for a determined period of time, and not throughout the course. Lisa uses an example in order to legitimize her assumption. She states KLS regularly employs interns. However, the vast majority are university students or ones who have just graduated from university, and hiring someone attending a secondary level VET course is a rather seldom occurrence. Lisa makes another self-theoretical commentary adding that this path makes it difficult for young people to enter the labor market. Lisa ends her response with a self-theoretical commentary and an argumentative detailing. She states: “I think Brazil could have more programs like IFPA offers (-) but not only with German companies (,)”. She explicates the Brazilian government should adopt the VET modality in its schools and that IFPA is a proposal initiated by a private institution.

13. Question XIII (transcription: Lines 1477 - 1510)

In this question Lisa is required to argumentatively narrate about her perception of IFPA’s apprenticeship and its target students. The informant is asked whether IFPA, being a vocational school, is a clear option for the socioeconomically privileged individuals. Lisa response is positive, as in “Yes (,) IFPA is aimed at middle class individuals“. She legitimizes her assumption by stating IFPA is a school for those who attended private schools prior to their access to IFPA’s apprenticeship. She further justifies her statement by saying: “but the :normal: technical courses like SESI (-) /ehm/ SENAI [...] are courses aimed at a lower class”. Lisa affirms these lower class individuals aim at specializing in a profession, and that they generally look for metallurgy or electrician VET courses in a secondary level integrated modality (please refer to chapter 3 for further information on the different modalities of VET in Brazil). In addition, Lisa justifies they will very likely not access higher education, and in case they do, they will only attend continuing education courses. Lisa summarizes her argumentative detailing in an evaluative statement regarding general secondary level VET in Brazil, as can

be seen in: “this is the type of technical course that exist today in Brazil, they are more for the lower class people (') for young people who didn't have access to a good basic education (-)”.

In the following passage, the informant makes a contrast between her above-mentioned self-theoretical commentary and the dual system apprenticeship done by her at IFPA in Sao Paolo. The incumbent states: “IFPA on the :other: hand, is one level above (,) it's for middle class people (-) people who went to schools like Porto :Seguro: who went to :good: schools“. Lisa plainly believes IFPA is an elite school, as in “the person must come from a :family: with a better financial condition“. What is more, the informant separates general secondary level VET courses and IFPA's dual system apprenticeship according the its apprentices' socioeconomic condition.

Lisa continues her justification in the next argumentative detailing stating socioeconomically privileged individuals like her do not attend regular secondary level VET schools in Brazil as they are aimed at the poor part of the population, at the ones who were compelled to attend public schools during their basic education as they did not have sufficient financial means to attend a private school. Lisa ends her rationalization stating these individuals enter the labor market much earlier than those who come from the upper or middle classes and access university after graduating from a private high school.

14. Question XIV (transcription: Lines 1511 - 1571)

In this question Lisa is asked about her self-theoretical assumption that technical courses are actually aimed at lower-class families. The interviewer questions the informant about her perception of her action, considering she comes from a middle class family (according to the incumbent's narrative) and also underwent secondary level vocational training. The interviewer claims this part remains slightly unclear and demands further argumentative detailing.

The informant commences her reply stating another argumentative commentary, as in: “we don't know it here as a technical course”. Lisa continues her statement with a rationalization, and she makes a comparison between the perception of this educational modality in Germany and Brazil. Lisa uses as an argument, namely, the unpopularity of IFPA School in Brazil and

classifies it as an: “elite school”. She attempts to validate her assessment by saying it is aimed at middle class individuals who attended private, “expensive schools”, which are solely targeted at socioeconomically privileged individuals. Lisa carries on her rationalization uttering: “they don’t know it exists, they don’t know it, they don’t know there is a dual technical course”. Implicitly, the informant is trying to justify that the vast majority of the population does not know the existence of the dual system apprenticeship offered by IFPA in Sao Paolo.

In the following passage, the informant further attempts to justify her actions by continuing her above-mentioned comparison between Germany and Brazil. She affirms that, in Germany, a *Berufsschule* is aimed at those individuals who would like to undergo vocational training, and Abitur is targeted at those who would like to access university. In addition, the incumbent assumes the ones who enter university in Germany are: “the ones who [...] belong to an elite”. It is attention-grabbing the fact that the informant has a rather erroneous discernment regarding the profile of individuals enrolling in tertiary education in Germany. Yet, Lisa uses another self-theoretical commentary and states that, in Brazil, IFPA has a different image. The informant argues: “people don’t think that if you go to a *Berufsschule* you won’t achieve much in life (‘) that you are not able to go to college to study engineering or medicine, etc (,)”. Captivatingly, one can observe the informant does associate undergoing VET with being a low-achiever. Once again it is possible to notice Lisa’s attempt to rationalize her actions, based on even erroneous assumptions, so as to reduce this inconsistency between her action and her beliefs.

The following passage is also of biographical importance for the informant still recalls how often and in which manner she was asked about IFPA and its educational modality. Lisa states that whenever asked about the matter, she replied: “I was doing a vocational course [...] I said it was a technical course. Nevertheless, Lisa argues the individuals who have asked her about her apprenticeship, probably even individuals who belonged to an immediate social frame, were not familiar with the school and its educational modality whatsoever.

In the following part of her rationalization, Lisa assures that “there is nothing like this in Brazil” . Once again she is referring to the secondary level VET in the subsequent modality for she mentions: “between high school and college”. Lisa very likely states subsequent VET

courses do not exist in Brazil due to the fact that she entered IFPA before 1997, year when the VET legislation changed in the country through the Decree 2.208. Secondary level VET became independent from high school education, and began to be offered in three different modalities, namely concomitant, integrated and subsequent (please refer to chapter 3 about the structure of secondary level VET in Brazil). That's the plausible rationale for the informant's unawareness of the existence of other secondary level VET modalities, including IFPA's subsequent one.

Lisa continues with her legitimization of her decision to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship, despite her secondary VET perception, and her socioeconomic profile. She states: "technical course in Brazil is done during high school (,) (-) this type of technical course is for people who want to be a metallurgist, a mechanic, or work with shaping tools". Attached one can observe a further rationale about Lisa's perception of general secondary level VET offers in country. She states these courses provide merely basic knowledge and demand a lower intellectual level, as in: "you don't need to be the most intelligent student in your class to do a technical course". Lisa clearly undermines the general secondary level VET and, therefore, needs to find aspects regarding IFPA's apprenticeship which can be used to rationalize her decision in order to resolve dissonance between actions and beliefs. It constitutes an apparent cognitive dissonance, which arose from Lisa's decision to undergo an educational modality she actually believes to be aimed at the socioeconomically underprivileged, low-achievers, and manual workers.

Hence, Lisa carries on with her rationalization and makes a final comparison between general secondary level VET in Brazil and her own choice to attend IFPA in Sao Paulo, which is also a secondary level VET school. The informant explains "IFPA (-) we say no (-) it is not a technical course (,) it's a technical course, but it's more professional", which is immediately followed by "it's difficult to explain (-) what it really is". One can observe Lisa's attempt to find further arguments to justify her actions. However, she does not clearly encounter solid arguments in order to construct a different discernment with the purpose of trimming down any inconsistent belief with her actions. In addition, the informant not only had to face cognitive dissonance due to her own beliefs, but also due to the constant inquiries made by the actors that belonged to her social frame, as already previously mentioned by the informant: "what is

this IFPA” (-) [...] what do you do there (?) [...] but, what is it like (?) What professional course (?)”. Once Lisa did not change her action or her belief, she was compelled to construct a perception of IFPA based on arguments she could use to reduce or even resolve this cognitive dissonance.

The next segment of Lisa’s reply is absolutely reflective and refers to the current perception she has of the outcomes generated by IFPA’s apprenticeship. The informant states “now [...] I can see [...] the way people see apprentices who go to IFPA”. It is followed by a combination of narrative and argumentative detailing. Lisa affirms IFPA apprentices are seen as “good, potential employees”. She argues that IFPA apprentices are often seen at KLS, where she currently works, and in a self-theoretical commentary, Lisa reveals IFPA apprentices can be compared to individuals who attended a very prestigious university in Brazil. Yet, she corrects her self-theoretical assumption; stating only German companies have this perception of IFPA apprentices. In the following part, Lisa attempts to legitimize her last commentary by saying Brazilian companies do not know the dual system offered by IFPA and, therefore, cannot assign it its correct worth.

Lastly, the informant states: “(IFPA’s apprenticeship) is a technical course that’s a little above a normal technical course we know here in Brazil”. This last argumentative commentary makes it even more transparent how Lisa perceives IFPA’s apprenticeship in a reflective manner. Nevertheless, it is still inconsistent with her belief about secondary level VET. Hence she rationalizes about it in order to convince herself and other actors in her social frame that there isn’t any conflict leading to cognitive dissonance in her decision to have undergone IFPA’s apprenticeship. Lisa’s last utterance confirms this assumption as well, for after a long narrative trying to legitimize her actions, Lisa ends by asking the interviewer for unconsciously agreement, and also comprehension regarding her rationalization, as in: “I don’t know if you understand what I mean (?)”.

15. Question XV (transcription: Lines 1572 - 1596)

In this question Lisa is asked whether she has any further questions regarding the interview. In addition, Lisa is asked inquired about her perception of doing biographical, her opinion

about the whole interview experience. Lisa uses the opportunity to ask if she kept an effective focus. The interviewer simply agrees and does not make any additional commentaries evaluating or assessing the informant's rendering.

In the following passage Lisa reveals she is not used to doing biographical work and that this biographical narrative interview was a considerably new experiment in her biography. She evaluates the experience stating: "it was a unique experience (-) I had never done it before". She ends her assessment arguing it assisted her to perceive she has already achieved a lot in her life, and it also made her reflect about difference episodes and occurrences in her biography. The interviewer accordingly thanks the informant for her participation and for her life story and politely ends this biographical narrative interview.

10.5 Structural description of single case (2): Virginia Müller

1. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 1597 - 1716)

Virginia's extempore storytelling starts with a main narrative part, in which she is asked to tell her life story without any essential intervention from the interviewer. The first full size narrative unit discloses three crucial aspects regarding the informant's biography, namely, her grandparents' ethnic origin and occupation, her hometown, and her family milieu. The incumbent starts a first narrative detailing with the purpose of establishing an initial social framework for the flux of events and social processes she has undergone. This first descriptive detailing unveils essential information on the interviewee's family milieu, an indispensable aspect of analysis in a pragmatic analysis, which provides facilitating conditions for the socio-biographical processes to be told, see Schütze (2008, p.22). The introduction of this narrative unit pre-announces the first content to be depicted - succinct aspects regarding the informant's maternal and the paternal grandparents' biography.

The first kernel sentence in this unit is "my grandfather and grandmother met in a town in Rio Grande do Sul (-) in the countryside". It is succeeded by a narrative descriptive detailing about the city, which will be here named Greenville to protect the anonymity of the interviewee. The informant explicates the town has twenty thousand inhabitants⁸⁰ and was founded in 1858⁸¹ by German immigrants. Virginia portrays it as a small German colony, located in the countryside. According to the informant, this town's aim is to maintain the German culture and language by passing it on from generation to generation. The informant explicates the dialect Hunsrückisch⁸² is spoken in this town, and that it was the language her grandparents spoke at home.

⁸⁰ According to IBGE (2012a) it is considered a small town for its number of inhabitants range between 50 and 100 000 inhabitants.

⁸¹ Approximately 250,000 Germans immigrated to Brazil from 1824 to 1969. About 30% of them arrived between World War I and World War II; see IBGE (2012a).

⁸² Riograndenser Hunsrückisch is spoken in the southern states of Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina. Essentially, it is a variation from the Hunsrückisch dialect, which was brought to Brazil by German immigrants from the Hunsrück region of Germany (Rhineland-Palatinate), who settled in southern regions such as Rio Grande do Sul; see Meyer (2009).

In the following narrative descriptive detailing, Virginia elucidates that, in order to preserve the German culture, it's common that individuals marry another person who also belongs to this ethnic group. She continues to descriptively narrate about the town by stating that, as there were only a few families at the time of its foundation, it was rather usual to marry a family member or an acquaintance within that social frame. Virginia also mentions the existence of a certain religious segregation in Greenville. She utters that its members are supposed to espouse someone who belongs to the same religion so as to avoid any lack of social acceptance within this ethnic context. Virginia provides all of the above-descriptive rendering with the purpose of providing sufficient background information for a more comprehensive understanding of the fact that her grandparents' marriage followed the same traditional values, once they married despite being second-cousins.

The interviewee shares her great-grandfather had always had his own business in Greenville, since its foundation, more specifically, a grocery store. The informant goes on explaining that, as her great-grandparents found themselves in a favorable financial situation at that time, they purchased a property for each one of his children. Virginia's grandfather, therefore, ended up inheriting a piece of land in Greenville, too. Virginia advances with her descriptive narrative detailing and informs her mother is an only child. In the following part of this narrative unit, the informant seems to be evasive and only briefly narrates about her father. She fades out her awareness at this given point of her rendering due to the fact that her relationship to her father is still difficult and hurting; she further narrates about the mater later in her main narrative.

In the following, the informant uses another descriptive detailing to state her parents got married in 1986. They firstly lived with Virginia's grandparents, and after six months they moved to a new house they had built in the town center. She continues talking about her family milieu by descriptively narrating about her parents and siblings. Her father used to be a driver for a shoe factory. Her mother did an apparently vocational training course of short-duration in accountancy and worked in a city nearby for a while. Later, she began working in Greenville, at the town hospital. The last passage of this introductory narrative unit is used by the informant to reveal she was born in 1989 and that she has two sisters, Lisa who was born in 1990, and Helen who was born in 1991.

As can be observed, the informant comes from a family that doesn't have an extraordinary financial situation. Her father doesn't have any vocational qualification and her mother has done an apparently short-term duration trade course in accountancy. Her parents don't have any assets, bar only a house in the little town where the family settled. Virginia comes from an ethnic minority German group in the south of Brazil, where she was born and grew up. The informant very likely stresses her family's German roots, in an attempt to anticipate there was a determined concatenation of circumstances indicating a relation between her decision to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship, her family's roots and/or her ethnic origin.

The coda indicating the end of this first full narrative unit can be identified by the informant's closing phrase with a falling intonation "So (´) we are currently three daughters (,) (2)", which is immediately followed by a two-second pause.

2. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 1717 - 1738)

This full narrative unit begins with a filling word followed by a retardation pause. This unit reveals central aspects regarding the informant's childhood and her socioeconomic background. This narrative unit commences with the kernel sentence "we were born (´) and then my mother opened an accounting office". In an argumentative narrative detailing, Virginia rationalizes her mother had to close the small business down, for she had to take care of three children, who were actually born one right after another. It is, therefore, possible to infer it was a time of great financial difficulties, given that only her father was providing, on his low income from working as a driver at the shoe factory in Greenville, for the existence a family of five members. The following textual section is an additional narrative descriptive detailing. The informant explicates that her grandfather had to aid her family with basic food items, which certainly represented a financial relief for the family's low budget. Yet, Lisa openly criticizes it, as can be observed in: "in my opinion, it's wrong". Unfortunately, the informant does not provide a further argumentative section to concretize her critique hereby expressed in a higher predicate. One can only infer the informant is opposed to the idea of an easy-provision, and defends the notion one needs to individually achieve his or her goals to be able to provide for a self-existence.

The subsequent passage is again a descriptive narrative detailing. Virginia elucidates that her grandfather used to come over to their house to bring basic food items on a regular basis. Moreover, the interviewee makes, in a vague higher predicate, a concise assessment of her own childhood, as in: “and I always remember having to work hard”. The informant justifies her judgment by asserting that all three children had to habitually help their grandfather with his plantations and harvesting. It is noticeable that the informant originates from a socioeconomically underprivileged family. All three children were involved in agricultural activities during their childhood, which are appraised by Virginia as arduous, laborious activities. In addition, her childhood was in all probability affected by her parents’ difficult financial situation. The incumbent and her sisters had to help their grandfather providing workforce, perhaps in return for the basic food provided by him to her family. The coda indicating the end of this first full narrative unit can be identified by the informant’s closing phrase with a falling intonation, immediately followed by a three-second pause.

3. Narrative unit 3 (transcription: Lines 1739 - 1838)

This full narrative unit begins with a clear time reference, which is characterized here by the temporal expression “in 1994”. This third narrative unit starts on line 149 and comprises different biographical processes and discloses aspects regarding the informant’s father’s biographical trajectory and its outcomes for the other family members. The initial important kernel sentence in this textual section is “In 1994 (-) my uncle and my aunt (-) my father has a brother and sister (‘) decided to get together to talk about and divide their inheritance”. It is followed by a narrative descriptive detailing used by the informant to explain she had to accompany her father to the family reunions, where they discussed the issue. Virginia proceeds with her detailing, uttering that her father became very perturbed because of these meetings, as in “I do remember that during this week my father didn’t sleep”. The following sentence of this narrative unit is a clear presentation marker of a biographical process the informant’s father went through, which had outcomes of biographical influence for the incumbent. One can observe a supra-segmental marker that marks the beginning of a biographical trajectory in the informant’s father’s biography, which consequently prompted the genesis of a trajectory in the biography of the incumbent as well. This marker can be observed in: “for me that

:marked: the time when hell started". It is immediately followed by an argumentative section, in which Virginia explains her father's behavior began changing dramatically. He began to smoke heavily, became introverted and apparently initiated showings traits of a possible mental disorder. The informant asserts that this specific period was the birth of a process that culminated in her father's admission to a clinic for mentally challenged patients.

The following passage is a scene of biographical importance that can still be vividly recalled by the informant. It is related to her father's behavior at work during his last days before being admitted to a psychiatric hospital. Virginia cites that he began distributing his salary on the shop floor and that the family was informed of his absolutely atypical behavior. She also mentions that at that time he was working as a regular factory worker and not as a driver anymore, making less than the minimum wage a month.

In the coming textual section, Virginia discourses about the above-mentioned event. Her mother was compelled to take him to a psychiatric hospital, where he first stayed for three months. Virginia's father was diagnosed with schizophrenia⁸³ and began a treatment prescribed by his physicians. Despite the doctor's orders to remain on medication, the informant reveals that her father stopped taking his medicine after he returned home, which seriously affected his mental health and also the harmony within the family's home environment. Virginia looked for information about the matter and could, for that reason, recognize in her father's actions' common traits and symptoms showed by patients who suffered from schizophrenia. The next part of this passage is used by the informant to justify her father's actions and the trajectory it brought upon all family members. It seems that his unusual and perturbed behavior was clearly observable and might have increasingly intensified, thereby acutely affecting the family's well-being and domestic harmony. Virginia continues her narrative reinforcing the fact that she read about the mental disorder with the purpose of better compre-

⁸³ Schizophrenia is a psychotic disorder that impairs the ability to think creatively and imaginatively, to have close social relationships with other human beings, to use language to express ideas with clarity, or to experience and express a variety of emotions such as love and fear. People with schizophrenia are tormented by intrusive experiences such as hearing voices or by beliefs that they are being persecuted or injured by those around them or by alien external forces. No single sign or symptom defines schizophrenia. It is defined by the fact that people who suffer from it experience abnormalities in many different kinds of mental activities; see Andreasen (1999).

hending the condition her father was undergoing. The informant also uses this textual section to list some of the symptoms schizophrenic patients tend to develop and that she could also identify some of them in her father's case. Yet, one can observe an incongruity in the informant's rendering, once she also claims in this very same section that she didn't have access to information about her father's condition at the time, as in: "at the time there weren't books about it (.) We had no book or anything". Considering this last statement, one could argue that the family had very little knowledge of what was occurring. In the subsequent rendering provided by the informant, one can realize that Virginia only obtained information on the matter later. The informant implicitly tries to convey that understanding her father's condition is a crucial step to enhance her relationship to her father, who is still facing the same medical condition nowadays.

Virginia continues her narrative descriptive detailing mentioning her father was admitted to a hospital several times and on every occasion he returned home, he refused to take his medication, which culminated in an even more intense unusual and strange behavior. As the situation deteriorated extremely, he could no longer live with the family in Greenville. Thus, since 2005, he has lived in an asylum. The informant uses an argumentative narrative detailing as to rationalize the need for her father to be in such an institution. She argues he had even become a nuisance for the neighbors, could not longer care for himself, and became a source of discomfort for the family due to his abnormal actions.

The consecutive kernel sentence is "my mother ended up divorcing him in 2008". It is followed by a short explanation of this situation's outcomes. Virginia's aunt began taking care of her father and, apparently, it marked the beginning of a period of distance between her father and the entire family. In the next textual section, Virginia continues her argumentation as to explicate the motives that led her father to be admitted to an asylum. She reinforces that her father's condition led him to become a source of botheration for the family as well as the neighbors in the town where they used to reside together. It basically developed two distinct concerns: (a) the family was worried about his health and realized his condition had aggravated, especially after he had decided to stop taking his medication. (b) The family became embarrassed and concerned about his acts. In addition, they could barely control his actions or

avoid problematic situations. Certainly, these incidents have contributed to boost all the distress the family members were undergoing at that time.

Then, the incumbent re-approaches the outcome of the above-mentioned situation in a further argumentative section with the purpose of explicating the exact type of institution her father had to be sent to. Virginia says it is rather a nursing home aimed at the elderly and physically-challenged individuals. This passage also entails an important higher predicate, more specifically, “when I go there, I don’t feel so well”. She argues she doesn’t want to visit him there in this asylum as she suffers whenever she has to see her father in the condition he finds himself in.

The next is a rationalization made by the informant as an attempt at accepting, understanding the turn of events. Virginia appears to look for aspects that can possibly be highlighted regarding the institution where her father currently lives. The informant focuses on the availability of round the clock care for patients like him. This passage is attached to another higher predicate “he no longer lives (-) he just survives”. Virginia attempts to legitimize her perception by stating he needs to take a massive amount of medication daily, and that he has a very dull daily routine. She adds that his memory is very poor and he has suffered a lot of physical deterioration as well. Virginia further justifies a significant motive for her decision to abstain from contacting her father. She explicates his lack of memory makes communication truly complicated, given that it is necessary to constantly repeat basic information he can no longer recall. The informant assesses it as a painful situation, to accept the fact that her father finds himself in such physical and psychological conditions.

The coda indicating the end of this first full narrative unit can be clearly identified by the informant’s closing phrase: “So (‘) that’s the part about my father (,) (-) Let’s go to the next part”. It also ends with a falling intonation.

4. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 1839 - 1898)

This full narrative unit begins with the frame switching element *so*. This fourth narrative unit exposes essential aspects regarding the intensification of the informant’s first biographical

trajectory due to her father's mental disorder and her parents' divorce, the "new" family's precarious residential condition, the family's extremely difficult financial situation and a brief description of the informant's routine during her childhood. This full narrative unit initiates with the kernel sentence "so (-) my mother divorced him (,) and we left our home". It is followed by a narrative detailing, in which the informant mentions they moved in with her grandfather. They began sharing a 50m² house with her father, only taking a few belongings with them. One can observe that at this point the already fragile financial, as well as psychological well-being of the family had significantly worsened. Once the informant, her mother and siblings moved in with her grandfather, it is conceivable that even intensified the amount of time she had to dedicate to working on the plantation and harvesting. In addition, Virginia might have experienced a rather harsh situation at the time. She barely had sufficient time to comprehend the infirmity her father had begun developing, and already had to start coping with a second loss, namely, a united family and the sharing of one single home with both parents. Moreover, the entire pathway that led to the divorce of her parents might have been a painful experience, for the informant might have been witness to the developments that culminated in such a drastic measure.

The following passage is a continuation of a narrative descriptive detailing. Virginia provides a background construction for the better understanding of the difficult experiences she had to overcome with her family during that period of time. She narrates about her mother's old car, which had to be sold so they could continue building a new small house. In fact, this modest residence was under construction at that time and had originally begun to be built by her parents, who wished to live in a slightly bigger house that could better accommodate all five family members. Apparently, there was a simple division of assets after the divorce, leaving the 50m² residence to the informant's father, and the house under construction to her mother and siblings. Virginia elucidates that it was the only way to conclude the construction of the most essential parts of the house, which would consequently allow them to move out of her grandfather's home. The next descriptive detailing in this passage is used by the informant to describe the delicate situation of the house they were trying to finish building. The incumbent proceeds with her background construction stating that when they moved into the new house, its construction was unfinished, and it certainly was a very humble and precarious construction. Nevertheless, the family moved to the new house. It lacked space due to the fact that

only a small fraction of it was ready, and as they were still facing financial difficulties, they could not afford to finish the house. Virginia portrays it as a harsh time, which was endured with a lot of physical and psychological effort. Yet, one can also perceive that this wasn't the only arduous conditions she had to face. Virginia had to work hard on her grandfather's land, she had to deal with her father's absence as well as health condition, she had to cope with her parents' divorce and, even though it wasn't directly stated by the informant, she very likely had to take care and assist her two younger sisters while her mother worked as a church secretary in order to provide for their existence; at this point without further financial assistance from her father who was unable to work due to his mental condition. The state of affairs only contributed to the intensification of an already-established biographical trajectory the incumbent had to abide by. She found herself in a situation where she did not have any control upon. She only strived to cope with all the deterioration of the circumstances since the diagnosis of her father's mental condition. Although there is no clear presence of a typical formulaic verbal expression in this textual section, one can infer the informant felt powerless at the time. Yet, Virginia also portrays it as a phase of endurance that belongs to the past and was overcome with great effort, as can be observed in "but we didn't die". To a certain extent, it demonstrates traits of Virginia's identity development. It is possible to ascertain that she is an individual who is eager for achievement and commits herself to a great deal of endurance to achieve desired intentions and goals.

The subsequent section of this narrative unit is a prolongation of the informant's background construction. Virginia addresses the help of her grandfather and her mother's work as a manner to enable the family make ends meet. The incumbent states her grandfather went on providing basic groceries and her mother financial income through her job as a secretary, as can be observed in: "my mother has worked since 1996 as a secretary of the church". It is attached to a narrative descriptive detailing that makes known the informant's mother worked in a protestant church in Greenville. The next passage begins with the kernel sentence "and we always helped her (-) too". It is attached to a descriptive detailing about her mother's occupation at the church and how the informant and her siblings assisted her at work. Virginia and her sisters had to engage in labor from very early on, being that at her grandfather's plantation or at the church with their mother. Virginia describes in the following passage how they assisted their mother with the notification of payment containing the church members' monthly and annual fee. The informant ends this narrative detailing reinforcing how the entire fami-

ly had to engage so as to have access to minimum financial means to keep to family going per se, as in: “So, we always helped”. It is relevant to point out that her mother’s employment at the church may have been an important condition of influence on the family per se. As the children had to assist her at work, it is conceivable that they attended and were also exposed to the Christian values advocated by this religious institution. These values may have played an important role in the development of the identity of the informant. Yet, this assumption needs to be readdressed throughout the textual sections provided by the informant.

The next part of this narrative unit deals with Virginia’s first clear utterance regarding her grandfather as an identity model. He also became a reference for the informant’s vocational orientation later, as will be cited by the informant in the subsequent narrative units of her main narrative. The incumbent refers to him as “(,) he was the only man, he was my ‘father’ (-) he was my reference”. His role as an identity model as the incumbent hasn’t been altered until the present day, once it can be noticed the informant still mentions her grandfather as an important reference, as in: “today I carry a picture of him in my wallet”. Virginia carries on with her storytelling with a descriptive detailing of the tasks she had to perform while working at her grandfather’s plantation. She explicates weekends were used to visit her grandfather to assist him with a considerable amount of heavy work, as in: “we had to help vaccinate the cattle (-) put urea on maize and cassava plants (-) milk the cows (-) and harvest the corn and cassava (-) and potatoes and cucumber and lettuce [...] sugar cane [...] we milked cows a lot and picked up eggs in the mornings”. It is perceptible the informant had a childhood full of endurances, difficulties and hard work. It seems that Virginia always helped her mother and grandfather and, reflectively, she does not complain about it or perceives it as extremely arduous labor. The three children and their mother seemed to constitute a team that successfully overcome trajectories and found a way to make ends meet and continue striving to provide for basic self-existence.

The last part of this narrative unit re-approaches the house that was under construction at the time. Virginia states it was done slowly and with great financial difficulty. She also reveals it is not ready yet and her mother is still trying to finish it since the divorce in 2008. The last sentence of this passage is also the coda indicating the end of this first full narrative unit. It can be identified by the informant’s closing phrase with a falling intonation.

5. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 1899 - 1969)

This full narrative unit initiates after a closing phrase with a falling intonation. This fourth narrative unit uncovers important facts contemplating the informant's basic education in Greenville, the educational institution attended by the interviewee in this location, and the suffering she underwent due to social exclusion.

This narrative's first kernel sentence is "we lived about eight minutes away from the school (-) we went to a private school". It is followed by an argumentative narrative detailing used by Virginia to rationalize the fact that all three children attended a private school, despite the family's delicate financial situation. This financial commitment made by the family in order to sufficiently save as to be able to afford tuition fees were basically attained through the effort of every single family member. It is also clear that, despite the family's financial hardship, sending their children to a private institution was of primary importance, for they apparently related public schools to lower quality of education. Virginia explains they had to save utility costs so they could afford the school tuition, as in "we couldn't watch much TV: (-) and could only take a five minute or less shower". The next part of this passage is a justification of her mother's perception of public schools. The informant explains her mother thought that their socialization process at a public school could lead to unavoidable teenage pregnancy and that they would, therefore, not strive to achieve more in their lives, as in: "we would lose track of life (') that love would fill our womb and that we'd be happy". Virginia's mother clearly tried to provide a good quality of education for all three children with the purpose of enabling them to achieve higher upward mobility in their biography than she could attain in hers. The informant continues her validation stating that her mother's fear was perfectly justifiable, given that they were already familiarized with different cases of teenage pregnancy and its outcomes where they resided, as in: "got pregnant at 14 and had to get married (-) or else they would have to raise the children alone and would have to drop out of school".

Virginia carries on with her justification by arguing their private school was very attentive to their daily routine and conduct outside school. Virginia descriptively narrates on how, in school, they constantly had to report all the activities they had done during the weekend and she believes it was a way of controlling the institution had over its students, as in: "we had to

say in :German: what we did over the weekend”. In a way, Virginia was fully aware that in case of any unusual behavior or attitudes, her parents would be informed about it. Therefore, the informant was also confronted with the impression of being permanently monitored within this context and to a certain extent compelled to comply with this institution’s values and beliefs.

The successive textual section is a scene of biographical importance for the informant. Virginia still recalls this situation, particularly because it occurred during a difficult period in her biography, to be precise, her parents’ divorce in 2008. The incumbent reveals in a descriptive narrative detailing that after the divorce her mother could no longer afford paying the school tuition for all three children. Her mother, very likely unwillingly, would have to enroll them in a public school due to a lack of financial means. However, the interviewee narrates that the principal of the school offered a scholarship for the oldest daughter, in this case Virginia. She justifies the offer was made based on their school performance and dedication, as in: “they have always been very dedicated and basically the best students in their classes”. The subsequent textual passage is a descriptive section regarding the outcomes of this offer. The informant states she studied from third grade until the end of high school on a full scholarship. It is followed by the kernel sentence: “my classmates found out at the end of the third year of high school that I had a scholarship”. In the next argumentative detailing, as to explicate their behavior towards this finding, Virginia reveals they found it strange she never received the monthly school tuition bill and that this was not common practice in her school. She states she had to hide it from everyone for she was receiving a financial contribution others normally didn’t. Virginia goes on with a legitimization by making known her mother earned merely 700 reais⁸⁴ at the time and had to pay 200 reais for each one of her sister’s school tuition. If she had to pay for Virginia’s tuition as well, the total amount would have been 600 reais, nearly the entire salary her mother had at her disposal at the time. Virginia uses a higher predicate to describe this financial struggle they had to undergo as to continue attending a private school, as in: “It was very difficult”.

⁸⁴ Reais is the currency in Brazil.

⁸⁵ The minimum wage was nearly 500 reais in 2008; see Portal Brasil (2012).

The following part of this narrative unit is a reflective passage used by the informant to express from today's perspective the reason why she and her sisters dedicated so intensively in school, to the point that one of them was offered a scholarship. Virginia elucidates they acted upon one of her mother's self-theoretical commentaries: "knowledge was the only thing that nobody could take from us". This assumption had a tremendous influence on the development of the incumbent's biographical plan. Virginia states she agreed with her mother and assumes it has also been a guideline in her biographical achievements, as in: "If she hadn't put it that way, I don't know if I'd be where I am today". The informant continues her legitimization affirming this was the reason she was considerably dedicated in school. This argumentative section is attached to a narrative description of the school's subjects. The interviewee says she took German, Spanish and English in school and that, as the school was located in a German colony, German was essential as it was spoken at home. Virginia also discloses she chose to further study the German language in high school, for she had the chance to choose the foreign language she would like to continue learning.

The last part of this narrative description is used by the informant to portray the socioeconomic profile of her classmates in her school social frame. Virginia states they attended a private school where the elite in town studied, as in: "children of the :mayor:, :politicians: and :doctors: in town (-) people like that (-) business people and all the most influential people in town". The informant describes this social frame to provide background information that could assist her justifying that it served as the genesis for the suffering she underwent while going to school due to a sense of social exclusion she experienced. Virginia utters that due to their financial condition they were not able to afford branded clothes, some of the school trips and snacks. Hence they were probably seen as an exception in this social environment and might have felt excluded, given that they couldn't identify with the socioeconomic profile of their classmates. Virginia also refers to a second self-theoretical assumption her mother used to tell them persistently: "only rich people were somebody in society". One can infer Virginia sensed a social exclusion at school due to two distinct aspects: (a) a perceived financial inequality between herself and the other actors of this social frame. (b) Her mother's unconscious discouragement, for she also reinforced the informant's sense of not belonging by wanting Virginia to achieve upward mobility to become one of them by all means, and by indirectly conveying the message her daughter wasn't yet "somebody in society".

The last part of this narrative unit is used by the informant to once again reassure the interviewer she comprehended her mother's perception and seemed to have internalized it as well. It is remarkable how the processes of socialization the incumbent underwent in school, in combination with her mother's self-theoretical commentaries, reinforced her desire to be seen and regarded as "somebody in society". In other words, Virginia's biographical plan was heavily influenced by this perception, and her eagerness for professional and educational achievement can be associated to the discernment that one needs to strive, to struggle to be recognized, to earn a sense of belonging in society. The last sentence of this passage is also the coda indicating the end of this first full narrative unit. It can be identified by the informant's closing phrase with a falling intonation and a short pause.

6. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 1970 - 1994)

This full narrative unit commences with the frame switching element *so*. It exposes aspects regarding the informant's first biographical action scheme and an argumentative textual section as to justify IFPA as an option to accomplish this process. This unit also addresses relevant factors concerning the educational pathway followed by the informant prior to her decision to undergo IFPA's dual system apprenticeship.

This narrative unit begins with Virginia's kernel sentence "So (‘) I said okay (,) But I want to be seen too (-) I don't want to be spoiled (,) But I want to be seen (-)". It is a typical formulaic verbal expression indicating an imminent biographical action scheme. It is a clear marker in the development of the informant's biography. Virginia established a biographical plan based on finding a possibility to achieve a higher socioeconomic status. She became driven to be seen as prominent in society as well, as if in an attempt to eliminate the social exclusion she had to experience while attending school in Greenville. It can also be considered as an action scheme established by the incumbent to fulfill her mother's expectation to "become someone" in society and avoid possible recurrent situations related to poverty, difficulties and suffering. In the coming sentence, Virginia states: "I also wanted people to come and say one day 'Oh my: (-) She went to São Paulo and she's studying there' (-) just like people talked about the mayor's kids and so on". It demonstrates how significant it was for the informant to belong to a different social frame and be accepted by them. It had an important impact on Virginia's

identity development due to the fact that she no longer wanted to be seen as a socioeconomically underprivileged individual and would engage in a biographical action scheme entailing the necessary pathway to attain it. It is also interesting to notice that leaving for Sao Paolo⁸⁶ also represented the beginning of a different social identity, for the actors who belonged to her social frame would begin perceiving her as an individual who achieved positive distinctiveness, given that she was looking for possibilities to attain her biographical objectives in the biggest Brazilian metropolis, a place not everyone could afford residing in and/or coping with.

This narrative unit also discloses Virginia is just about to embark on a biographical process to actively shape the course of her life in order to realize her established biographical plans. One of her options was to attend IFPA⁸⁷ in Sao Paolo. She decided to embark on this educational pathway, and one can plainly observe her motives. Virginia wishes to use IFPA as an opportunity to promote upward mobility and attain positive distinctiveness. It is also possible to ascertain that, due to Virginia's strong will and drive, once she reaches her established goal, she might promptly move on to the next level as to encounter additional manners to further enhance her initially desire of "becoming someone in society".

The next section of this narrative unit is a reflective passage. The informant conveys that she wondered about what measure needed to be taken to successfully achieve her goal of being admitted to one of IFPA's apprenticeship courses. It is also possible to see that she was more concerned about her social identity than with her immediate educational pathway per se, as in: "What do I have to do in order to go to São Paolo and make it there, so that one day people will say "Well, (-) it seems like Mary's daughter went to São Paolo (') and she is doing fine there (-) She has a good life". On the other hand, Virginia was also aware that IFPA would serve as a possible venue for upward mobility and positive distinctiveness, and that accessing and undergoing it was feasible and depended on her individual effort.

⁸⁶ Sao Paolo is the capital of the state of Sao Paolo. It is the largest city in Brazil and has the largest economy, by GDP, among Latin American and Brazilian cities. see IBGE (2012b).

⁸⁷ IFPA (Instituto de Formação Profissional Administrativa) is a private vocational school which provides vocational training, in a subsequent modality, based on the German dual system in Sao Paolo. It offers two types of courses based on the dual system: the traditional and the cluster dual system. In the traditional dual system, students acquire theoretical knowledge at the IFPA two days a week and practical knowledge in the company three days a week. In the dual cluster system, students, who do not live in the Sao Paolo area, attend theoretical classes for a month at the IFPA vocational school and have another two months of apprenticeship in the company; see IFPA (2011).

The following kernel sentence is “so ok then, (,) what did I have to do”. It is followed by a descriptive narrative detailing containing the list of criteria the informant had to fulfill as to be accepted to undergo IFPA’s dual system apprenticeship in Sao Paolo. Virginia mentions she fulfilled all of them, as in: “I had to be good at :German: (-) I had to be a :dedicated:, a :committed: student and so on (,) I was already dedicated and I studied a lot”. The informant reveals she needed to learn more German, which meant that even though she spoke German at home, lived in a German colony and had German in school for several years, she still feared IFPA’s admission test and felt she needed further preparation.

Another kernel sentence can be identified in this passage: “the principal provided a teacher so we could go to school in the evenings to learn even more German”. It is attached to a descriptive detailing explicating how it occurred. The aforementioned teacher prepared some students for the admission test in the evenings, at the same school the informant used to attend in Greenville. Virginia’s mother always picked her up after her class in the evening, once again demonstrating the effort made by her mother to provide her the necessary means for the incumbent to follow through with her biographical plans.

In this textual section, the incumbent makes a crucial revelation as well, as can be seen in “in the afternoon at 1:15 I attended the IT trade course (,) (2) it was a regular IT trade course”. It clearly demonstrates that IFPA’s apprenticeship wouldn’t be the first one in the educational pathway of the incumbent. Virginia was already undergoing secondary level VET at the time, in a concomitant modality⁸⁸. She had already intentionally enrolled and successfully finished a secondary level VET course that could offer her further qualification. Despite already having a VET qualification, she decided to undergo a second one because she perceived IFPA as an institution located in a metropolis, far away from Greenville, that could offer her higher chances of achieving the desired upward mobility she was trying to attain. The coda indicating the end of this first full narrative unit can be identified in the informant’s closing phrase with a falling intonation and a short pause: “I went there in the evening to study more (,) (-)”.

⁸⁸ In this case, high school and VET occur in a parallel manner, but under two separate curriculums (a high school curriculum and a VET curriculum). Therefore, the student has two different registrations. The concomitant secondary level VET modality can take place at the same school (internal concomitance - IC) or at two different schools (external concomitance - EC); see Brazil (2010a).

7. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 1994 – 2018)

This full narrative unit begins with a frame switching element, which is here characterized by the temporal adverb *after*. This fourth narrative unit uncovers details contemplating the informant's IFPA's admission test, her fear of failure, and of a possible discernment her social frame had of her own identity development at the time.

The first kernel sentence in this narrative unit is the following: “after that I participated in a German language contest there in Rio Grande do Sul”. The next is a descriptive narrative detailing of this competition. The informant reveals she won the regional and, later, the state contest as well. Virginia won the foreign language category and she affirms this process provided her with enough confidence to take IFPA's admission test, as in: “now I can take the IFPA admission test”. Virginia realized she was prepared to successfully embark on this educational objective. A demonstration of her will to attain her objective can be observed in the effort she had to make to be sufficiently prepared for the admission test. She attended a preparatory language class in the evening, after going to high school classes in the morning and vocational training in the afternoon. One can infer it might have been a time of physical and mental weariness, once the incumbent had to labor in her grandfather's plantation on the weekends, assist her mother at work and at home, and in addition to that, she had to attend, prepare, and study for all three educational commitments she was involved in at the time.

The subsequent passage entails a typical formulaic expression indicating the genesis of the incumbent's biographical action scheme, as in: “so, I did the test”. It is attached to a descriptive detailing explaining the conditions that enabled the incumbent to take the exam in Sao Paulo. Once she resided in Greenville, which is more than a hundred kilometers away, Virginia established a plan to travel and to stay there. She explicates in her narrative detailing that her mother arranged for her to stay at an acquaintance's house in Porto Alegre because the exam took place at the German Consulate there. Virginia even mentions in her detailing this acquaintance didn't have a lot of contact with the family, as in: “my mother rarely talked to or saw her”. It shows two different aspects: (a) the difficult financial situation of the family that had to ask for the help of an almost stranger. (b) The effort made by the informant as well as

her mother to assist her achieving the goal of climbing the socioeconomic level, to “become someone in society” as the informant puts it.

The next kernel sentence “I passed it”. It is also a typical formulaic verbal expression indicating an institutional expectation pattern in the life of the incumbent. Yet, the attached argumentation is used by the informant to narrate about her post-test perception of her performance, as in: “I thought I was the dumbest person on earth [...] I can’t do anything right (-) what am I doing here (?) I studied so hard for nothing (‘) I’m useless”. The informant’s judgment of her performance also reflects her fear of failure in the biographical action scheme in which she was about to engage. She knew that this specific step of her plan depended exclusively on her individual effort. It would have been an enormous disappointment to have failed engaging in a scheme that could possibly enhance positive distinctiveness because of her shortcomings. Virginia continues with her narrative detailing stating her classmates constantly asked her about the results of the admission test. This only increased the incumbent’s anxiety and fear of failure, for if she didn’t pass, she wouldn’t be able to embark on her biographical action scheme. Virginia was also very likely aware that she would also end up disappointing her mother who had always attempted to influence Virginia to leave Greenville in search for pathways that could lead to upward mobility.

The following kernel sentence in this textual section is: “two weeks later (2) the results came (-) my mother was on the online site and she saw my name on the list”. It is attached to a short argumentative description used by the informant to rationalize her relief after being sure she had passed the test. She states “nobody thought I’d make it (-) I could feel (-) that they thought I was poor and wouldn’t be able to make it there in São Paulo”. In other words, individuals who belonged to Virginia’s social frame at the time didn’t assume she could fulfill the necessary criteria to live and undergo an apprenticeship in Sao Paolo. However, Virginia was extremely motivated, committed, and above all, she knew that passing that test would be the key to leave Greenville for good. Once she passed, the informant began demonstrating a change in the perception this social frame had of her identity development. It was crucial for the informant’s perception of her self-worth and key for her determination to remain motivated as well as focused on her biographical intentions. The informant also reinforces the assumption that her mother played a key role in the fear of failure she developed along this pro-

cess, as in: “maybe I felt this way because my mom also said that”. One can observe how the informant had to struggle to convey to other actors who belonged to her social frame that she was capable and was also driven to attain her biographical goals. Therefore, having passed IFPA’s admission test was the first step to begin being “someone in society”. Virginia was about to start doing something many thought she was capable of doing. In other words, it was the beginning of a change in how others perceived her, which could serve as the birth of the positive distinctiveness she was attempting to attain.

The last passage of this narrative unit is a prolongation of a rationalization about the perception other actors had of the identity of the incumbent within her social frame. The last sentence of this passage, and also the coda indicating the end of this first full narrative unit, can be identified by the informant’s closing phrase with a falling intonation and a two-second pause: “even my German teacher didn’t believe I could do it (,) (2)”.

8. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2019 – 2040)

This full narrative unit begins with a frame switching element, which is characterized here by the temporal adverb *after*. It begins on line 451 and approaches the informant’s trip to Sao Paolo to interview for an apprenticeship position at a company in this city. This narrative unit initiates with the kernel sentence “After (-) I passed the admission test (-) I went to São Paolo”, which is directly followed by a descriptive narrative detailing regarding the informant’s departure for Sao Paolo. Virginia went to Sao Paolo for an interview at a company named BLC, as to start her dual system apprenticeship. The informant once again provides a background construction to illustrate the difficulties she had to overcome to go to Sao Paolo. Given the seriously difficult financial situation of the informant’s family, her mother had to buy a plane ticket, in installments, using a neighbor’s credit card.

The next textual section contains another kernel sentence, namely: “I did the interview” Then, in a descriptive narrative detailing, Virginia discloses that this company produced coating for seats, and that she wasn’t offered the position. She rationalizes it by stating they hired another young man because his answers during the group dynamic were better formulated and expressed than hers. The next passage is a scene of biographical importance, and Virginia still

vividly remembers the answers provided by the other candidate. The outcome of this first unsuccessful attempt can be seen in the informant's phrase: "I didn't pass and had to go back to Rio Grande do Sul". Then, she explicates how she felt afterwards, namely, discouraged and disappointed. The informant also exposes an important self-theoretical commentary, as can be seen in: "(-) I always put myself under pressure for things to work out the first time I try them". Virginia explains her commentary and tries to provide arguments to advocate the exactness of her self-theoretical approach in the development of her biography. She argues she needs to do everything right the first time she tries it. She even states: "I don't have a second chance to fix it".

The last sentence of this section, and also the coda indicating the end of this first full narrative unit, can be observed in the informant's closing phrase about her self-theoretical commentary: "and I've always thought like that". One can perceive the informant has constantly put herself under pressure whenever involved in a biographical action scheme or institutional expectation pattern process. This self-theoretical guideline entails the fear of failure constantly present in the biography of the incumbent. Conceivably, a great portion of this fear is related to Virginia's socialization processes with her mother and siblings. Once her mother appears to be demanding and also demeaning in the perception of the informant, it is plausible Virginia had to do things right first time to avoid any kind of punishment. These experiences could have shaped and influenced Virginia's central guidelines in her biographical development.

9. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2040 – 2057)

This full narrative unit begins with the frame switching element *so*, directly followed by the temporal adverb *then*. The introduction of this narrative unit contemplates the outcome in the biography of the informant after not being admitted at BLC. The first identifiable kernel sentence is: "I decided I'd start working in Greenville". It is attached to an argumentative narrative detailing, used by Virginia to explicate the reason for this decision. Virginia elucidates that her mother wouldn't tolerate her being at home without a job. She even describes her mother's attitude towards keeping her permanently occupied as "hell". Virginia a determined amount of free time so that she would have the opportunity to experience socialization, in Greenville, with social actors who were not considered to be role models for the development

of the interviewee's social identity. The informant also discloses her mother perceived her as a "bum" whenever she realized Virginia wasn't involved in any kind of housework or any other type of labor and/or school work. Virginia's mother's eagerness to see her daughter engaged in activities of labor can also be associated with an influence posed by Pietism, a movement within Lutheranism that emphasized hard work and shunning worldly amusements; one should feel guilty when not working. This movement might have been, to a certain extent, present in the lives of the informant and her mother, once they used to go to a Lutheran protestant church in Greenville, where her mother also used to work as a secretary. It has helped shape the informant's perception of a German person. Virginia believed her mother was the personification of a German individual and that she fully represented a culture that demands results, barely tolerates mistakes, doesn't accept one being unoccupied, and applies punishment whenever results aren't properly delivered. One can observe Virginia developed a relationship based on fear with her mother, and this could have served as a trigger for the development of a generalized stigmatization of a German individual, as can be observed in: "I think Germans are crazy like that".

As a result of this fear, the lack of understanding and awareness of the religious influence upon her mother's perception of labor and very likely in an attempt to avoid conflict and punishment, Virginia decided to obtain temporary employment. Yet, it seemed that her main objective remained clear and she somehow knew this would only be a provisional measure. Hence, the following kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: "Then we/I started working at an office that works with patents of trademarks and so on". It is attached to a descriptive narrative detailing. The interviewee attempts to describe the office and the tasks she had to perform at this establishment.

The informant reveals her job was to grant loans to pensioners. Yet her word choice and tone of voice make it clear the activity seemed to be rather illicit. In other words, she needed to convince customers to take out loans that had extremely high interest rates, and she felt disturbed, upset to do it, as can be observed in her own words: "I felt like shit(-) Oh my God. Virginia was definitely going through a rather rough process in her biography. She wasn't yet fulfilling her biographical intention of "becoming someone in society" by moving to a bigger city to obtain further qualification as a means to achieve a higher social status. She didn't pass

the interview process at BLC, she was still living in Greenville, she still had to deal with her mother's pressure, and she was working at an office where she had to perform tasks she didn't perceive as correct and appropriate. The coda of this narrative unit is represented by a closing statement, which entails a clear temporal expression indicating the end of this process in the biography of the incumbent: "I worked there for two months". This last sentence is also uttered in a falling intonation, and is followed by a two second pause.

10. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2057 – 2083)

This full narrative unit begins with the frame switching element then. The introduction of this narrative unit deals with Virginia's departure to Sao Paolo for her second interview at SC Group. It is important to bear in mind that, as IFPA's educational modality is a dual vocational education program, the incumbent would first have to be accepted by a company. The initial kernel sentence in this narrative unit is "I got the opportunity to interview for a lot of different jobs for IFPA apprenticeship in São Paolo". The following is a brief background construction used by the informant to justify the difficulties she had while interviewing at different companies as to begin IFPA's apprenticeship. Virginia explicates that, as it was considerably costly to travel to Sao Paolo, she would have to stay there until she was hired by a company. She even says "even if it meant I had to work there". This is to clarify how strong minded the incumbent was about accomplishing this biographical goal. She was willing to take a risk, to take chances and do whatever was necessary to stay in Sao Paolo and find a company to start her dual system apprenticeship.

The following kernel sentence is this passage is "So (,) I left for São Paolo". It is followed by a narrative detailing about the informant's first interview at a company in the city of Sorocaba. Virginia carries on with her rendering attempting to legitimize the company's decision not to hire her. The incumbent assumed she wasn't employed due to a comment made during her interview, as in: "there is a kind of event next week at the Expo Center Norte (,) and I'm going to attend that". Virginia believe it might have given the interviewer the impression she wouldn't commit and focus on the program at the company, and that she actually wished to follow a career as a model in Sao Paolo. The informant also provides a self-theoretical commentary about the interviewer. Virginia says: "psychologists [...] these professionals are "all

crazy”. One could say that the interviewee’s openly negative criticism might be related to the fact that, as Virginia is a very driven and determined person, she may not be keen on being analyzed and/or judged because of her actions. Another justification could be related to her father, who also suffers from a mental illness that has led to severe family problems. Conceivably, the informant prefers to avoid any sort of analysis about her life, and she possibly assumes psychologists generally have an erroneous judgment of situations at stake. In this case, this psychologist could not fully comprehend the fact that Virginia was simply trying to convey that she needed additional income and, therefore, she had to find extra work to go on living in Sao Paulo. Instead, according to the incumbent’s perception, the professional erroneously assumed she wanted to follow a professional career as a model, as stated by the informant in: “she doesn’t know what she wants to do with her life, doesn’t have any goals (-) doesn’t know which direction she wants to follow: (‘) It won’t work”. This background information is used by the informant to justify the reason why she wasn’t hired by this company in Sorocaba.

The last passage of this narrative unit is used by the informant to descriptively narrate about the outcomes of not having succeeded in the interview. Virginia discloses her mother had to send her some additional money so she could stay in Sao Paulo to go on with her interviews. Virginia stated she hoped a company would contact her sooner or later. One can observe that she was determined to achieve her educational goal, which could possibly lead to her desired biographical goal of “being recognized by society”, as previously mentioned by the interviewee in “I want to be seen, too [...] I also wanted people to come and say one day ‘:Oh my: (-) She went to São Paulo and she’s studying there’ (-) just like people talked about the mayor’s kids and so on.

The coda of this narrative unit is represented by a closing statement with a falling intonation, which is followed by a short pause. In this sentence, Virginia makes clear her strong desire for achievement, and the financial difficulty the situation posed on herself and her family. A typical formulaic verbal expression also indicates a clear biographical action scheme process in the biography of the incumbent at the time, as it can be observed in her decision after having failed the first interview: “I’ll stay here (‘) because I have hope that someone will call me”. To a certain extent, it marked the beginning of a decision made by the incumbent to stay in

Sao Paulo at all costs to achieve her previously established educational goal of undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship. She was confident it would be a concrete pathway to accomplish her biographical goal of "being seen just like the mayor's kids". In other words, Virginia aimed at climbing the socioeconomic ladder, which would also mean a change in her social identity, once her social framework would refer and observe her as an individual who displayed positive distinctiveness, as opposed to the perception she was associated with before leaving for Sao Paulo.

11. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2083 – 2118)

This full narrative unit uncovers an important event carrier in the biography of the incumbent, more specifically, a friend named James, who was also from Greenville and lived in Sao Paulo at that time. This individual played a key role in a very crucial process of Virginia's biography. In addition, he also displayed an orientation that made it difficult for Virginia to accept him as an individual who conformed to the values and beliefs she had always been exposed to in her place of origin. This segment entails the kernel sentence "I had a friend, James [...] James came to pick me up [...] (James) took me home". In a descriptive narrative detailing Virginia explains her mother contacted James and asked him for help. It demonstrates the informant's mother's support and preoccupation with Virginia. One can state her mother was concerned about her well-being, and at the same time, she also supported Virginia's educational goal.

The successive kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: "then I found out he was a fag". It is attached to an argumentative detailing used by the informant to justify her perception of James' sexual orientation. The informant discloses she found out he was homosexual and James asked her to keep it a secret from individuals from Greenville. This is very likely the most important aspect about this memory of the interviewee. As Virginia and also her friend James were born and lived for a great part of their lives in this small German colony, they were probably exposed to a social frame in which individuals experienced a closeness of knowing their neighbors and the details of neighbors' lives. This rather small social frame might be an exceptionally pertinent aspect, which can conceivably stimulate its individuals to stalwartly search for distinctiveness and also for an embroidered protection of their social

identity, and also, it is perceivable, the incumbent's drive for distinctiveness and her friend's preoccupation with his identity within their social frame in Greenville. This assumption can also be justified in the informant's renderings: "oh my, everyone in Greenville said that the guy was a fag, and then I come here to find out it was true".

The main narrative continues with the next kernel sentence: "the next day we decided to go for a walk downtown, and I went there just to take my CV to different shops". It is attached to a narrative detailing regarding this process. Virginia descriptively explicates how she obtained employment at a shop in Sao Paolo, which sold surf wear. James, as an important event carrier, helped Virginia with shelter and also by showing her Sao Paolo, considering it might have been very overwhelming for Virginia coming from a very small town in the South of Brazil, and also by assisting her in obtaining employment to be able to care for her basic existence in Sao Paolo. The following part of this passage is a brief description of her first job as shop assistance, as in: "I sold clothes (') surf wear and surfboards (,) (2) I worked there and I earned (-) 1,300 reais".

The third kernel sentence of this passage can be identified in the next textual section, as in: "before starting at this shop, [...] I worked an event at the Center North (,) (-) for about four days. It is attached to a brief narrative detailing of the tasks she had to perform as well as the compensation the informant received in this temporary job. Virginia worked as a greeter in a trade fair, which she considered to be very little effort for a decent wage. The informant claims this job enabled her to "go on for a little while". It is followed by a minute argumentative section used by the informant to justify these 400 reais she made at the fair, was the only money she had at her disposal at the beginning. It is also an attempt to provide a background construction to illustrate the difficulties she had to undergo to achieve her goal of beginning IFPA's apprenticeship in Sao Paolo. Virginia makes clear the financial barrier she had to overcome and also the fact that she had to cope with, understand James' sexual orientation, and to live with him. The informant states at the end of this narrative unit "And I was there Living there with the fag". One could argue that the word fag, used by the informant to describe James' sexual orientation, clearly demonstrates Virginia's disapproval regarding the matter. It can also be associated with the religious environment in which the incumbent was raised in Greenville. Her mother used to work as the secretary of a Lutheran church in town

and Virginia was very likely frequently exposed to the values of this religious institution, by the institution itself and also by the socialization processes lived by her within this religious context. In other words, Virginia was living and interacting with an individual that would, in her social framework in Greenville, probably be addressed as non-conforming.

12. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2118 – 2133)

This full narrative unit begins with the frame switching element *then*, and deals with the informant's third interview for IFPA's dual system apprenticeship at a company called KS. This segment entails the following kernel sentence "then, I got a call from KS". The next part of this segment is a descriptive narrative detailing, in which the informant explicates the sequence of events that unfolded after she received the phone call and, consequently, the invitation for an interview at KS. Virginia elucidates that at this point in time classes had already started at IFPA, the theoretical part of the dual system had already begun. She refers to this third interview rather pessimistically, as in: "I didn't think it would work out". One can observe the informant's fear of failure, which can also be associated with her two last interviews, respectively at BCL and at SC Group. Virginia was afraid of not attaining her intended objective, and very likely feared for the further development of her social identity in case she couldn't consummate her plans. In the following part of this passage, the incumbent introduces another event carrier in her rendering of this biographical process, namely, a young man she dated during the trade fair she worked for four days. Even though it might have lasted only a few days, this individual also had some influence on Virginia's decision to go for this third interview. According to the informant, she didn't have any extra money to pay for travel costs in order to get to the company where the interview would take place. Therefore, this person had to lend her a certain amount of money to cover travel expenses. It can be seen in the passage "he said "Go there and do the interview (-) I'll lend you 60 reais [...] and you can pay me back when you have it". This event carrier wasn't extensively described or mentioned by the informant, but played a key role in this biographical process in the life of the biography incumbent. He certainly supported her financially and also emotionally, by encouraging Virginia to go for interview, which might have been important to help overcoming her fear of failure. This social interaction might have made Virginia to perceive she wasn't alone in her efforts and, consequently, it could have helped to drive her forward.

The following textual section entails a typical formulaic expression indicating the continuation of an already dominant biographical process in the biography of the incumbent at that time, more specifically, a biographical action scheme process. Virginia was constantly trying to shape the course of her biography until she reached the pathway she desired, which could potentially lead to her main biographical goal of achieving upward mobility and enhanced social identity. It can be identified in: “So, I went there for the interview (,) (-) I went for the interview”. It was a decision made by the informant with the purpose of fulfilling her biographical desire, which would have its foundation in the educational vocational training offered by IFPA in Sao Paulo. Then, Virginia provides a narrative detailing explaining she quit her job at the shop, due to the fact that KS SP decided to employ her. In an act of self-disclosure, Virginia also brags about herself in this passage, as in “after only three weeks there I had sold more than the other two guys combined”. One could argue this self-disclosure may be an attempt to appear worthy of attention as to demonstrate how capable she is. It is also a way to convey that she measures up to the labor expectations, which could possibly be associated to her mother’s behavior during her childhood at home. As Virginia herself pointed out, her mother had a very peculiar attitude towards labor, once she got upset on every occasion the informant and her siblings weren’t involved in any kind of labor at home or elsewhere.

Once Virginia passed the interview, this day marked the end of her searching for a company and the beginning of her biographical educational intention. At last, she was able to begin IFPA’s dual system apprenticeship. Thus, she left the shop and began working at KS. Virginia also portrays a brief background construction to elucidate the constant financial difficulties she had to overcome, as in: “I got the pay I had earned and left (,) I somehow managed to survive the first month before I received anything from KS”. The informant uses a higher predicate to illustrate the financial difficulty this situation represented in: “It was like playing a strategy game”. It’s perceptible that Virginia didn’t perceive it as a mere trajectory of endurance. Apparently, she considered it to be a challenge, a “game”, a structured situation that she undertook as a crucial part of her biographical plan. This “game” Virginia was playing was also evidently structured, for it also had the key components of a game, namely, a clear goal, challenge, and also rules she had to comply with; such as passing an interview at a com-

pany before beginning her dual system apprenticeship. The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit is characterized by a closing statement followed by a longer pause.

13. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2134 – 2185)

This full narrative unit begins with the frame switching element *so*, which is immediately followed by the temporal adverb *then*. The introduction of this narrative unit establishes the informant's searching for housing, after passing the interview at KS. Once Virginia was living in Sao Paolo, about 100km away from Campinas where KS SP is located, she decided to avoid commuting and began her search for a new place to live. The introduction of this textual section entails the kernel sentence "then I started looking for a place to live". The following segment is a narrative description of the process she underwent while visiting the first shared flat where she intended to rent a room. Virginia describes the first place as not appalling, apparently a run-down house downtown in Campinas. It seems to have been a recommendation made by someone, as it can be observed in: "son of a gun (-) he sent me to a horrible place". Yet, she does not make clear who this person is. In this segment, Virginia also narrates that the individuals who lived in this shared flat seemed to be homosexual, according to her first judgment after talking to them for a few minutes. Once again, Virginia is confronted with the aforementioned situation of founding herself at a social frame that possessed individuals who could be considered as non-conforming in the social framework she was exposed to in Greenville. It's very likely that the informant is not aware of this assumption, and might struggle whenever in contact with individuals who shared determined divergent values, especially regarding sexual orientation. This assumption can be justified in one of the comments made by the interviewee in this passage: "Ok, I have no prejudice and it's cool to be gay in São Paolo". This commentary is a clear attempt to convey that it isn't a widely accepted sexual orientation in her place of origin.

The subsequent kernel sentence is: "I arrived in São Paolo and did what I had to do, moving in with these two guys in Campinas". It is followed by a narrative description concerning the informant's experience during the first days after she began living in the above-mentioned shared flat in Campinas. Virginia once more focuses on the aspect of her flat mates' sexual orientation, and it indeed seems to bother her. In the following, the incumbent attempts to

rationalize her criticism by stating: “I remember thinking that the world was lost (-) I was afraid to get involved (-) because I was afraid they would brainwash me and I would end up gay too”. Conceivably, Virginia might have perceived these individuals as a threat to her social identity. The informant’s antipathy regarding this matter can be associated to a certain institutionalized homophobia, due to the religious precepts she used to be involved in her social framework in Greenville. Another important aspect could be Virginia’s need to conform to cultural expectations from her place of origin in an attempt to feel "normal" or someone who is "conforming”.

The successive textual section contains another kernel sentence, more specifically: “I worked there for one or two weeks at KS SP (meant to say it had only been one or two weeks)”. It is followed by an argumentative narrative detailing explicating how she met another intern at this company, who wound up offering her a room in the shared flat where she lived at that time. Virginia argues: “(at KS) they had this small group of interns who worked there (,) and who were all going to college”. The first aspect of this quotation is the indication of a very clear period of group socialization between the informant and individuals who were attending tertiary education. It may have exposed the informant to a social frame that generally considered higher education as an important step regarding educational biographical plans. The second aspect of Virginia’s quotation is that she would finally begin living and interacting with individuals that would, in her social framework in Greenville, be addressed as conforming and even as distinguished, once their sexual orientation would be perceived as congruent and their educational achievements as superior due to the fact they were attending tertiary education in Sao Paulo, an enormous metropolis.

In the next, Virginia continues with her narrative detailing stating she began receiving compensation during her dual system apprenticeship, and that it was used to pay for rent in Sao Paulo where she attended school and the shared flat in Campinas where KS SP was located. In the following Virginia begins with the kernel sentence: “There was a girl I met one day (,) who was also an intern at KS SP (,) She worked in the legal department, and we became friends”. It is attached to a scenic social situation in the narrative of the incumbent. To a certain extent, it marks a turning point for Virginia. She had finally begun attending IFPA’s dual system apprenticeship, and most importantly and as stated above, she began interacting and

living with “conforming and even distinguished” individuals, in Sao Paulo. Virginia uses direct speech, a central marker of a scenic social situation, to narrate about the conversation with this girl, which finally led her to decide she would begin living with this colleague, as can be seen in: “if I get sick will you take me to the doctor (?)” (-) She said “Yes, I’ll take you”, and I said “Then I’ll move to SR District”. Virginia attempted to rationalize her request based on the fact she was far from her parents and, therefore, didn’t have any parental assistance, as in: “because I had no father or mother to take care of me”. It might have been a very overwhelming time for the informant, once she was living in Sao Paulo, commuting to work and school, trying to form and establish a new social frame at work and at school, dealing with all the learning she was committing herself to, coping with the fact she was living in a shared flat very far away from any parental care, and being responsible for her own finances, and also enduring a certain transient loneliness due to the fact that she was far from friends, high school peers and family in an unknown, huge city. It was very likely a time that the incumbent had to commit to a effort justification pattern and focus on her biographical objective of “being seen by society” in order to gather the needed power to withstand the hardship and stress this period might have brought.

The following kernel sentence in this passage is: “so then I moved in and shared a flat with five other girls”. This colleague also lived with other girls, and Virginia moved in with them. This kernel sentence is attached to a higher predicate used by the informant to assess this experience “It was cool”. Virginia concretizes it by stating this was a period of learning how to cope with her own finances and commuting between Sao Paulo and Campinas. The following is a background construction for the better understanding of a “difficult experience” she had to undergo due to her lack of financial means during this period. Virginia explains that, once she did not have sufficient money available, she could not afford to buy groceries and prepare a different meal on a daily basis. Therefore, she had to constantly feed on leftovers, as pointed out by the informant in: “I :ate: a lot of leftovers (-) that were in the fridge (,) Sometimes I kept leftovers for three days before eating them”. It, consequently, led the informant to an intestinal infection at that time. Virginia justifies her actions by stating “I wanted to pay rent and bills first (‘) (-) buying food came after that”. The informant’s justification is, on the one hand, a crucial indication of her financial responsibility very likely due to all the financial hardship she had already gone through in her biography at that point in time. Yet, on the other

hand, it could also be considered a bi-product of processes undergone by the informant during her childhood that led her to fear punishment. In other words, not paying her bills could incur penalties that should be avoided.

Virginia continues her narration with a descriptive narrative detailing explicating the developments that followed the above-mentioned episode. The incumbent mentions: “The company heard that I was sick and asked what was going on (,) and they said that a social worker wanted to talk to me”. Virginia once again reinforced to the company’s social worker that she had a strong financial responsibility, but also pointed out the compensation simply wasn’t sufficient as to provide for her own self-sufficiency. The incumbent carries on with her narrative detailing saying that the company decided to increase her compensation by 100%. She began receiving 1,200 reais a month. In a higher predicate, Virginia describes it as: “So then (‘) I was in heaven”. It can also be considered as a marker indicating the end of a financial hardship in the biography of the incumbent. It meant she no longer had to put her health at risk, and she had enough money to cover all her expenses, which meant she definitely wouldn’t need any help from her mother anymore. At last Virginia seemed to have overcome important hurdles in the pathway she decided to follow in her biography. She was finally living in Sao Paulo, she had been admitted by a company and could, therefore, begin her dual system apprenticeship at IFPA, and she had finally achieved a financial independency that certainly helped in assuring her the days of hardship were over. At this point in time, Virginia was clearly following an institutional expectation pattern, which was part of her educational intentions of becoming qualified to obtain solid employment in order to fulfill her biographical plan of “being seen by society”. It is also interesting how much Virginia committed to showing to her former social frame, in Greenville, she should be perceived as an individual that displayed a determined positive distinctiveness. It was a clear search for differentiation, for a change of social identity within her former social frame. The coda of this narrative unit entails a brief descriptive narration of her time during KS SP. Virginia clarifies she worked in different departments: “I worked there first for a year in the HR department (‘) and after that to sales, in a kind of job rotation where I saw different departments”.

14. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2185 – 2196)

This full narrative unit begins with a time reference “in 2008”, on line 629, and relates to the informant’s fiancée, Larry, and the informant’s current place of residence.

The introduction of this narrative unit has the following kernel sentence “In 2008, a guy appeared in my life”. The following is a short descriptive narrative detailing used by the informant to elucidate that Larry was also an intern at KS SP and that he helped her and eventually became her fiancée. Virginia uses a higher predicate to describe this individual “Larry was an :angel: in my life”. The loss of biographically important peers, friends and family members seemed to have been, to a certain extent, relieved once she met Larry. The word choice of the informant catches one’s attention. Virginia uses the word “angel” to refer to her fiancée, as if in an attempt to describe him as someone who protected and guided her in Sao Paolo. Larry might have been an important event carrier in the biography of the incumbent. Yet, it’s not yet evident how and in which occasions he played a fundamental role in the further development of Virginia’s biographical processes.

The subsequent kernel sentence is “since 2009(-) I live in my own apartment”. It is attached to a descriptive narrative concerning the apartment. Virginia describes it as a big apartment, with many rooms. In the following, the informant reveals she owns a car now, that is paid off, and which is used to go to college. It is perceivable that Virginia’s persistence and discipline led her to achieve enormous goals. After all the endurance she had to withstand at the beginning in Sao Paolo, she finally harvested the first results of her dedication. It is also attention grabbing the fact that she began attending tertiary education. It became clear Virginia had possibly reestablished her educational objectives with the purpose of consolidating even more her initial biographical plan of “being seen by society”. It also demonstrates that IFPA’s apprenticeship was of vital importance for her accomplishments, but that further steps would be needed to boost her drive to belong to a higher social class and, consequently, attest to her former social frame and to herself that she had finally attained her ambition. In other words, people could talk about her “just like people talked about the mayor’s kids and so on”. This could even be a search related to what she experienced in school in Greenville. One could argue the incumbent’s biographical plan also entailed the objective of becoming part of a social group

that once she felt completely detached from, as can be observed in: “(I attended) a private school where the elite in town had their children, children of the :mayor:, :politicians: and :doctors: in town (-) people like that (-) business people and all the most influential people in town”. The coda indicating the end of this very brief narrative unit is characterized by a closing statement with a falling intonation, which is followed by a two-second pause: “I use it to drive to college”.

15. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2196 – 2205)

This full narrative unit begins with the frame switching element *so*, and deals with the informant’s first permanent employment after graduating from IFPA’s dual system apprenticeship. The introduction of this narrative unit includes the kernel sentence “So I was working at KS SP, and in 2008 a crisis hit”. The following is a descriptive narrative detailing, in which the informant discloses the magnitude of this crisis regarding Larry and her. Virginia tells that, on the one hand, Larry was dismissed, on the other hand, however, this crisis presented itself as an opportunity for her, as it can be observed in: “after the IFPA internship (-) in the middle of all of that (‘) [...] they :hired: me to do her job (-) to be a secretary for the board of directors (,)”. It is attached to an argumentative section, in which Virginia attempts to rationalize this job offer. She mainly points out three different motives: (a) the company dismissed the previous secretary due to an exceedingly high compensation and needed a replacement for her. The informant claims the company was seeking a secretary at a lower cost. (b) Virginia relates this job offer to the fact she is of a German descent and had undergone IFPA’s apprenticeship. This last reason might be related to the fact that KS SP is a global and first-tier supplier to the automotive industry, and it has several offices and plants in Germany as well. The other aspect is that Virginia underwent an apprenticeship program sponsored by the company. KS SP is one of the many companies that maintain cooperation with IFPA in Sao Paulo. In other words, Virginia was immediately hired after finishing her dual system apprenticeship. It is, however, relevant to notice how Virginia perceives herself as, to a certain extent, part of a German culture. She addresses herself as someone of German descent, she spoke the language at home (even though it was a dialect), she attended a Lutheran church in Greenville (a small German colony in the South of Brazil), she went to a school where German was taught, and

later she attended IFPA's apprenticeship (also a German VET program). It is, therefore, possible to ascertain the interviewee identifies with German culture.

It's also relevant to mention that Virginia went through a collective trajectory brought by the financial crisis in 2008. Nevertheless, she wasn't negatively affected by it. On the other hand, she was benefited and got the chance to work as a full-time secretary for the board of directors at KS SP. It might have been crucial for her self-assertion, once she was hired in a very turbulent time. It might have showed her she was capable and other individuals also acknowledged her as a competent person. This may have been a point of concatenation of the events the incumbent had been involved in so far. It possibly marked her biography as an event that boosted her confidence and demonstrated she was on the right path to achieve her biographical intentions. It can also be justified based on her rendering, as it can be observed in: "in the middle of all of that [...] they :hired: me to do her job".

The following part of her narrative detailing is used by the informant to state she worked as a secretary for a certain time, apparently for nearly 2 years. After that, in May of 2011, Virginia officially began working in their engineering department. The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit is characterized by a falling intonation and a brief pause, after a closing statement: "in May of 2011 (-) I went to engineering (,)".

16. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2206 – 2235)

This full narrative unit begins with the time reference "*in 2009*" and deals with the informant's access to tertiary education as well as her first employment in an engineering department. The introduction of this narrative unit entails the kernel sentence "In 2009 I did a prep course all year⁸⁹". It is followed by a descriptive narrative detailing that reveals the informant attended a private course that prepared her for the university entrance examination at

⁸⁹ Also called in Portuguese *pré-vestibular*, it is a type of cram school, in general private, existing in many Brazilian cities, and attended by students who are trying to enter the university via the entrance exams; see Wolff and Castro (2001).

Unicamp University⁹⁰, a public institution. Virginia explains “I had 70 points fewer than I needed to get in”. The incumbent didn’t pass the entrance examination and, therefore, couldn’t carry on with her educational plan of attending higher education. Nonetheless, in a biographical action scheme process, Virginia took action and attempted to actively manipulate the situation. The interviewee tells she decided to look for professional advice, as it can be observed in: “I went to the HR director (‘) and asked him about it (-) why not to ask for the opinion of a professional (?)”. This passage is immediately followed by a scene of biographical importance, clearly identified through the informant’s usage of direct speech. Virginia asked whether she should prepare one additional year for the entrance examination of a public university or if she should enter a private one. Studying at a private university would also take Virginia a considerable amount of effort due to the fact that she would need to work during the day and attend university in the evenings. The interviewee comments that the company, KS SP, decided to invest in her qualification once again. KS SP began paying 90% of her university tuition fees. It is attention-grabbing that Virginia always kept focused on her biographical plan and showed she had a solid understanding of the pathway that needed to be followed to accomplish it. Achieving an enhanced social identity within her social frame in Greenville seems to have been an initial sparkle for Virginia’s motivation to act towards and sustain a goal directed behavior. In addition, one can also identify the bond between the company and the informant. The dual system apprenticeship certainly assisted in strengthening this relationship, for the company had two years to observe and closely work with Virginia, and the informant had sufficient time to identify with the company and have a reasonable systemic view of it.

Virginia continues her descriptive narrative detailing stating she earned around 1,700 reais at the time and, in addition, the company began paying 90% of her tuition fees. Virginia evaluates, in a reflective passage, the outcome of this relationship with KS SP, as can be seen in: “I’m very grateful to KS SP, because they always helped me a lot”. This reflective commentary is followed by a very important argumentative detailing. Virginia states: “Even though I

⁹⁰ It is a public university in the Brazilian state of São Paulo. It is the largest Brazilian university and the country's most prestigious educational institution. UNICAMP is responsible for around 15% of all Brazilian research and has 53.6% of its students at the graduate level, see UNICAMP (2011).

didn't really like being a secretary, because my mother was a secretary her entire life and it traumatized me". One can perceive that Virginia opted for a dual system apprenticeship in an area she didn't intend to pursue a career in, namely, becoming a secretary. However, IFPA was an important educational tunnel leading to her biographical intention of achieving a certain educational level as to obtain better employment opportunities and, consequently, become "seen by the society" – to attain an enhanced social identity within her social frame. Thus, following a career as a secretary wouldn't be congruent with her biographical intention. Virginia is convinced that she won't be perceived as an individual of a distinctive social identity in case she becomes a professional in the secretarial area. She associates the image of a secretary to her mother, and it is closely related to low income, financial hardship, financial dependency on others and most importantly, she might have internalized her mother's self-theoretical commentary that "only rich people were somebody in society". Therefore, becoming a secretary wouldn't make her "rich", would not help her to achieve a higher social class and, as a result, would not boost her social identity. In other words, Virginia believes this would be traumatic due to the fact that seeing her mother working as a secretary and undergoing all the financial hardship they had to endure, may have been experienced as a significant distressing process.

The next kernel sentence is "So I worked there until May (‘) and in 2009 I was really inspired by the president of KS SP". In the following passage the interviewee rationalizes the reason why she felt so inspired. She explicates "I remember seeing the :vice: president's office (-) and deciding that (-) one day I would become a director (,)". It demonstrates that during a process of organizational socialization, in which Virginia was acquiring the necessary knowledge and skills to effectively perform her tasks at KS SP, she was exposed to a vital scene of biographical importance. The biography incumbent realized that having this sort of office, as well as such a position, would certainly enhance the perception society had of her identity. Thus, it served as a source of motivation to behave and to further actively shape the course of her biography. Virginia became even more aware of her desired biographical objective and was determined to achieve it.

The following part of Virginia's argumentative narrative description further deals with the above-mentioned motivation, as in: "But he was Chief Financial Advisor (-) and I didn't want

to be a financial manager (‘) but, the president inspired me a lot anyway”. It is attached to a further argumentative section used by the informant to explicate she didn’t want to follow his educational steps because he majored in mechanical engineering, whereas she would like to major in industrial engineering. Virginia describes it as: “but I thought that (mechanical engineering) was something more for :men: (,) It was more technical (,) I wanted something difficult”. The last higher predicate expressed in the word “difficult” may be interpreted as Virginia’s own discern about these two majors. She believes that studying the process flow of a company is more challenging than focusing on the actual working of the machinery per se. Perhaps, Virginia’s wish to major in industrial engineering might have been influenced by the systemic view she had of the process flow at KS SP, which was gained during her dual system apprenticeship.

In the following part of this narrative unit the informant reveals she is nowadays attending the fifth semester of industrial engineering and seems to be excelling in her major as well. She mentions that “and one of the professors gave me the opportunity to do an exchange program in August”. It is rather impressive the intensity and speed at which Virginia developed toward her biographical goal. Her determination and desire to constantly shape the course of her biography seemed to have always motivated her to strive for further achievement, and it has also been recognized by other individuals, being that at work or university.

The next kernel sentence in this narrative unit is “I started working at their industrial engineering department last year, in May 2011”. The next is a narrative description explaining she worked at their engineering department for only six months. Virginia describes the experience as fruitful and productive. She claims to have learned a lot technically as well. It is remarkable that she began working at KS SP’s engineering department even before graduating from university. In addition, it also marked a turning point in her professional career. Virginia had finally accomplished her goal of steering her professional career. It was the first time she wasn’t employed to work as a secretary. It seems it marked the end of a tunnel followed by Virginia to achieve her biographical intentions. At this point in time, she was working as an engineer, she wasn’t following in the footsteps of her mother as a secretary, she was living in Sao Paulo, was financially independent, attending tertiary education and reaping the fruits of her labor, endurance and perseverance. The following part of this passage entails another im-

portant evaluative commentary made by the informant: “I was working with something I had always dreamed of doing (,) in an area I always thought of working”. Even though the informant does not provide clear, sufficient further information to ascertain the reasons for it, one can argue this “dream” might have its genesis in the work she had to do in her grandfather’s land, harvesting. Conceivably, she was in contact with machinery, tools and/or other utensils that could have triggered her interest in the area. In addition, her dual system apprenticeship, and her identification with KS SP and its production process might also have fostered her wish to work professionally in this specific area. The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit is characterized by a closing statement, a falling intonation and a short pause.

17. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2235 – 2248)

This full narrative unit begins with the time reference “*in December*” and announces with the informant’s last job offer and her current employment description. The introduction of this narrative unit entails a kernel sentence “I got a call to do an interview at DBS (a company in the agricultural and construction equipment businesses) (‘) this call came on December 31”. The company contacted Virginia to offer her a job. It remains, however, unclear how and also the reasons that led this company to contact the informant. Virginia only mentions: “and I decided to accept it”. The informant made an important decision regarding her professional career and embarked on a renewed institutional expectation pattern, which can be clearly observed in the typical formulaic verbal expression used by the informant. The following part of this narrative unit is a descriptive detailing about her current employment at DBS. Virginia elucidates it’s been two months she started working for this new company and that she needs to travel inside Brazil for meetings as well as for training. She further describes she is engaged in management projects and seems to be satisfied with her new challenge, as can be verified in: “I felt motivated to get up early in the morning because I want to go there and show my boss [...] So this morning I woke up at 5:00”.

The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit is characterized by a closing statement, a falling intonation: “Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday I was in Curitiba and today I’m here (,)”. It is also a clear demonstration of how engaged and committed Virginia is to her new challenge at DBS. The informant seems to be willing to keep her focus on the biographical

plan she aimed at even before leaving Greenville years ago. It is also clear that Virginia will definitely continue to follow a clear institutional expectation pattern in her biography.

18. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2248 – 2263)

This full narrative unit begins with two frame switching elements, which is characterized here by the adverb *anyway* immediately followed by a second adverb indicating a time reference *“before”*. This unit approaches the informant’s achievements before leaving KS SP and her current tasks at DBS. The first kernel sentence in this narrative unit is “before I left KS SP and got my sister a job there”. In a sequence, the informant descriptively narrates that she managed to find employment for her sibling at KS SP’s logistics department. Virginia seems to have become an important event carrier in the biographical development of her sister, as it can be observed in: “She is going to college now, at Faculdade de Americana (,) (-) I was the one who enrolled her there, too (‘) (-) the tuition invoice comes with my name on it (-) but she is the one who pays it (‘)”. Virginia’s assistance seems to be related to a generation contract case. However, this assumption can only be verified through the further analysis of the following narrative units.

In the following passage of this narrative unit, Virginia carries on with her descriptive narrative detailing and also points out she managed to obtain employment for one of her friends at KS SP. Once again, in a new act of self-disclosure, Virginia brags about herself in this passage, just as she did before. One could once again reiterate this self-disclosure may be an attempt to appear worthy of attention as to demonstrate how capable she is.

The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit is characterized by a closing statement, a falling intonation: “(-) I try to manage everything that I have to do (2)”. Virginia is referring to all the work commitments she has to deal with and also the university work she has to do. One can observe she is still attending tertiary education, but is already involved in important projects at a new company, which demands a certain number of trainings as well as business trips inside Brazil. It’s possible to ascertain that the informant will successfully finish her university degree and will continue to excel at work. Virginia seems to be a very determined person and has a very special drive to achieve her objectives. In addition, one can also see she

wants to avoid by all means reproducing the biographical developments of her mother, which entailed having a profession that is not perceived as prestigious by society, going through financial hardship, living in a social frame within the rural area, and also dealing with constant suffering. At this given point in time, it seems Virginia has encountered a pathway that diverged from all of these developments and appears to be leading to her desired biographical objectives.

19. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2263 – 2314 – First part of slit coda)

This full narrative unit begins with the time reference “*today*”. It is a very clear marker of a coda indicating the end of Virginia’s life story is imminent. Virginia’s interview has a clear split coda, divided into three parts, as can be seen in three distinctive markers in the interview, respectively “Ok, that’s it (‘) My throat is dry now (,)”, and “That’s it (-) I don’t know if it helped you more or not (‘) but I talked a little more (,) (((laughs)))”, and the last one “Ok, Marcelo (,) That’s all (,)”. This narrative unit deals with the first part of Virginia’s split coda and is part of the closing of the content of her autobiographical story.

The first kernel sentence is “:today: I am working at :DBS:”. Virginia merely reinforces it as to state she is no longer working at KS SP, where she did her dual system apprenticeship. Next, the informant refocuses on her siblings to narrate about their current situation. Virginia reveals her middle sister, Lisa, has passed the entrance examination at a public university to study nursing. She explains her sister has been trying since 2007, and has now decided she will major in nursing, even though she always aimed at studying medicine. Virginia elucidates her sister also moved from Greenville to Pelotas in order to start studying nursing at a public university there. It seems Lisa is somehow reproducing some of the biographical process Virginia underwent as well.

The successive kernel sentence deals with an important aspect of the incumbent’s biography, as can be seen in: “both my sisters have lived here with me”. It appears that the generation contract case seems to fit Virginia’s family biographical developments. Firstly, her mother made all possible efforts to provide for the oldest, so that she could later help her younger siblings with their further development, financially and educationally. Interestingly, Virginia,

probably unconsciously seems to have internalized traits of her mother's behavior that are even nowadays heavily criticized by the informant. She invites her sister to come live with her, but determines she will have to do whatever it takes to work in Sao Paulo. It mirrors a lot the situation the informant and her siblings experienced during their childhood in Greenville. As Virginia stated: "my mother was hell (-) She couldn't stand us watching a cartoon (') (-) She would find something for us to do (,) (-) Then we/I started working at an office that works with patents of trademarks and so on (,). As if reproducing her mother's behavior, Virginia expects her sister to perform any kind of labor in order to provide for her own existence and also as a way of "finding something for her to do". The following self-theoretical commentary made by the informant also supports this assumption, as it can be observed in: "you could work as a shop assistant (') anything, as long as you don't become a prostitute" [...] Yeah, I'm like that (-) I think as long as you don't decide to be a prostitute (-) you can do just about anything else (-) Nothing you do will make you have a less dignified life". Virginia carries on with her narrative detailing and it becomes even clearer that the above-stated assumption seems to be valid. She states: "So, I'd come home in the afternoon from work and she would be home sleeping (') I thought "No, come on (') This can't be real (') I don't work all day just to come home and see this" (,) I said "you can pack your bags and go on with your life like that if you think it is the best way to live". One can see that the informant acted similarly to her mother and did not tolerate her sister being unoccupied at home. The outcome of this behavior was that her sister had to move out and Virginia seems to be no longer assisting her, as in: "I don't really know how she did it there". In the following part of her narrative, Virginia talks about her younger sister, Helen. She begins with the kernel sentence "I said I would help my middle sister, too [...] so I talked to my middle sister and said "Helen, you can come. You can't do what Lisa did here". The informant had already warned her sister about Lisa's behavior and that, just like her own mother, this kind of attitude wouldn't be tolerated at her place in Sao Paulo either. It is remarkable the unawareness of the incumbent. The behavior pattern is evident and her socialization with her siblings is a clear reproduction of her relationship with her mother. It can also be verified in the words of the informant, as in: "because my mother screamed at us so much at home that she couldn't stand us hanging out, and that she would find work for us to do". In the following passage, Virginia explicates that the same outcome occurred after Helen came to Sao Paulo. As soon as the informant caught her watching television in the middle of the afternoon, instead of searching for work or working

on obtaining further qualifications, Virginia said she had to leave and look for a new place to live. It should also be mentioned that another aspect that certainly influenced Virginia's behavior toward her siblings is the own personality of the incumbent. Virginia is very driven and goal oriented. In addition, as already conveyed by the informant herself, she doesn't mind getting involved in physical labor tasks or undergoing process that entails endurance and hardship, as long as they lead to a previous established biographical goal. In other words, her siblings' behavior simply couldn't be understood, tolerated and accepted by the informant.

The next passage begins with a reflective passage used by the informant to express she will no longer help her siblings, as in: "I have decided that I will no longer help right now, but when you need help and come ask for it, I'll help you (' I will gladly help you, no problem" (,) To take someone from the life they are used to living is difficult (,)". It seems the generation contract begun by Virginia's mother is now over. It is also very likely that Virginia and her mother are still going through a difficult time in their relationship due to this turnout of events. Virginia did not comprehend her mother's intention of helping her first so she could assist her siblings later. Virginia is fully unaware that she is reproducing her mother's behavior, which might have had its genesis in a certain Pietism the whole family was exposed to.

The next part of this segment contains an evaluative assessment, also typical of coda segments, reflectively made with the purpose of emphasizing the informant's perception of her own behavior regarding her relationship to her mother and siblings. In an emotional, evaluative narration, the interviewee utters a crucial passage "I learned it the hard way (,) but I learned it (,) I don't know if I'm right or wrong (-) but what can I do (?)". Virginia uses the term "learn" in her assessment of this process. Given that learning is shaped by our accumulated knowledge, is contextual and can be considered to be a process, the informant acquired this behavior from experiences with her mother and both sisters. In addition, she clearly demonstrates and confirms her unawareness regarding her behavior in relation to this process.

Virginia can explicitly perceive her professional growth, which is driven by her considerably dominant institutional expectation pattern biographical process. However, she is unaware of her mother's generation contract plan and seems to have brought it to an end by reproducing

her mother's behavior of being intolerant with anyone being unoccupied. One can also perceive that the informant climbed the career ladder in a very visible way. Firstly, she started working at KS SP as an apprentice, basically working as a secretary. Later on she had the opportunity to work at the engineering department of the same company. After this, she was contacted and employed by DBS as an engineer, even though she hasn't even finished her university degree yet.

The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit is characterized by a closing statement, as can be observed in: "Ok, that's it (') my throat is dry now (,)" . It is also a clear marker indicating the coda of the informant's extempore storytelling. However, the interviewer senses in the tone of the informant that there may be additional information she would like to disclose. As already stated, plenty of evaluative passages can be found in this section of the interview. After a longer pause, the interviewer attempts to stimulate the informant to provide further narration. As a result, Virginia continued with her narrative. As previously mentioned, her interview encompasses a three-part-split coda.

20. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2315 – 2390 - Second part of split coda)

The interviewer begins this section with a very open question, without focusing on any specific aspect or topic. The interviewer asks whether there was anything else the interviewee would like to add, as in: "Great (,). Is there anything you may have :forgotten: or anything else you'd like to tell me, Virginia (?)" .

The interviewee restarts her narrative with the kernel sentence "Just about IFPA (,) because I don't think I told you everything about it" . It is attached to a clear evaluative commentary regarding the experience of the informant at IFPA, given that the theoretical part of the apprenticeship occurred at this institution. The informant assesses it negatively, as in "I expected a lot more from IFPA" and "I was really disappointed in our classes (') I expected more (,) (-) It ended up helping me a lot, but not from knowledge I gained there (,). She seems to openly criticize the content taught by the school and appears to classify it as insufficient. She continues her reflective, evaluative passage arguing IFPA has a positive reputation, but that the knowledge provided is rather weak. Virginia also makes an assessment of the other apprentic-

es, who were also her classmates at IFPA. She relates to them as: “spoiled rich kids”. The informant even mentions they were children of managers of multinational companies. It is a remarkable observation made by the informant. It was the second time in her biography that Virginia was attending an educational institution where she sensed social segregation; she had already mentioned the same about her private school in Greenville “a private school where the elite in town had their children, as in “children of the :mayor:, :politicians: and :doctors: in town”. In other words, Virginia left Greenville to fulfill her main biographical plan of “being seen by the society”. However, she immediately found herself in the same kind of circumstances. Once again she sensed she didn’t belong to the major social group at that educational institution. To a certain extent, she realized it would still take a great amount of effort to enhance her social identity as she desired. Therefore, one can argue that Virginia experienced social segregation while attending IFPA’s apprenticeship. On the basis of her socioeconomic status, Virginia perceived herself as an underclass individual, forced to co-exist in the social frame within that educational institution. This assumption can be observed in her following commentary “:those: (‘) people here from colonies like Greenville”. The informant’s word choice evidences her perception. The word “those” is a lucid contrast to the word these. She separates both social groups and immediately makes it clear that she had to overcome different barriers to follow through with her biographical intentions.

In the next passage, the interviewee makes another evaluative statement, as in “didn’t learn much English in school (,) It really screws up your life afterward (,) For example”. It is a clear attempt to rationalize, by using an example that she belonged to a lower class group that didn’t have certain privileges the individuals who belong to the “rich kids group” had. The informant uses the example of English as a second language. She argues her “rich” classmates spoke the language fluently, whereas she had to constantly struggle. Virginia also evaluates the outcomes of this deficit: “I haven’t even told you (,) I couldn’t talk to you last Saturday morning because I go from 8:00 until noon to an English course (‘) (-) [...] because of that (,) If IFPA had offered us to solid years of education while I was there (‘) I definitely wouldn’t need to go to a class like that now”.

In the next assessment of the vocational school, Virginia proceeds to describe and evaluate the social context in which she was inserted. She states: “there were only three students who ac-

tually were from the lower class (-) It was John, Jack and I (‘) (-) the rest belonged to the upper class”. Virginia evidences she became friends with these two young men and, as a result, might have separated herself from the rest of the group due to this social class difference. The informant argues her classmates would go to IFPA driving their own cars, even imported, expensive ones. She assess the situation very negatively, as it can be observed in: “I felt like :shit:, I felt like nothing (-) in that place (‘)”. It is, therefore, possible to ascertain the existence of a determined social segregation within the educational institution. Moreover, it apparently occurs based on the socioeconomic profile of the individuals, regardless of the educational modality they found themselves in.

Virginia carries on with her reflective, evaluative narration providing an argument to illustrate the reason why she felt undermined. She explains “Since you have to walk to get to IFPA and the sidewalks were full of dog shit (‘) that’s how it was to get from the IFPA-Haus where the dorms were, to school (,) I felt like shit, too, because I had no help from anyone”. The informant clearly points out she had to undergo situations her classmates weren’t even aware of. She might have constantly made this comparison to her socioeconomically privileged classmates and, as a result, might have experienced a sense of unfairness. In addition, Virginia might have experienced a certain level of social loneliness while she was attending IFPA’s apprenticeship. It can be assumed due to the fact that she was living in a very different city, far away from her family, friends and peers, she was experiencing social exclusion as well as a perceived social unfairness. However, this period of endurance has led the incumbent to go through a creative metamorphosis of biographical identity. New important inner developments started in her biography. It can be observed in the informant’s word choice, which clearly entails a typical formulaic verbal expression indicating such a biographical process, as can be seen in: “but: it was good for me to grow as a person”. At first, all these circumstances were irritating in the beginning. Nevertheless, Virginia appears to have found the very quality of it. She further rationalizes it in her evaluation by saying: “I had to cook my own :food:, I had to go to the store, I had to :do: my own :laundry:, clean my room at IFPA-Haus, and do everything else alone, but it helped me grow as a human being”.

It is possible to observe that Virginia constantly experience an eclipse of biographical process in the developments of her life. By attending IFPA and moving to Sao Paulo, she was obvi-

ously undergoing a biographical action scheme with very clear biographical intentions. However, these objectives have brought certain trajectories such as her social loneliness, the social segregation she experienced at school the distance from her family and the very likely suffering she experienced while going through this vital process in her biography. However, it has led the incumbent to a crucial creative metamorphosis of biographical identity as well.

The informant also mention that “today I see that people recognize :these: efforts (,)”. It is attached to an example used by the informant to illustrate how other individuals acknowledge the endurance she has undergone and the benefits it has brought her biographical development, as can be seen in “My :bosses: at the companies I interviewed for saw this (,) saw who I am today. In the following example, Virginia also ends up justifying the reason she identified with DBS and why she mentioned in a previous narrative unit: “I was working with something I had always dreamed of doing (,) in an area I always thought of working”. Virginia explicates the company produces agricultural machinery and that she had come from the countryside, where she had to help her grandfather to perform various agricultural activities, as she mentions in: “I had to hoe, to harvest sugar cane [...] I had to help fertilize and work with manure”. It’s remarkable how a process Virginia experienced in her childhood constituted the genesis of her profession and current employment. It can be affirmed because nowadays she is a project analyst of sprayers that are used to fertilize plantations at DBS in Sao Paolo.

The following passage begins with a higher predicate uttered by the informant “So (-) life is really weird (,) how paths can sometimes cross (-) It’s really strange like that”. Virginia appears to be unaware, at least in this passage, that she intentionally chose this pathway in her biography. These outcomes have their origin in her biographical actions scheme as well as institutional expectation pattern processes.

In the next passage of this narrative unit, the informant reveals how she perceived herself as an individual within the social contexts she was involved at KS SP and at DBS. Virginia affirms “at KS SP , they saw me as a :nosy: blonde bitch who thinks she can speak German, will come here like a know-it-all (-) and take someone else’s job (,)”. The interviewee, reflectively, assesses the way the other individuals of her social frame at work perceived her. Her

evaluation is negative and exposes the fact that Virginia did not consider she belonged in that social group. She even mentions her colleagues saw her as “just a person from Bahia”. She is very likely referring to a stigmatized perception of Afro-Americans who lived in conditions of poverty in Northern Brazil. One can observe Virginia didn’t feel accepted at both places during her apprenticeship. Neither did she feel she belonged at school, nor did she at work at KS SP. The informant had to endure a great amount of cultural marginality as well as hybridity issues in this process. She was born in a German colony, spoke a German dialect at home and felt connected to this cultural context. Yet, suddenly she felt confronted with the fact that other individuals doubted her social identity and even stated: “:nosy: blonde bitch who thinks she can speak German” (p.26 line 831). In contrast, the informant reveals that at the new and current company, DBS, she feels accepted and displays a sense of belonging, as can be observed in: “At DBS I think they can see where I :come: from, what :values: I have (-) and that I had to fight to be here and am not trying to steal anybody’s job (-)”. Thus, one could argue that Virginia only truthfully began experiencing a sense of belonging after she finished her dual system apprenticeship and left KS SP. It might even be one of the reasons why she decided to leave this company, which she claims to have helped her considerably.

In the following passage, the informant carries on with her evaluative, abstract language stating: “I just (‘) want to have what I deserve (-) everybody does (,) I don’t need to pull the rug from under anybody’s feet”. It is an attempt to demonstrate Virginia very likely suffered with the image associated with her character while attending IFPA and working at KS SP. She wants fairness and that other individuals in her social frame acknowledge and recognize she is just aiming at her biographical objectives and does not wish to cause any harm. It is also conceivable that this was a rather irritating period for the incumbent. Perhaps she couldn’t comprehend the reason why other individuals perceived her as intrusive, as a threat, given that she had to endure and commit to a great deal of suffering and struggling to achieve the results she had already accomplished at the time.

Nowadays, in a reflective-retrospective manner, the informant evaluates and associates her professional success to the apprenticeship she underwent at IFPA in Sao Paolo. She states that “IFPA helped me a lot with this”. It demonstrates the contribution IFPA had in the shaping of a benign overall fate in Virginia’s life history up to now. Even though she had to endure tra-

jectories of suffering, hybridity issues, social exclusion as well as loneliness, she can nowadays comprehend the significant impact it had on her dominant institutional expectation pattern.

The coda of this narrative unit is characterized by the sentence: “it (-) I don’t know if it helped you more or not (‘) but I talked a little more (,)”. The informant seems to have brought her story to a close. However, the interviewer senses, for the second time, that there may be additional information she would like to disclose about IFPA specifically and the period of time she underwent her dual system vocational training in Sao Paolo. After a second longer pause, the interviewer attempts to stimulate the informant to provide further narration. As a result, Virginia decides to carry on with her narrative. As previously stated, her interview has a three-part-split coda.

21. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2391 – 2414 - Last part of split coda)

This narrative unit begins with the kernel sentence “I lived with a girl from Curitiba and another one from Rio Grande do Sul (,) (-) Actually three girls from Rio Grande do Sul and also another one from São Paolo”. The informant re-addresses the period of time she attended the IFPA School in Sao Paolo. She begins narrating about her residential situation at that time. Then, she openly criticizes one of her former roommates claiming that: “People from Curitiba are assholes”. The biography incumbent appears to demonstrate a certain behavior toward this girl that greatly resembles the behavior individuals had towards her ethnic origin while undergoing her dual system apprenticeship. Apparently, the process experienced by the interviewee did not make her more aware of a possible social segregation that can be associated to people due to their ethnic origin. Moreover, this abstract description given by the informant to her roommate also helps reinforce that Virginia might have experienced a great deal of social loneliness while undergoing IFPA’s apprenticeship. She didn’t feel accepted at the company, had serious identity and social segregation issues at school, and also had issues with individuals she shared housing with.

The following part of this last segment of the split coda is used by the informant to provide very abstract, evaluative, reflective rationalization and biographical assessments. Virginia

began with the statement: “I don’t know (-) I’ll see what life brings me now and whether things will keep going well”. One can observe Virginia is implying she is ready to experience new events in her biography and will certainly initiate biographical action schemes when necessary. She is aware of her biographical goals and appears not to circumvent the effort justification paradigm she experienced while attending IFPA. Virginia goes on to mention: “Everything depends on the life stage where we are (‘) there always two paths for us to follow”. In the following she attempts to briefly rationalize her abstract self-theoretical commentary. The informant explicates that she had two choices, as it can be observed in “I could stay in Greenville (‘) working to build :my: little house, or I could come to São Paulo (,) (-) and I came (,) began at the store and then KS SP (-) before starting at DBS (‘)”. Virginia herewith attempts to convey that her choice was filled with endurance, obstacles that demanded bearing hardship, and seem to be a clear contrast of what she would have to withstand had she opted to stay in her place of origin. She seems to have known that her biographical goals would demand effort, but that “being seen by society” was much more significant than the predicaments she would have to overcome. Virginia does not regret the efforts she had to make, and still seems to be very committed to her initial goal of enhancing her social identity by boosting upward mobility, mainly through further qualification, with the purpose of obtaining better employment. This assumption is also implied in her next commentary “and then should I go to college or not (?) (‘) Life will always give you different options”. Hence, she accessed higher education and is clearly trying to accomplish her goals, which are part of a clear institutional expectation pattern. Virginia wishes to follow up an institutionally shaped and normatively defined course of life. As previously stated by the informant: “I just (‘) want to have what I deserve”. She continues to dedicate to her biographical plan of having a social identity that is detached from the one she was associated with in Greenville, especially at school, as well as at IFPA. She wishes to be an individual respected by society just like “the children of the :mayor:, :politicians: and :doctors: in town” or “the children of the same managers of multinationals”. And as she originated from a substantially different socioeconomic family, Virginia knew it all would depend on a considerable amount of effort, in great part also boosted by her mother’s support, to achieve her desired social identity alteration. Therefore, leaving for Sao Paolo and beginning to attend IFPA can be considered the genesis of her efforts, which could lead the informant to her objective.

In one of the last part of this final segment of Virginia's split coda, she addresses one final self-theoretical commentary, as in "But, like it or not (‘) I can either make it here (‘) (-) or I can go there (,) I need to forget about the if (-) If I could(-)(-) If I had done". In this textual section, Virginia tries to transmit a characteristic that is a central basic biographical position of Virginia. She simply needs to face situations because "(she puts herself) under a lot of pressure to do things right the first time". She needs to do it and concomitantly forget the path not taken. She is attempting to convey she needs to comprehend there is always going to be a separation in a decision process she refers to, which is a particular maturity thrust for young adults regarding this biographical work on their own identity development.

The coda of this narrative unit is also the coda expressed in the sentence: "(3) Ok, Marcelo (,) That's all (,)". It is an explicit textual referral to the global story line of the autobiographical narration and the overall biographical shape or ordering of the life history. The interviewer thanks the informant accordingly, and the interviewee ends her contribution by politely saying "You're welcome (,)". This last sentence demonstrates that the informant enjoyed the experience of contributing and telling her life story.

Questioning Part I

1. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2415 - 2425)

The questioning part of the interview starts on line 880. The interviewer thanks the informant for her life story narration and kindly requests the incumbent reply to various questions that still remained vague and/or demanded further narrative and/or descriptive narration. Next, the incumbent is asked to present complementary descriptive narration on her mother tongue and language spoken at home.

The informant's reply begins with a brief descriptive narration. The first kernel sentence in this segment is "A German dialect (‘) called Hunsrückisch (,) (-)". She makes it known that the first language she learned was German. Within her social frame in Greenville (family and friends) she spoke the German dialect. Virginia only began learning Portuguese later on in school, as can be seen in: "when we started playing with our classmates who were also neigh-

bors, and when I started going to school (‘) then I had to learn to speak Portuguese”. It is an important aspect regarding Virginia’s identity development. One needs to bear in mind she was born in a Germany colony and learned German as a first language. Thus, she considered the German culture was part of her biography and most importantly her social identity.

The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit is characterized by a closing statement, a falling intonation: “But at home and at my grandparents’ we always spoke German (,) (2)”.

2. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2426 - 2453)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is then asked to disclose further information on a crucial aspect mentioned in her narrative, more specifically, the importance of “maintaining the culture” by marrying someone who belongs to the German culture. The informant’s answer is an explanation of this custom and its importance. The first kernel sentence in this segment is “Well, we colonized Rio Grande do Sul”. It is worth noting how Virginia perceives herself within this ethnic context. She includes herself in the group of colonizers who went from Germany to Brazil. In the following part, Virginia proceeds with a narrative detailing, which is used to rationalize her response to the question posed by the interviewer. She states it had to be done in order to give the German culture continuation in Brazil, as in: “this colonization of Rio Grande do Sul in Teutonia was done by Germans who came, if I’m not mistaken, in 1858 and then started everything (,) Together they built the church, the school, and [...] The future generations would end up marrying one another so that the culture would continue (‘) in this group (‘) (-)”.

In the next part of this passage, the interviewer questions Virginia whether this aspect of the culture is also present in her family context. Hence, the second kernel sentence in this segment is an affirmative answer provided by the informant, followed by a justification given in an example, as in: “Yes (,) It’s like my mom (-) her last name is Bidemann, a German name, and my father’s is Williger (-) also a German last name”. Virginia affirms they got married and, therefore, maintained the German culture, also by teaching German as a first language to their children. Virginia continues her rationalization providing another example related to her family. He provides the example of her cousin, who likewise, learned German at home as a

mother tongue. The informant reinforces the importance given by family members to the aspect of maintaining the German culture in: “they had this concern that we should speak German with them, even though we were surrounded by Portuguese”.

The next kernel sentence in Virginia’s reply is: “We also had English around us”. It is followed by an argumentative detailing explaining they were exposed to songs, media in English, very likely through television, radio and/or Internet. Virginia continues narrating the example of her cousin and states she currently speaks both languages due to the fact that she learned Portuguese in school in Greenville, too.

The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit is characterized by a closing statement, a falling intonation: “At least, to me it was that way”. At the very end of her reply, the informant asks whether her answer had been clear enough, and the interviewer accordingly agrees. One can perceive that Virginia is part of a determined ethnic origin and was raised, according to the interviewee, in a German cultural setting. It appears, however, it is difficult for her to rationalize and explain the importance of maintaining this culture, hence the doubt about being sufficiently clear in her response. However, this identity has certainly given Virginia a sense of self in the journey of her biography.

3. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2453 - 2466)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is asked to provide supplementary descriptive narration about the period of time her mother was unable to continue with her accounting work.

The interviewer inquires whether this was a difficult phase. The informant replies affirmatively and proceeds with her response providing an argumentative narrative detailing as to justify the reason why this was a period of hardship. The informant begins with the kernel sentence: “My parents got married and then the three of us were born one after another”. It is attached to a critique regarding her parents’ attitude. Virginia classifies it as “a lack of planning”. She also assumes it was the reason that led her mother to become a full-time housewife. Virginia describes this period of time as a phase of financial hardship, as it can be observed in: “she didn’t even have a washing machine”. These were all circumstances which the incumbent

grew up being exposed to. Hence, it is possible to argue that Virginia is so driven to accomplish her main biographical objective of “being seen by society” as a means to avoid any past undesirable biographical experience, and most importantly, the financial hardship she had to undergo while living with her family in Greenville.

The coda of this narrative unit is a closing statement with a falling intonation, in which the informant restates her mother incapability of coping with housework, her own business and raising three children concomitantly, as in: “I didn’t go out very much” it was impossible to keep the accountancy office (,)”.

4. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2467 - 2485)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is then asked to further clarify one of the interviewer’s doubts concerning the informant’s narrative about her grandfather. She claimed he would bring them groceries on a regular basis. Yet, Virginia assessed it negatively, even stating that, in her opinion, this was wrong. The incumbent starts her answer an argumentative narrative in order to rationalize the motives that lead her to conclude her grandfather’s behavior was not acceptable. Virginia mentions: “It’s because, in a way, I think this happened because of a lack of planning”. In the following, the informant believes her grandfather was supposed to do it at the beginning in order to help them, but not for so many years as it so happened. It seems Virginia is trying to convey that one should bear the consequences of his actions as well as decisions. She also openly mentions this help should have ceased after a while. The informant carries on with a brief narrative detailing: “my grandfather always gave us meat, eggs, everything coming from his small family farm (‘ the meat, eggs, milk, bread (,) and sometimes vegetables also; like lettuce, carrots, cherry tomatoes - the tiny ones - my grandfather always brought it to us”. Next, she tells that it was always like that and that it never changed, and openly criticizes it as in: “I find that wrong, because when I left home it was my decision”. It supports the assumption made above, and also helps justify the informant’s craving for independence. She continues her justification that this happened until they found her grandfather dead on his plantation and that: “One day she would have to start buying her own milk, bread and (-) she’d have to buy her own groceries (,)”. One can deduce the informant is very harsh and critical in relation to her parents, especially her mother, even though she had immensely

helped her achieving part of her objectives. It is also fundamental to comprehend that this experience made by the informant in her childhood might have prevented her from further helping her sisters when they moved in with her in Sao Paolo. Plausibly, Virginia assumed she would not repeat the same incorrect behavior of her grandfather and it was her duty to teach her sisters they needed to care for themselves financially and not depend on her for a long period of time.

The coda of this narrative unit is a closing statement with a falling intonation, in which the informant restates her opinion about her parents' and, later, mother's dependence on her grandfather's was an incorrect behavior, as in: "that's why I think it's wrong (,)(2)".

5. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2486 – 2665)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is then asked to disclose further information in one of her subsequent commentaries, stating that "from the first day you set foot on that bus, you had to start taking care of yourself financially". The informant attempts to stimulate further narrative on self-theoretical approaches showed by the informant. It is also an attempt to identify further basic biographical positions of the incumbent. The interviewee initiates her reply with a rather long justification of the above-mentioned statement. She begins with the kernel sentence: "When I left Teutonia (‘) I left and (-) took the admission test to enter IFPA in Porto Alegre". It is followed by a brief descriptive narration where the informant makes it known she believed she had not passed the written test to access IFPA in Sao Paolo. It is followed by a scene of biographical importance, narrated by the interviewee using direct quotation. She remembers one of her teachers saying: "you passed the test". Virginia states she was amazed she passed it and she could hardly believe it. The informant experienced the result as an unexpected event, and then she realized she had to begin redirecting her focus. It was fundamental to further develop her self-assurance, it was also the positive outcome needed to encourage her following through with her educational intentions, which were part of a major biographical plan Virginia developed.

In the following passage of her response, Virginia says the next kernel sentence: "To enter IFPA you need to have a company". It is accompanied by a descriptive narrative detailing

used to explain how this process works. The informant explicates one needs to be accepted by a company as an intern in order to begin studying at IFPA (hence the duality aspect of this VET modality). The informant further clarifies that after passing IFPA's written exam, one needs to send out CV's to different companies who have an established cooperation with the vocational school in Sao Paolo. Next, Virginia states: "So I passed the test (,) and got a call from a company called BLC (later corrected by the informant – as a matter of fact, the first company was SC Group)". It is attached to a descriptive narrative detailing used by the informant to mention she had to go from Greenville to Sao Paolo for her first interview. After returning to Greenville, Virginia got a call from a second company and had to fly to Sao Paolo the next morning. The informant also reveals: "My mother paid for the ticket for me to go". It demonstrates her mother supported her in this journey, as if in a generation contract as previously pointed out. Despite the financial hardship and the very low income, her mother enabled Virginia to fly to Sao Paolo for this interview. The following passage is used by the informant as a background construction to validate the endurance and difficulty this first interview posed. She explicates: "my mother bought the ticket using a credit card she borrowed from a friend, which she had to repay in installments". Virginia mentions she didn't succeed and had to return home by bus. It was only in her next attempt that she passed the selection process. During this process, she stayed with the already previously mentioned acquaintance from Greenville. The new aspect regarding the time she lived with these two individuals is with regards to the fact that they were drug users, as in: "they smoked marijuana". In the following Virginia descriptively narrates about her housing at that time. She describes it as an obscure, negative environment. She further explicates: "and I saw that the guys were using cocaine, too (,) That's how I learned what cocaine looked like". It is attached to an additional description of how she realized they were using cocaine. Virginia refers to her private school in Greenville and states: "I had only heard about it in school during a presentation we had, because they showed how it was used with a little tube and white powder (,) We had these kinds of things at our private school (-) they taught us how we should behave and conduct our lives". It is remarkable how this institution played the role of an event carrier in her biographical development as well. Through the establishment of values, determined behavior and attitude, this educational institution assisted in shaping the personality of the incumbent. Virginia was clearly confronted with an environmental setting which she had always been taught and told did not conform to the values she should have. Hence, she experienced it very negatively

and knew she was sharing a house with individuals she shouldn't socialize with. It is just another example of unpleasant situations which had to be overcome by the informant in order to reach her objectives. Nevertheless, she appears to never have doubted the fact that the benefits of accomplishing her goal would certainly preponderate the efforts she had to make along her pathway.

In the following passage, she continues to narrate about this period of time justifying the reason why she had to stay with these individuals who did not conform to the values and beliefs she had always been taught in Greenville, be that at home or in school. Virginia mentions: "I stayed there (-) because one of the guys, who was a model from Teutonia". Virginia further explicates her mother contacted this individual to request assistance. Once again the informant's mother tried to help her. It's also remarkable the trust her mother had on the outcomes of this journey. Virginia's mother contacted an apparently mere acquaintance to ask for shelter and assistance for her daughter. It is a commitment both persons had to accomplish Virginia's desire to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship. The informant was determined to stay in Sao Paulo and face this endeavor, and her mother was attempting to provide all the feasible necessary help at her disposal. It can also be justified in the fact that Virginia's mother did not want her daughters to relive any of the hardship and trajectories she had to withstand in her own biography, which, as a result, could possibly wind up boosting the informant's upward mobility. Anyway, the interviewee uses this passage to justify why she lived with individuals who weren't, in reality, what she perceived as suited to the values and beliefs she had been exposed to during the years of her life she resided in Greenville. The informant backs up this assumption in her next statement in her narrative: "I'm not sure I can say this in an interview, he was a faggot". The word choice made by the informant can be considered a way she encountered to express her discontentment with this individual's non-conformity within the social frame they both grew up. The term "faggot" is pejorative and makes reference to an effeminate gay man.

The following kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: "So, anyway, I went to São Paulo (,) (-) and passed the test and so on (') (2) Then I said, "No (,) I don't want to go back home anymore". In the following she elucidates how she managed to continue staying in Sao Paulo. It is evident that after having passed IFPA exam, the incumbent no longer wished to return to

Greenville. She was fully aware that it had already taken her a substantial amount of effort to reach that stage and, after all, she was still conscious about one of her own basic biographical positions, as it could already be observed in: “I believe that from the day I got on that bus (‘) I knew I had to care for myself (,) because my mother won’t live forever”. At this given point in time, Virginia had already lived through two events that marked her basic biographical position, namely, her parents’ financial dependency on her grandfather and the later death of the same individual. The incumbent assumed she needed to struggle to attain her personal and financial independence. Moreover, returning to Greenville could possibly harm the development of her social identity within that social frame. As she had already left for Sao Paolo and been admitted by the school, she had to stay in Sao Paolo until she passed an interview at a company to begin her dual system apprenticeship. The incumbent couldn’t simply return to Greenville defeated, for it would mean a failure and the others wouldn’t perceive her as a differentiated person.

Thus, the next passage is a descriptive narrative detailing of the measures she had to take to stay in Sao Paolo in order to finally be accepted by a company, which would mean she would be able to begin her vocational training. The next kernel sentence is: “So, I left my CV at Lorraine”. It is attached to a brief descriptive detailing elucidating the type of shop it was. The informant clarifies it was a surf wear shop and next rationalizes her option, as can be seen in: “I liked it (‘) because it had a lot to do with the beach”. Virginia passed the interview at the shop and began working there to financially provide for herself with the purpose of staying in Sao Paolo for further interviews at companies that had cooperation with IFPA.

The next kernel sentence is: “Then I (-) said I would have to live there with the guys in their apartment”. One can observe that this decision was made based on a moment of need, and not as an ideal choice. Virginia clearly expresses she would “have to” live with these individuals that noticeably did not display the social behavior or conformity she was accustomed to. In addition to this fact, the informant had to bear other adversities while residing with these individuals, as in: “I lived there and had to sleep on the floor in their laundry room”. It only helps determining the incumbent’s efforts to achieve her objectives. In the following Virginia expresses: “I didn’t have any hope that a company would call”. In reality, she was afraid of not being contacted, which could consequently lead her to return to her place of origin. One could

also argue that Virginia was afraid she wouldn't be given the opportunity to escape from all the hardship and difficulties she had already experienced in her early life. However, the incumbent was indeed contacted by a company and could at last begin her dual system apprenticeship.

In the subsequent part of this narrative unit, the informant, in an attempt to summarize her justification for the question posed by the informant at the very beginning of this unit says: "Then, well, (,) (-) to sum everything up (') that I said". Then, the informant briefly recapitulates the sequence of events that culminated with the beginning of her vocational training and the motive that led her to reside with the above-mentioned persons. The informant attempts to provide a background construction as to elucidate the barriers she had to overcome as to accomplish this educational goal. She had very little financial means at her disposal, as in: "I came with 150 reais in my pocket". She had to live with individuals that had a behavior she apparently disapproves, she had to sleep on the floor in a laundry room and work in a surf wear shop. After obtaining this first employment, Virginia mentions she began paying rent on the laundry room she slept in. She even descriptively narrates about this room: "had to lift the mattress close the door since the room was so small". It is also possible to argue that the incumbent had already gone through other similar difficulties in her biography; after all she also resided in a very small house with her parents and siblings in Greenville. In other words, it wasn't the first time she had to endure financial hardship and live in a small residence. Yet she was also aware that this period of endurance would be rewarded once she achieved her biographical goal of "being seen by society, being seen as the mayor's son". These were merely obstacles in the pathway she decided to pursue. Hence, the efforts substantiated the promising outcomes such an attainment could engender, to be precise, enhanced social identity, upward mobility and also avoidance of biographical trajectories already experienced in her early life in Greenville.

In the next portion of this narrative unit, the informant mentions that before starting working in the surf wear shop, she would have to wait a few days. Therefore, she narrates about an event that preceded her one-month work experience at the shop. In a scene of biographical importance, here characterized by the use of direct speech, Virginia mentions that the acquaintance who was a model from Greenville said: "This agency is looking for people (-) you

go there, sign up, and a woman will take a look at you, but you don't have to undress or anything like that (.) If they think you are pretty and they like you, you'll be able to work at the trade fair". Interestingly, this individual, despite the fact Virginia did not approve of his sexual orientation, served as an important event carrier during this period of the informant's biography. In two different occasions he assisted Virginia in finding a temporary job, provided her with shelter and also helped her get acquainted with an totally new metropolis. It is, however, perceptible that the informant seems to have difficulties in expressing gratefulness due to the fact that she simply personified an individual that would be frowned upon in the social frame of her place of origin and, most importantly, within the family and school frame in which she matured. The informant reveals she thought: "Oh my, I'm in (') I don't have to do anything nasty or obscene (') I'm in". This line strengthens the impregnation of a determined social behavior and conduct she was taught at home and school. One can perceive a certain religious influence in her biographical position. Virginia condemns any sort of manners that contradicted the values she was exposed to in her early life, on the grounds that they had become her main biographical position and, in addition, would be considered as characteristics that could negatively dissociate her from the social frame she belonged to in her place of origin. Anyhow, the informant narrates about this temporary employment she obtained in Sao Paolo, where she worked as a receptionist for four days and made enough money to keep her going until she received her first salary from the surf wear shop, as in: "I worked there for four days and made 400 reais".

The following kernel sentence in the informant's reply is "after that started working at the surf shop (-) after an entire month there (-) this KS SP company called me. It is attached to a judgment made by the incumbent at that time. Virginia said she was aware she had to quit her job for she "had come to São Paolo to study at IFPA and not to work in a clothing store selling surf boards". The next is a descriptive narrative detailing containing the details of the events that followed this episode. The informant quit her job and was accepted at KS SP and could then begin her vocational training. It also demanded finding new housing nearer to the company as it was located more than a hundred kilometers from the apartment she shared in Sao Paolo. Thus, the next kernel sentence is: "started living in a shared flat here in Campinas with nine homosexual guys and two lesbians". It is attached to a descriptive narrative of how she wound up finding and later lived in this shared house. She explicates she found an ad

online and went downtown to see the house. The informant describes the house as: “this house that looked abandoned, there were just some bushes in front of the house”. In the next, she narrates about the first conversation she had with the individuals who already lived in this residence. Virginia once again focuses the narrative on the aspect that she immediately noticed these individuals were homosexuals, as in: “I asked one “You’re both homosexual, right (?)”. Virginia adds that there were nine homosexuals living there and that she was the only heterosexual. She even states: “for the first two weeks I somehow tolerated it, but by the third week I couldn’t take it any more”. One can observe that once again Virginia found herself living with individuals who behaved in a disapproved manner, according to her values. Hence, this period was also seen as a time of endurance. She once again had to bear with the fact that she was dealing with an undesirable situation with the purpose of achieving her objectives and that the outcomes were more relevant than the conditions of the pathway leading to it.

In the next, Virginia descriptively narrates about her actions to change her living situation. Once again, as previously observed, Virginia takes action whenever a situation demands alteration. She is aware that achieving her objectives demanded effort, but alleviating any potential barrier was also equally important. Hence, she decided to search for a new shared apartment. The informant reveals she made the decision to talk to college interns who also worked at KS, as can be verified in: “I’m going to go where the interns hang out on their breaks” (‘) I figured that since interns go to college, and every college has shared flats”. It is attached to a brief argumentative detailing, which is uttered in a descriptive narrative on the biographical scene when the informant asked other interns about rooms to let. Virginia rationalizes she needs to move because: “I’m living in Campinas, and the place, the atmosphere, is not very good, the people don’t have my sexual orientation (‘) and they go to sleep at 4:00 AM”. This statement helps support the assumption that Virginia has difficulties dealing with, and an unwillingness to socialize with, these individuals due to their lack of conformity in relation to the values in which she was educated. Following her narrative detailing, the informant mentions one lad said he could help with her accommodation and would give her an answer regarding the matter the next day. Virginia, as it becomes clear at this point, is uncertain and pessimistic about it and prefers to assume it wouldn’t work, as in: “I thought to myself “I’m not going to worry about it, because it won’t work out anyway”. It is possible to

state that it is one of the incumbent's mechanisms to pessimistically evaluate a situation in order to anticipate the undesirable outcome or hardships the results might cause. In any manner, the young lad contacted her and Virginia said he had found a shared flat where she could live. She only had to sleep at his place and he would take her there the next day. The incumbent once again evaluates the possibility rather unenthusiastically, as in: "Ok, here we go" (,) "I thought the guy wasn't going to just help out like that, that I'd have to sleep at his place first". In order to be on the safe side, Virginia mentions she contacted a person from HR she was acquainted with to run a background check on this young man. Virginia also states she would take measures in case he tried anything, as in: "If he does anything to me, anything I don't like, I'll go to work and tell everyone at the company about it". After assuring herself nothing would happen, she agreed to do it. Virginia justifies her actions by stating: "I didn't really want to stay the night at his place, (,) but had to risk it (-) because I simply couldn't go on living where I was". One could say that the incumbent was already getting accustomed to the fact that she had to take risks at different opportunities in her biography, as when she left Greenville, when she stayed in Sao Paolo after not having passed the first interview, among other instances. Next, the informant provides a narrative description of this young man's shared flat, where she spent the night. Then, the next kernel sentence is introduced: "Then I went to see the shared flat he told me about (-) he drove me there". It is attached to a brief descriptive narrative on her conversation with the girls who lived in this shared flat. Virginia had finally found a new place to reside. Then she mentions she stayed one more night at the young man's apartment and the next day went to work together. She assesses the outcomes very positively, as it can be observed in "everything was just fine". The informant also brings up that she was concerned about eventual commentaries that could be made regarding this situation and that, in order to prevent it, she had to remain distant. This may be related to two different aspects: (a) Virginia certainly didn't wish to convey the wrong message by giving the impression she was involved with a colleague from work only after a few weeks. (b) She perceived this kind of behavior as inappropriate "sleeping at a man's place". Conceivably, this attitude could be disapproved of by her mother and the values educated by her to Virginia. As a result, the incumbent observed this event as a trigger for incongruent behavior.

Virginia carries on with her narrative detailing and reveals that this young man kept on helping her at that time. He offered to assist her move to this new flat, as in: "the guy said "When

you get to the bus station here in Santa Barbara (‘) let me know (-) and I’ll come pick you up and help you with your bags”. Virginia accepted his help and seemed to have started developing a relationship with this young man.

The following statement is a clear evaluation of Virginia’s assessment of the state of affairs the biographical process she was going through generated. She mentions: “on the weekends I cried a lot (-) it was very difficult in the beginning”. This higher predicate is justified by the informant in the following argumentative narrative detailing. This is also a marker indicating an eclipse of biographical processes. Virginia was undergoing an institutional expectation pattern, in which she was attempting to follow a normal life, searching for further qualification to obtain better employment and consequently a determined upward mobility. Yet, concomitantly, she was also undergoing a trajectory of suffering during her dual system apprenticeship at IFPA. Virginia carries on with her abstract, emotional language stating that: “I kept wondering if I was doing the right thing, because everyone there was tied to their mother’s apron strings and I was here alone (‘) I wasn’t sure about it (,) Weekends were difficult”. The incumbent could not alter and/or control certain aspects of the developments at the time. Being away from home and her mother, residing in a metropolis, undergoing a new educational pathway, living with new persons, dealing with commuting, work commitments, among other aspects, have made Virginia skeptical about the process she had decided to embark on. The informant further reflectively evaluates this period of time in her biography as it can be observed in: “it was a difficult time”. This once again reinforces the assumption of an eclipse of biographical processes, once it is a typical formulaic verbal expression indicating a trajectory.

The following passage is used to descriptively narrate an event and, most importantly, an event carrier that has helped relieve this trajectory undergone by the incumbent. Virginia mentions: “Then, the guy who helped me asked at the company what I was doing on the weekends [...] (and he said) next weekend we are going to a farm that belongs to the university and you can go (,) come along with us”. This was a crucial occurrence in this turbulent time in the biography of the incumbent. As she didn’t have friends in Sao Paulo, it was the opportunity she needed to begin creating a new social frame where she could start developing new social contacts. Virginia says she accepted the invitation, but under a few conditions. In the end of this short passage she reveals that this young man ended up becoming her fiancée. This

young man might have been an important event carrier in her biography. He began to become part of her life at a very crucial period, when the incumbent was under a considerable amount of distress and in need of social contact as well as caring and understanding. And this young lad helped her from the very beginning, therefore, winning her trust and becoming a very important person in this process.

Next, Virginia proceeds to narrate about her fiancée, stating they have been engaged for five years now. Subsequently, Virginia readdresses the initial topic of the question posed by the interviewer at the beginning of this narrative unit. She goes on saying: “sum up everything (-) I always paid my own bills”. She is very proud of her financial independence, but also aware of all the struggling and efforts she had to make to reach this point. The following descriptive narrative is used to explain she had to survive on the small apprentice salary she received. She had to pay for all her expenses, including rent for a dorm at IFPA, her shared flat room near KS, travel costs, groceries and miscellaneous items. Virginia states: “I paid my own bills (,) and that’s how it is to this day”.

In the next passage, the informant addresses an event which can be considered as a trigger for a creative metamorphosis of biographical identity. She states “I asked my mother for help once [...] but she said no (-) She said she didn’t have it”. The typical formulaic expression used by the informant in this passage is “Then, (-) well, that was when I realized I was on my own (-) I would have to make it my own way”. Virginia began realizing she would have to take responsibility for her financial well-being and more importantly the further developments of her biography. She began to understand that her mother simply couldn’t provide for three daughters any longer and she would have to put even more effort into attaining her objectives.

In the following, the informant reflectively evaluates the developments of her biography saying: “I think I had it completely different from other people”. It is attached to an additional abstract reflective evaluation of the development in her biography. The informant claims she didn’t receive parental assistance whenever she needed it. She states: “This is one of the things (-) that bothers me so much, too (-) I think it hinders my life somehow (‘) because I had to postpone many of my dreams until now”. This is a noticeable disorder in Virginia’s narrative. It appears she cannot precisely describe the source of this bother mentioned above. Yet,

one can argue it is related to a probable class dissimilarity she had always experienced in different social frames along her biography. Firstly, she had to experience a clash of socioeconomic classes in school in Greenville. Virginia attended a private school, where “the mayor’s son” and other wealthy people studied. It certainly made her aware of the abysmal class distinction within the educational institution, and might conceivably culminated in a sense of unfairness, for the incumbent realized she had to struggle with her family and endure financial hardship, whereas the majority of her classmates came from upper class families. Virginia mentions in her abstract reflective evaluative passage: “Other people had a mother and father who always helped when they asked for it (-) they get everything, even a house, but my case was different”. Later in her biography, Virginia continued to experience this social class difference and a certain social segregation, which accumulated a sense of unfairness. While undergoing IFPA’s apprenticeship, Virginia was also exposed to the same sort of clash of socioeconomic classes, which might have only helped reinforce her perception that she was constantly part of social frames that reflected a major social injustice on the grounds of poor wealth distribution. As the informant didn’t come from a privileged socioeconomic family, she established a biographical objective to promote upward mobility and break the perseverance of this sense of social unfairness based on wealth and social class.

In the following passage, Virginia attempts to rationalize her higher predicate and abstract language used above. She mentions: “This year I had the opportunity to go to Germany to do a college exchange program there”. The informant further explicates in a narrative detailing that her mother didn’t support the idea and encouraged her to continue working and living in Brazil. Virginia claims that: “I think it hinders my life somehow”. The informant does not appear to acknowledge all the support previously provided by her mother during the initial developments of her biographical objective. However, Virginia also states that coming from an underprivileged socioeconomic background has also made certain achievements more difficult. In addition, she seems to be exposed to social frames where she constantly compared the efforts made by different social classes in order to attain determined objectives. Virginia’s words also suggest there is some sort of conflict between her and her mother. Conceivably, this divergence aroused when the incumbent was denied financial help from her mother. Even though this seems to be a source of conflict and bother, one can argue this might have been an

important trigger to the drive the informant has to promote upward mobility and, consequently, the end of the unfairness she has developed within the years of her life.

The coda of this narrative unit is characterized by a closing statement, as can be seen in: “It took me some time to answer, but I think I explained it to you now (,) I gave you and answer (,)”.

6. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2666 – 2684)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is then asked to disclose further information on any sort of help provided by her parents during the period she underwent IFPA’s dual system apprenticeship in Sao Paolo. Hence the interviewer poses the following question, in order to better comprehend the informant’s narrative, “If I understood it right, (‘) during the time you went to IFPA, you didn’t have any help from your parents (?)”. Virginia’s response is entailed with critique and a reflective assessment of any help she received from others during that period of time. Firstly, she makes reference to her parents’ assistance, as in: “None (,) Not even a phone call to find out if I was still alive (‘) or if I needed any kind of medication (,)(-) Neither my mother, nor my father nor uncle, nor anyone else”. Once again, there seems to be an event that triggered a certain friction between the informant and her parents. Possibly, it could be the result of different factors. Firstly, her mother’s generation contract came to an end, once Virginia did not help her sisters any further. Despite all the financial and psychological help her mother provided through hard work to pay for a private school, the money she had to invest to send Virginia to Sao Paolo, her concern with the informant’s well-being and the attempt to contact acquaintances in Sao Paolo that could help her, Virginia does not seem to acknowledge that and has a rather negative memory of her mother once denying her financial support on the grounds she did not have it. Conceivably, there may be a lack of comprehension by both parties. Virginia is very likely not aware of the generation contract her mother put so much effort into, and Virginia’s mother is not aware of the aspects that influenced Virginia not to further help her sisters. In addition, it does not seem that Virginia will return soon to Greenville and carry on with her ethnic background there in order to preserve the culture, fact which she claimed to be very important there.

In the next passage, the informant mentions in a kernel sentence: “I just got calls from Larry, who always called me”. This important event carrier in the biography of the incumbent, who later became her fiancée, might have been fundamental in the process of overcoming the already mentioned trajectory undergone by Virginia at the time. He possibly listened to her issues and provided the emotional support necessary. Virginia continues her rendering saying they spoke every day and that Larry’s mother also provided help when she needed it, as in: “Larry’s mother was the one who always asked if I had food to eat or if I had a blanket to sleep with at night”. Virginia expresses she felt a certain level of loneliness in Sao Paolo, and that her parents did not provide the emotional and financial support she needed to overcome the situation. This aspect amounts to all possible factors that have led to friction between her and her mother. Another aspect that cannot be ignored is that fact that her mother divorced her father after he had been diagnosed with a psychological disorder. Even though Virginia does not mention anything about this aspect, she could have observed it negatively and it could have influenced the perception she has of her mother.

In a sequence, the informant attempts to sum up her last sentences in an evaluative, abstract language by saying: “So my life story is quite different”. This higher predicate is attached to an argumentative narrative detailing. Virginia explicates that her life is different, despite the fact that some people have relationship issue with their mother-in-law, hers assumed a role of mother while Virginia was attending IFPA in Sao Paolo. The informant also clearly feels sorry about the turn-out of events and also assumes responsibility - “I don’t know if there was maybe a problem, or maybe I should have called my mom, but I had no money and how would I buy the credits to call her?” for the lack of contact with her parents. Lastly, the informant mentions she missed the contact with her family during that time and seems to be completely unaware of the factors that led to this state of affairs in her relationship with her mother.

Subsequently, Virginia readdresses the issue of being responsible for her self-existence, as in the kernel sentence: “In college now, I do the same thing (‘) I pay for everything myself”. Next is an argumentative detailing used by the informant to convey the idea that she had to struggle and overcome her financial issues without parental help; also in an attempt to demonstrate she was at a great disadvantage when compared to her wealthy classmates in Greenville

and later at IFPA in Sao Paolo. The next kernel sentence is: “Even my graduation (-) my graduation from IFPA, (‘) I did alone”. This makes reference to her parents once again, especially her mother. Virginia’s father lives today in a psychiatric hospital and their relationship has deteriorated over the last few years. As for her mother, Virginia gives the impression that their relationship conflict has scaled to the next level and she now avoids including her mother in crucial biographical situations in her life. She also mentions: “It’ll be the same thing at my college graduation and if I ever get married (,) I’ll walk down the aisle alone”. Another factor that could play a role in their relationship is that Virginia has conveyed the impression her mother was very strict and demeaning during their childhood. Experiencing a relationship with Larry’s mother could possibly have altered, reflectively, her perception of their relationship. In addition, being away from home, and consequently away from her mother, was painful due to the distance and the new phase of adaptation, but it could also possibly have been a period of relief, as for the first time she was away from the problems caused by her father and his mental disorder, plus she was away from her demeaning mother with whom she always had to be careful not to be punished. After all, she referred to her mother as: “my mother was hell”.

The coda of this narrative unit is characterized by a closing statement, as can be seen in: “Again (-) I answered too much (‘) Anyway (,)”. One can visibly notice this issue is unresolved in her biography and Virginia has had relationship problems with her mother. There is evidently a lack of comprehension that needs to be resolved. As the informant herself stated about this matter, these are issues that “hinder (her) life”.

7. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2685 – 2751)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is then asked to disclose further information on one of the higher predicates mentioned by her during the main narrative part, more specifically, “Ah, because then people will think ‘well, Edi’s daughter went to São Paolo and is there now and has a good life’”. Virginia begins this response with an argumentative narrative detailing to rationalize her perception of leaving for Sao Paolo and having a “good life” there. She utters: “Because my mother says that (-) a person is only worth something when he or she has money (-) she said this was a sign of acknowledgement society gives”. It is attached to a summary of

biographical scenes that are still impregnated in the informant's remembrances. She states her mother made similar comments whenever she returned home after a stressful working day. Virginia mentions her mother advised her, without any pudency, that one is only recognized by society when one is wealthy and that men are merely interested in carnal relationships. Virginia carries on with her narrative saying: "Today I see that she threw this in my face [...] I think my mother was very bitter [...] somehow it stayed in my mind". This is a crucial statement revealed by the informant. It plainly demonstrates the origin of her desire to achieve upward mobility and an enhanced social identity, regardless of all the efforts that would have to be made and all the suffering she would have to undergo. Virginia very clearly states in this passage in an argumentative narrative detailing: "That's why I wanted to come to São Paulo (‘) I wanted that, too (-) I wanted to have it like the mayor's children did (,) or doctors' kids did (,) I was going to this private school where all these people with status went (‘) I also wanted to be like them (,) I just wanted (‘), I wanted people to talk about me (‘) like they talked about them (-) while I was still in school it was the main goal (,) (-) That was the main goal". The socialization process she experienced with her mother at home in Greenville since the early years of her childhood served as a trigger to begin shaping the biographical objective she later established, and which had as its initial pathway undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship in Sao Paolo. Virginia further states in this argumentative detailing that: "In the end, now I know the goal was to have money (,) and that's what she was talking about". Her main objective was in line with her mother's basic biographical position. Virginia established a visible goal of eliminating a sense of social unfairness she always experienced, also through her mother, and achieving upward mobility with the purpose of attaining an enhanced social identity, which would then be perceived differently by other members of society. The following narrative detailing is used by Virginia to rationalize her mother's basic biographical position. She states that she can personally see how socioeconomic privileged individuals have advantages over others whose family is not affluent or have any kind of social influence. The informant makes a self-theoretical commentary about it, as can be observed in: "that is the capitalist world we live in (‘) and that's how things work". In other words, Virginia is convinced that one needs to be wealthy or originate from a socioeconomic privileged background to have a social identity considered by society as distinct and worthy of consideration. She continues her justification saying that: "now, I see my mother was right about many things she said (-) I see that it was true". One can affirm that Virginia still suffers with this issue.

Conceivably, she still feels at a social disadvantage due to her financial situation, even though she already has a number of achievements in her biography, such as having a job as an engineer in Sao Paulo, access to higher education in the same city, new job offers, was given the possibly to travel to Germany, and is nowadays able to provide for her self-existence. Yet, Virginia still feels that, despite all the effort she made and suffering she had to withstand to reach this point in her biography, she still experiences situations that foster her perception that one needs to be from, or come from, a wealthy family to achieve an enhanced social identity, as can be observed in her rendering: “because a guy can come here (‘) just because he is the son of someone important (‘) and he is already the best (,) This guy will be powerful in his department (,) and that’s exactly it”.

The coda of this narrative unit is characterized by a closing statement, as can be seen in: “My mother was right (,) (2)”. One can visibly notice Virginia still has a sense of social unfairness in her self-theoretical commentaries. She senses that achieving is not only a matter of making efforts and searching for further qualification. She argues that one needs to be from, or come from, a socioeconomic privileged family to be recognized by society. Therefore, one could argue that, despite the fact that she interiorized and followed her mother’s commentaries and basic biographical position, Virginia is disappointed in the fact that her sense of unfairness remains unresolved. In addition, even though she had already accomplished a great deal of her biographical objective, she perceives society still hinders her from achieving upward mobility and an enhanced social identity due to the fact that she comes from a non-influential, under-privileged family.

8. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2752 – 2794)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is then asked to further descriptively narrate about a statement mentioned in her main narrative that demanded further argumentative narrative detailing so as to be better understood. The statement refers to Virginia’s perception of disbelief others had in her development and achievement: “Nobody believed in me, but I passed the test (‘) and not even the German teacher believed in me (,)”.

Virginia begins this narrative unit providing the intended argumentative narrative detailing requested by the informant as to better comprehend the meaning given by the informant to the above-cited statement. The informant self-theorizes that disbelief from other individuals within a social group is usual, and that one can only be recognized by society when behaving obsequiously. Virginia continues her rationalization stating: "I automatically felt inferior". One can notice that certain values the informant was exposed to helped shaping her perception of a "high achiever person" within society. Next, the interviewee justifies her sense of inferiority. She explains and/or argues it is initially related to Greenville and her family's place of residence in that town, as in: "we lived in a house that was not there in the neighborhood where the villas are, in the rich neighborhood". Virginia briefly descriptively narrates about their house, which was humble, and in all probability very simple compared to the villas in town. It is also clear that this was also an important factor that led Virginia to develop a sense of social unfairness based on unequal distribution of wealth. In other words, she could observe and point out the abysmal social class and distribution of wealth difference in the town where she used to live. In addition, this sense was only reinforced in school, as the informant also openly states: "There I was in the middle of these people (,) and I could even feel it coming from the teachers when I asked something in the classroom (‘) they didn't reply or anything". It can be noticed that Virginia perceived herself in a social segregation situation. She felt at a disadvantage and as a member of an underclass forced to exist and experience unpleasant disadvantages other socioeconomically privileged individuals didn't have to withstand. Virginia felt a social segregation in relation to her classmates, and also a certain discrimination coming from her teachers due to her socioeconomic background. The informant also attempts to rationalize her perception of this social frame by providing an example. She mentions that: "My classmates had money (,) and if our essays were similar (,) in quality (‘) they always got better grades". This could also be considered as important conditions that helped Virginia shaping her main biographical goal of achieving upward mobility and also improving her social identity. She no longer wanted to sense she was at a socioeconomic disadvantage and didn't want to be ignored by society. The informant also provides, in the following part of this passage, a clear example of how she sensed discrimination and social segregation in the classroom in school, in Greenville. She states that students were asked, in German, in class about what they had done on their weekend. In an apparent scene of biographical importance, which has only worsened the incumbent's discernment of her socioeconomic inferiority, relates to a time

when one of her classmates was asked about her past weekend, as can be observed in: “Erika traveled to Canada (,)” or “Oh, Erika isn’t here because she is traveling in Canada (,) And people would talk about it for a week, about this bullshit that Erika had gone to Canada”. Virginia mentions that her response to what she had done on the weekend shocked her teacher and classmates, for it represented a tremendous dissimilarity to her classmate’s reply. The informant claims she answered the following: “my mom bought (((laughs))) a huge load of garden soil (‘) and my sisters and I had to spread it in the front yard (‘) because my mother wanted a lawn there”. The informant evaluates it as a surprise others had regarding her weekend activities. Virginia claims others perceived her as “worthless”. One can see Virginia noticed she was considered an expectation in that social frame, as someone who didn’t belong mainly due to her socioeconomic background. It is also possible to state that this was a determinant factor in the drive Virginia has to be acknowledged, to be a member of society that is respected and not ignored, to be like the “mayor’s son”.

In the next, the informant continues with her rationalization justifying the reason why she sensed social segregation and a sense of being perceived and not belonging, as “worthless” by other individuals in school and in Greenville. She approaches another example in her next kernel sentence, as in: “Once, I attended a German contest there”. It is attached to a narrative descriptive detailing of this language contest. The informant explicates she won the first round of this German as a foreign language contest and, therefore, classified for the second phase. As it was on the news, Virginia reveals that these same individuals were once again astonished with her attainment, as the interviewee mentions in: “they spent the entire day calling and saying - “Oh no (‘) I don’t believe Virginia won”. The informant also claims the same reaction occurred when she passed IFPA’s admission test. Virginia says nobody in that social frame approached her as to encourage and affirm she would pass the test, as if they all doubted she could ever make it. In the last passage of Virginia’s response she makes a comparison of the pathway she decided to follow in her biography and the pathway followed by who was considered to be one of the students who excelled in her class in Greenville. Virginia states that: “today (-) today my classmate who only got A’s in school (‘) got married and she breeds pigs (-) Nicole, there in Rio Grande do Sul”. It is an attempt to convey roles have nearly been exchanged. Nowadays, an individual who apparently criticized her performs agricultural ac-

tivities she used to in her childhood. Virginia seems to enjoy the opportunity to express she has achieved her objective to leave Greenville and obtain a differentiated social identity.

The coda of this narrative unit is characterized by a closing statement, as can be seen in: “Everyone can choose what they want to do”. This has become one of the informant’s biographical positions. Virginia does not merely accept the outcomes of events might bring along her biography. Whenever possible, she does not steer away from effort and commitment to change and guide the course of her own biography, and is even willing to commit to an effort justification process. In other words, even undergoing trajectories couldn’t hinder her from achieving her desired biographical objective. This is exactly what she chose to do.

9. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2795 – 2802)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is then asked to further descriptively narrate about a statement mentioned in her main narrative that demanded further argumentative narrative detailing to be better understood. The statement refers to Virginia’s statement about being traumatized due to the fact her mother had worked a lifetime as a secretary, and that she is absolutely unwilling to follow a professional career path in this given profession. She begins this narrative unit with an argumentative narrative detailing to explicate her higher predicate, observed in her word choice “traumatized”. The informant associates her negative discernment of this specific profession due to the fact that her mother seemed to be constantly frustrated and upset because of her work and the stressful daily routine this job entailed in the church where she worked. Virginia states: “I didn’t want this for myself, I didn’t want to live the same way (‘) I didn’t want to go home and dump all that on my husband the way she did to me”. This last sentence can also be an insinuation that her mother’s occupation was a trigger for an unharmonious atmosphere at home, which could possibly be a factor of influence in the divorce process Virginia’s parents’ went through. Another relevant assumption would be that her mother’s harmful attitudes due to a stressful job could have harmed the mother-daughter relationship as well. It seems, by the narrative of the informant, that her mother couldn’t see anyone from the family unoccupied, as it appeared unfair compared to the amount of effort she had to put at work to get through her nerve-wracking days.

The coda of this narrative unit is characterized by a closing statement with a falling intonation, followed by a two-second pause, as can be seen in: “I didn’t want to go home and dump all that on my husband the way she did to me (,) (2)”. One can realize at this point that Virginia has focused a lot of her biographical objectives in the a certain concept of avoidance of repetition of unpleasant occurrences experienced in the early years of her life, namely, social segregation, financial hardship, inferior perception of her social identity, and professional or educational pathway that wouldn’t lead to enhancing the difficulties she had to withstand with her family.

10. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2803 – 2816)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is then asked to further descriptively narrate about a statement mentioned in her main narrative that demanded further argumentative narrative detailing as to be better understood. The statement refers to Virginia’s desire to become a director someday. Virginia’s response begins with a narrative detailing of a scene of biographical importance experienced by the incumbent. She justifies her wish to become a director based on what she had seen once in the office of the director at KS. She was amazed by the furniture and the status that room could represent. She states: “This is what I want for my life (‘) that’s it, right there” (‘) I want to have respect from other people for what I do, you know”. Virginia is clearly still in a search for a social identity that opposes the one she perceived to have while living and attending school in Greenville, as well as during her apprenticeship at IFPA. Virginia utters this is her current objective, and in the next passage she plainly reveals the reason for her desire: “It is also a little bit because of the status (,) Deep inside, it’s coming to São Paulo with no money and then making it as a director with a good salary and being recognized”. This is in fact clear in Virginia’s rendering. She has been looking for upward mobility with the main purpose of altering, enhancing her social identity. It appears that a number of events have given her a sense of segregation and a feeling of being worthless in the opinion of other member of social frames she used to or belong to. Virginia is extremely driven and wishes to accomplish her biographical objective by all means. Yet, it is difficult to envisage her return to Greenville to follow an institutional expectation pattern there.

11. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2817 – 2867)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is then asked to further descriptively narrate about a higher predicate mentioned in her main narrative that demanded further argumentative narrative detailing to be better understood. The statement refers to Virginia's following utterance provided by the interviewee: "that regardless of the stage of your life where you are (‘) there are always two paths to follow [...] I could have stayed in Greenville building my own house and working in a shop". Virginia initiates her response with the kernel sentence "Actually, I had already been making the decision for a while before that". It is attached to an argumentative section explaining her early childhood, and that her mother was responsible for the idea for leaving for Sao Paulo. Virginia further rationalizes it on the grounds of two basic orientations taught by her mother: (a) being wealthy will make you be respected by society, as if with a distinct social identity. (b) Men are merely interested in carnal relations, as if they shouldn't be trusted for they don't care for steady relationships. The informant carries on with her justification of why her mother wanted her to leave Greenville stating: "my mother said then (,) "I want you to leave this small town (‘) because there is nothing here for you (‘) you will only work in a small shop (‘) you will have to go through humiliation every day (‘) you will earn nothing, and will end up building a little house, getting a mortgage from a bank (,) and I don't want that for you (,) The day you marry, please (‘) marry a rich man and not a poor one like your father (,) (-) She said it all the time (,) (-) So, she put it in my head". One can perceive that Virginia says "hold responsible", once she was constantly reminded of these statements mentioned above. Apparently Virginia did not have the chance to make her own decision. She was basically strongly persuaded by her mother that staying in Greenville would be an erroneous choice. It also becomes clear that Virginia's mother's frustrations with her achievements in the development of her biography have served as a basic framework for her basic biographical position, which later culminated in self-theoretical positions that were passed on to her daughter in the early years of her childhood. It becomes clear that there has always been some sort of conflict between Virginia and her mother, who probably felt emerged in her stressful work and might have lacked parental self-esteem or even perhaps the discernment that Virginia could have made her own decision later in her biography. Her mother seemed to have prepared her from the very beginning on to follow a generation contract, which would later be used to further assist her siblings to leave Greenville as well.

In the following passage, Virginia makes reference to the manner how her mother made sure all three daughters developed some independence to be able to care for themselves without her assistance. It can be seen in the descriptive narrative detailing provided in the following by the informant, as in: “and after we turned 13 (‘) she stopped doing our laundry (,)(-) We had to clean the house, we had to cook (‘) we cleaned (,) and she said “Once you go away from here to study (‘) study in a big city (‘) you’ll have to know how to do the laundry yourself (,) You’ll have to know how to clean your own shoes (‘) You will have to cook your own food (,) So, I’m not going to do anything for you from today on (,) You will wash your own clothes”. It seems to have been a very clear plan established by Virginia’s mother. Yet, the incumbent appears to have perceived it negatively, as if her mother wanted them to become independent to leave as soon as possible. Conceivably, the informant has never fully comprehended the intentions of her mother concerning her generation contract. Partially, it can have occurred due to the manner how this process was developed, the way the incumbent was exposed to her mother’s self-theoretical commentaries, as well as her perception of having a demeaning mother. Virginia also exemplifies how they were punished in case they didn’t comply with her mother’s objective of making them independent. She states that: “We ended up having to wear dirty clothes to school sometimes, (‘) dirty and sweaty stuff (‘) that’s when we realized she was not going to was then, (‘) and we started doing it”. One can argue that this was indeed one of the aspects that served as a genesis for Virginia to establish her main biographical objective. Hence, Virginia says: “my mom got it into our heads (‘) that we had to leave that place in order to study [...] I didn’t think, really (‘) I simply chose to do it”. Hence, Virginia’s decision was based on her mother’s objectives. One could argue it was rather a second-order decision. In the following passage, Virginia finally provides further narrative that justifies her mother’s generation contract. In addition to a clear objective of boosting her daughter’s upward mobility and better living conditions, Virginia’s mother seems to be attempting to accomplish, through her daughters, an aim she didn’t manage to reach in the development of her own biography. Virginia states in her rendering: “she always said we’d have to go away to study (,) and she went away to study (,) to another town to do an accounting course and work at another company (,) But she’s an only child and ended up going back to (-) Greenville (‘) to take care of her parents there”. This might have been a great source of disappointment and frustration for her mother. Apparently, Virginia’s mother never stood back

to some extent and let her children pursue their own objectives. Although she, as a parent, seemed to have had her children's best interests at heart, the fact that she continuously pushed them down, a certain route, especially Virginia, simply ended up backfiring. Nowadays, in a reflective manner, Virginia tends to assess it negatively and merely blames her mother for brainwashing them. It has also led to relationship problems between mother, daughter and sisters, and very likely the continuation of a distance between Virginia and the rest of her family.

The last example provided by Virginia in this response is also used to point out the influence her mother's self-theoretical commentaries had on the development of her biography. She states that: "I also started dating (-) It was really late for someone who lived there (‘) I was about 16 or 17 (-) Well (‘) it started very late (‘) because my classmates were already dating at around 14". Once again, this can be justified in the fact that her mother preached that she should stay away from male figures due to their egotistical interests. In addition, the informant states she had to end this relationship at an early stage, for she knew she would leave Greenville. At this point, it had already become her plan as well, to leave her town for Sao Paulo in order to study and pursue upward mobility.

The coda of this narrative unit is characterized by a closing statement with a falling intonation, followed by a longer pause, as can be seen in: "I had everything planned (‘) [...] I didn't know how I'd do it, or if it would work (‘) [...] but I went on doing everything as though it would work out". At this given point in her biography, she was already convinced she would have to leave her German colony in order to achieve the upward mobility that place couldn't offer her. Virginia had already established her main biographical objective and only needed a possible pathway leading to it. She wasn't sure about the outcomes, but she kept executing her plan for, apparently, she didn't have another option, once staying in Greenville wasn't a possible choice.

12. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 2868 – 2899)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is required to further narrate about a higher predicate, specifically, "put yourself under a lot of pressure (‘) and that you need to do things right the first

time you do them”. This narrative unit reveals central information on the informant’s basic biographical position regarding the manner how she approach processes she undergoes throughout the development of her biography.

Once again Virginia, in an argumentative narrative detailing, refers to the self-theoretical commentaries and behavior of her mother at their home in her early childhood. She states: “At home, I heard it all the time (,) There was pressure at home (,) If we did something, we had to do it as if a white person was doing it, and not as though a black person was doing it”. Virginia’s higher predicate, in all probability, makes reference to a stigmatization of the labor performed by former African slaves in Brazil, as if they did things in a sloppy way. She affirms they had to do everything their mother demanded well and right the first time at home. Even though Virginia does not mention it, it is plausible to say that there could be punishment in case they didn’t, being that physical or verbal. This is how she rationalizes one of her basic biographical positions. It was apparently developed under fear of punishment, rather than in a search for enhancement or excellence. She makes an assessment of her attempts to accomplish a certain feat in: “I put myself under a lot of pressure (‘) to always do things right the first time, ever since my childhood”. It is remarkable the biographical influence the informant’s mother had on the biographical development of the incumbent through her perception and self-theoretical approaches to society in general. Virginia also points out another event carrier in the form of a person who seemingly helped reinforce the perception that one should excel at achieving a feat and do things right the first time. Virginia reveals that one of her teachers at IFPA once told her: “you always try to do things well the first time (‘) and I know we always have to try to do things right the first time (,) like a doctor (‘) when he operates on someone’s eyes (‘) He doesn’t have a chance to fix it (‘) He’ll have to do it right 100% the first time”. One can see that Virginia was induced to perceive she couldn’t fail in her achievements. That has made her develop a huge sense of being under pressure in order to avoid punishment and disapproval. The informant seems to approach objectives, and perhaps even simple tasks, with great fear and pressure, which could inhibit or prevent her from experiencing determined events in her biography, or even put her under a considerable amount of stress. In the following passage of this narrative unit, Virginia agrees with her mother and teacher and states: “that’s the truth (,) Life is like that”. It is attached to an argumentative section as to justify her agreement with these two persons. She provides the example of teenage

pregnancy, and that this would be a dreadful hurdle in her life. Virginia further explicates it by stating: “because I’d have to take care of this child for the rest of my life (,) I would have to raise this kid until he or she is 30 years old, or whatever (‘) this kid would be under my wing for the rest of my life”. It is noteworthy that the informant already seems to fear having a dependent child, as if she would have to repeat her mother’s behavior in order to promote autonomy. Conceivably, Virginia is not aware of this biographical influence and it could, therefore, present a tendency to continue in the development of her own family.

In the next passage, the informant also points out in her argumentative narrative detailing, her desire to continue following an institutional expectation pattern in her biography, as can be observed in: “Now I think that someday I will have to raise my son”. It is attached to a further argumentative section used to rationalize the reason why it is important for her to do things right the first time. She says that if she had chosen to try drugs, she would have taken a path that wouldn’t set an example for her child, and that this couldn’t be undone.

The coda of this narrative unit is characterized by a closing statement with a falling intonation, followed by a longer pause, as can be seen in: “I always thought like that (‘) and thought it was weird to think like that being so young (,) (2)”. It is clear that the informant is unaware of the genesis for this biographical position. One could argue there are different factors that played a role in the development of this mind-set about the approach to tasks or events: (a) the influence of event carriers, such as her mother and teacher at IFPA. (b) The religious influence her mother and very likely other individuals in Greenville had on Virginia. (c) The sort of values she was exposed to in school in Greenville. (d) Her fear of punishment and constant reinforcement of a pathway she should commit herself to.

Questioning Part II

1. Question I (transcription: Lines 2900 – 2941)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is asked about her parents’, grandparents’ and siblings’ education. The question was posed with the purpose of prompting the interviewee to provide further vital information to better comprehend her family milieu.

Virginia begins her reply with the kernel sentence “My mother and father started college, to get a degree in languages, which they did for a semester, but dropped out and didn’t continue”. Virginia mentions they attended a private university for one semester and then decided to quit. In the following passage, the informant states her mother did a vocational course in computer science, more specifically data processing. Her father also began doing the same course, but once more quit. It is interesting that both parents attempted to obtain a higher education degree. The reason for their dropout remains unclear, even though one important factor could have been the tuition fees they had to pay at the private university. They also entered a vocational school in Greenville. It is important to observe that Virginia’s decision to undergo vocational training in Sao Paolo could also be related to the fact that her parents had already been exposed to this educational modality. In other words, this educational pathway wasn’t unknown by the informant, and her parents might have approved of the idea of following this educational pathway.

In the next sentences, Virginia descriptively narrates about her mother’s occupation as secretary at the church in Greenville. She rationalizes that her mother’s vocational training was relevant due to the fact that she had to perform tasks that involved using a computer. Virginia argues that: “She wanted to do the course (‘) to learn how to save (-) change (-) create folders (-) these things [...] they do have a part on programming, (‘) but she (((laughs))) didn’t attend it”. She makes it clear that her mother entered vocational education with the purpose of obtaining the basic needed qualification and understanding in the field of IT in order to be able to perform her tasks as secretary at work. In other words, Virginia’s mother didn’t aim at vocational education to considerably enhance upward mobility.

Virginia continues her response by revealing her grandparents only attended school until fourth grade. In addition, she reveals that all three children attended a private elementary and high school in Greenville. Her parents paid tuition for her two sisters and she had a scholarship provided by the school. The effort made by her parents at the time might have been enormous. Despite their very low income, for she worked as a secretary at church and he was a manual worker, they managed to keep all three children at a private school in Greenville, which apparently offered a better level of education than other public schools in the area. This

point has already been discussed in the previous chapters of this dissertation (please refer to initial chapters). The coda of this narrative unit is characterized by a closing statement with a falling intonation, as can be seen in: “Yes, they did (,)”. It is the last informant’s response to a brief question about her sisters’ school attendance.

2. Question II (transcription: Lines 2942 – 2958)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is then kindly required to further provide information on her educational pathway choice, whether she had considered attending a different vocational school than IFPA in Sao Paulo, or if she had even considered accessing tertiary education immediately upon graduating from high school.

After a longer pause, Virginia begins her reply with the kernel sentence “during high school, I did go to trade school (‘) I did a course on IT”. The following is a detailing explicating it was the same vocational course her parents had done. She only uses a higher predicate to describe it and differentiate it from the VET course her parents’ had done, as in: “a bit improved (‘) they had improved it a bit by the time I did it”. The attention-grabbing aspect about this revelation is that Virginia never mentioned it in her main narrative. It could be the case that she does not attribute a higher value to this specific course as a part of her educational intentions, which could later assist her in the pursuit of her main biographical objective. The informant only states: “I had no idea of what a trade course was like”. It only backs up the hypothesis that her parents played an important role in the decision of undergoing this vocational training in IT in Greenville. Another relevant aspect supporting this assumption is that Virginia did the exact same trade course her parents had previously done.

Then, Virginia approaches the second part of the interviewer’s question, regarding her access to tertiary education. She begins with the kernel sentence: “I did think of going to a university right after school, but it was a very vague idea”. It is attached to an argumentative narrative detailing used by the informant to express that this idea was rather vague due to an early career indecision, as can be observed in the informant’s words: “Because I didn’t know what I wanted to do in life (,) I had no idea (‘) so, I had many doubts”. Virginia also reveals in this passage that she worked for a period of time at a shop in Greenville, where they sold home

appliances, and that she had in mind that she needed to leave Greenville; due to all other conditions already observed in the previous narrative units. Then, the informant attempts to rationalize another reason she decided to go to Sao Paulo to undergo IFPA's dual system apprenticeship, as in: "I'll do a trade course (') so I can start working at a company (,) Once I start working at a company (') I will decide my future and will be able to know for sure, because I'll have experience and will know what each profession is about and what people do (') and then I'll decide what I want to do". One can also see that Virginia also experienced a certain loss of vocational orientation. She was fully aware and convinced she had to leave Greenville, but she didn't have a clear vocational orientation of the profession she would like to follow.

The coda of this narrative unit is characterized by a closing statement with a falling intonation followed by a brief pause, as can be seen in: "It was like that (,) (-)". It summarizes her response to the reason that led her to leave for Sao Paulo and begin a dual system apprenticeship there. And Virginia, indirectly, mentions the importance she assigned to the duality aspect of this vocational education course. She openly states that working for a company could assist her in developing a clearer vocational orientation.

3. Question III (transcription: Lines 2959 – 2987)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is then kindly required to further provide information on the trade course she had done in IT in Greenville. As it wasn't mentioned in her main narrative, further narrative could reveal important details regarding the informant's perception of this educational modality and/or the motives that led her to undergo it. Virginia begins her reply with a descriptive narrative detailing about her vocational course. According to her rendering it was done in a concomitant modality (please refer to chapter regarding structure of VET in Brazil), once she attended high school in the morning and her vocational course in the evening. She also reveals that she worked at the shop that sold home appliances in the afternoon. The motive for her job at the shop is justified by the informant in: "to finish this trade course, you have to do an internship (,) So I worked at the shop that sold refrigerators, stoves, beds, furniture and so on".

As Virginia uttered a closing sentence and didn't continue her response, the interviewer decided to ask a direct question to ask the informant about the motives that led her to undergo this vocational training course in Greenville. Her further reply begins with a brief argumentation, which initiated with the motive that her mother had obliged her to do it. She also narrates that one of her sisters was also forced to do it, but had to quit as her parents could no longer afford to pay for this vocational course for both of them. In the following Virginia continues to descriptively talk about the school. She reveals it was a private vocational school, the same institution where she attended elementary and high school.

In the following passage of her reply, Virginia also points out a further motive for this vocational course, especially in the field of IT. She states that: "This IT course was a trend at the time". This commentary is attached to a justification that this course provides you with a basic understanding and requirements to operate a computer and that the labor market demands you to have this skill. Hence, Virginia uses these two motives to express her answer and ends her reply with the statement: "So (-) I went and did it too". In the following passage, the interviewer signals that he understood the informant had already undergone vocational training prior to her decision to begin IFPA's apprenticeship in Sao Paulo. It is very interesting that Virginia opted to do a second vocational course at secondary level. Instead of accessing tertiary education after the conclusion of her first VET course, she decided that a second one would definitely assist her in the pursuit of her biographical objective. Of course, this decision was also determined on the aspect that the school itself was located in Sao Paulo, a metropolis, far away from Greenville, given the goal she had in mind: "I have to leave this place".

The coda of this narrative unit is characterized by a closing statement with a falling intonation followed by a two-second pause, as can be seen in: "I had already done it (,) (2)". It was a short response to the fact that she had already done a vocational course prior to her decision to undergo IFPA's educational modality in Sao Paulo.

4. Question IV (transcription: Lines 2988 – 3003)

In this narrative unit the incumbent is directly asked about motives and/or other relevant influences which she considered had helped in the decision process she went through regarding

IFPA's apprenticeship. Virginia's reply begins with a longer pause and a moment of reflection. She simply seemed to be reflectively assessing the motives which she considered to be important. After this longer pause, Virginia states that her decision was based on different reasons, as can be seen in her rendering in the form of an argumentative narrative detailing: "Getting out of that town (-) leaving that small town (') and being someone in life (,) (-) To be qualified (') for a decent job (') (2) Also, to develop myself (-) my :personally: (-) and professionally". Leaving Greenville and searching for qualification that could enhance her chances of obtaining employment with superior compensation is a clear motive. It could, as a result, lead to upward mobility and also to an enhanced social identity, aspects that made part of the informant's main biographical objective. Virginia also mentions the aspect of improving personally. Indeed she experienced a creative metamorphosis of biographical identity. She also obtained employment in Sao Paolo, outside Greenville, she is nowadays able to provide for her self-existence, and continues to follow an institutional expectation pattern. She wishes to become a director and, therefore, is attending university and keeps focused on her objective.

In the following passage the interviewer questions the informant whether she had considered working as a secretary after finishing her dual system apprenticeship; given that she did an office clerk dual system apprenticeship. The informant response is very clear about following this vocational orientation. She states: "No (,) Not at any point (-) Never". She rationalizes her absolute lack of desire to follow a career as a secretary on the grounds that she: "always wanted to go to :college:". The following is an argumentative narrative detailing explicating the reasons why it is absolutely necessary to obtain a higher education degree in Brazil, in her judgment. Virginia pointed out three main reasons: (a) She affirms that nearly all her colleagues at work had a college degree. (b) She argues that without a university degree one has no chance to continue in a labor market that has such fierce competition. (c) One can't become a director without a tertiary education degree, meaning it is impossible to climb the career ladder without attending university. One could argue that her socialization process at work, in addition to her perception of individuals who had a university degree, have demonstrated that these individuals had improved their career prospects and obtained better chances of climbing the career ladder. Furthermore, Virginia is aware that reaching the vocational target she desires will demand a higher education degree, which could provide the necessary development of the employability skills necessary for such a position. Virginia is also aware

that a higher education degree could serve as a means of maintaining employability and also differentiation. Thus, she states such a degree is necessary to stay competitive in the labor market, and that it is vital in case one wants to work in a position that could offer great earnings potential and that certainly demands a vast specific knowledge.

5. Question V (transcription: Lines 3004 - 3059)

In this question Virginia is directly asked about her perception of her relationship to her classmates and teachers at IFPA School in Sao Paulo during her office clerk apprenticeship. The informant was asked for extra detailing regarding her social frame and her socialization with the individuals who belonged to it. Virginia's reply begins with the kernel sentence "Oh my God (,) (-) I lived with other :girls: in a shared flat (') and I felt :very: squeezed out of the picture". It is attached to an argumentative narrative detailing used by the informant to explicate the motives that led her to sense exclusion and rejection coming from her flat-mates during that period. Firstly, Virginia states she wasn't invited to go out with them and, therefore, couldn't enjoy moments of socialization with them. She associates this rejection to an occasion when she interacted with the other girls, as in: "once I said that I didn't like people of the Gemini sign (-) and the leader of this group of girls (') in our shared flat at IFPA (') her zodiac sign was Gemini". Virginia claims it caused a situation of disagreement, which ended up hindering any possibility of sharing moments of positive socialization with the other girls. She reflectively evaluates the outcome of this disagreement as: "It screwed my life during the two years I went to IFPA". It might only have augmented the trajectory Virginia underwent during her apprenticeship. Being in Sao Paulo, far away from family, peers and friends, might have been sufficiently hard, and in addition she had to cope with a rejection coming from the other girls she shared an apartment with during her apprenticeship. It also helps to explain one of her utterances in the questioning phase that could characterize a trajectory in this period of her biography: "on the weekends I cried a lot (-) it was very difficult in the beginning". The informant describes, next, the details of the events that followed the beginning of their conflict in this shared flat. Virginia refers to this period as: "then somehow a terrible drama started". It is attached to a brief description revealing the other girls avoided Virginia and she felt totally excluded from the group. It appears that Virginia even tried to end the problem and come to terms with the other girls; after all she was going through a tough time. This assumption can

be assumed in the rendering of the informant, as in: “I did all the dishes, to avoid any more stress”.

In the next passage the informant continues to narrate about the shared flat she used to live in while attending IFPA’s apprenticeship. The next kernel sentence is “I shared a room with Sarah (-) and they had a fight with Sarah”. Virginia justifies in an argumentative narrative detailing that the source of their disagreement with Sarah was based on the fact that she helped the informant by eventually driving her to school or taking her grocery shopping. Virginia says it instigated jealousy, and it seems the others didn’t tolerate her behavior in relation to Virginia. The informant also reveals the other apprentices living in the shared flat were from Parana and Rio Grande do Sul, both states from the Southern Brazil. The interviewee ends her narrative on this specific matter stating: “the other ones turned on me (‘) without ever telling me the reason for it (‘) I wondered about it and they never told me”. Yet, based on her rendering, it is possible to ascertain that the other girls experienced a certain degree of envy, perhaps due to the fact that Virginia was the only one associating with the girl from Sao Paolo; given that the other three and Virginia came from the south part of Brazil.

In the following passage the informant addresses another kernel sentence: “The times I stayed in São Paolo on Sundays, I would go to a talk show”. It is mentioned in an attempt to rationalize other motives that could have led the girls to exclude her from their group. The following is a combination of a descriptive and argumentative detailing. The interviewee mentions that every now and then she would go to this show and would receive a certain amount of money just to sit in the front row. It seems to be common practice to place attractive young ladies in the front rows of such shows, who are paid to do it. Virginia argues that this could have been another reason for their conflict, for they were never invited to participate in the show. The following is a narrative description of the occasions she went on the show, as in: “So I went there”. After a description of what she had to do there, including having lunch, waiting and participating in the talk-show by sitting in the front row, Virginia ends her rendering on this aspect by stating “I never took them there (,) I don’t know if it was because of that”.

In the next part of her response, Virginia makes reference to her teachers at IFPA, as it can be observed in “As for the :teachers:”. The informant uses this passage to evaluate her relation-

ship with two specific teachers at IFPA, namely, Mr. Müller and Mr. Kaufmann. The following is a descriptive narrative detailing provided by the informant, which is blended with sections of criticism and also assessment. Firstly, the informant focuses on Mr. Kaufmann. She states that he didn't like living in Brazil and constantly made comparisons in the classroom between Germany and Brazil as to strengthen the superior quality of products, items, cars among other aspects. Virginia perceived it as negative and describes a teacher who had little intercultural competence. In addition, this teacher's behavior could also have influenced an erroneous perception of a German person, for he was a teacher from Germany teaching Brazilian students within a Brazilian context. In the following, the interviewee reveals that this teacher would say "Verdammt noch mal" to the students, which could also indicate a lack of pedagogical competence from the educator. In the next Virginia mentions another teacher, Ruya the xxx teacher. Virginia provides a description that conveys that she liked this person and enjoyed her classes. Her judgment is very positive. The next teacher in Virginia's assessment and description is Mr. Müller. The informant states: "he was the one that really added some value for me as a student". Her statement is followed by an argumentative detailing stating that he demonstrated he was genuinely interested in her and, apparently, showed curiosity in the contributions Virginia had to make in the classroom. She also mentions the following vital piece of information in this passage about Mr. Müller: "that I followed (') production engineering". Yet, it remains unclear whether this teacher had a degree in the area or if he inquired her about her tasks at her grandfather's farm, or if he saw a certain vocational orientation in Virginia and simply motivated her to follow a pathway. Nevertheless, the informant demonstrates this teacher was an event carrier in the development of her biography and, most importantly, an individual that promoted vocational orientation in her biography.

Next, Virginia descriptively and argumentatively narrates about another teacher, namely, Mrs. Grün. The informant reveals that she suffered a certain prejudice regarding her German pronunciation, as in: "Because I hadn't done an exchange program or anything like being an au pair (-) at the beginning I couldn't pronounce the "rrr", and I didn't speak well [...] she always gave me the lowest grades in the class". Virginia might have struggled to understand the source of this prejudice. Given that she learned German at home and came from a German colony, she may have experienced a hybridity due to the fact that she had developed a Ger-

man identity in Greenville and later she was faced with prejudice on the grounds that she didn't have a good command of the language.

6. Question VI (transcription: Lines 3060 - 3083)

In this question Virginia is requested to provide further argumentative detailing on her current perception of IFPA and its apprenticeship. In other words, the interviewer aimed at identifying the differences pointed out by the informant between prior and post IFPA access. Virginia's reply begins with the kernel sentence "For me (,) I think (') IFPA was bad (,) in my opinion IFPA was bad". Then, she attempts to rationalize her higher predicate regarding the educational institution in an argumentative narrative detailing. The informant assess the education provided by the school negatively and didn't have her expectations met. It is followed by criticism stating that the teaching was dull and based on memorizing of different contents. Virginia also criticizes the difficulty of the specific language used in the classes, as can be observed in: "so many times they gave us stuff where you needed excellent German (') top German (,) so many times I didn't know how to do it". Apparently, even though Virginia learned a German dialect at home and also spoke German in school, it wasn't enough to overcome some language barriers in school. Once again it might have been difficult for her perception of her own identity development.

The following kernel sentence is "in class everything was ok". It is attached to an argumentative section to concretize her higher predicate. She associates most problems to the evaluations they had to take. It seems the school is rather demanding and that the apprentices have to commit to a great deal of effort to successfully pass exams and, consequently, finish the program. It can be identified in Virginia's rendering as well, as in: "the problem was studying for the exams (') that was miserable (,) we studied in a group there in our shared flat (-) I studied until 3:00 in the morning, sitting on the bathroom floor, in order to pass".

Next, the interviewee utters the next kernel sentence, which is used to initiate an assessment of the image the school has, according to the discernment of the informant, as in: "out there (') IFPA is really acknowledged (,) the name IFPA is known as hell out there". She justifies her perception by providing the example that other companies see IFPA as a school of great

reputation. Virginia describes it as an elite school, where wealthy individuals study. In addition, she makes reference to the difficulties the language imposes, since classes were taught in German. As can be observed, Virginia believes it's an elite school on the grounds that socio-economic privileged individuals attend its vocational educational modality. She also assumes other companies speak highly of their apprenticeship and that not many individuals can master the German language at such a level so as to undergo secondary level VET. To sum up, the informant's perception of the education provided by the institution and its reputation are rather divergent.

In the next passage of her reply, the informant mentions that she belonged to a group of three apprentices while undergoing her vocational training, as in: "Matthew and Joey and I, we were together in class all the time, the three of us (-) we studied together". She states they used to socialize on a regular basis, not only in school, but also in other situations. In the following Virginia makes a crucial commentary: "I always got along better with men than with girls (-) the result is that I chose industrial engineering (') and this course has only men". Virginia associates her vocational orientation to the processes of socialization she experienced with male figures. Conceivably, these two young men have also influenced her to pursue a career in this area. The informant clearly claims her friendships with the opposite-sex as dominant in her biography. Interestingly, she was raised to assume that men are deceitful individuals who she should not trust. This was one central issue repeatedly taught by her mother in her early childhood. Nevertheless, vital event carriers in her post-Greenville development were men, as in her fiancée, her teacher Mr. Müller at IFPA, the director of her company, the model from Greenville who helped her with shelter and obtaining employment in Sao Paolo prior to the beginning of her apprenticeship. Perhaps, Virginia has begun associating these relationships as being stronger and emotionally more rewarding. And, of course, these relationships could pose an immense contrast to the ones she had with her mother and siblings. In addition the friendship with these two young men was, according to the informant, also developed due to their socioeconomic background. Virginia states that: "But the three of us were always more rebellious (') the three poor kids in the classroom". It is proof demonstrating that Virginia experienced social seclusion at the school. She suffered due a hybridity, felt unaccepted in her shared flat, didn't have her expectations met regarding the quality of education provided, very likely continued to perceived she was socially disadvantage just like she did

while going to school in Greenville, and also suffered cultural marginality due to a certain lack of intercultural competence displayed by a few teachers. Nonetheless, her biographical goal always remained absolutely clear and the informant always committed to this effort justification endeavor, for she knew the outcomes of enduring this process were more relevant to the trajectory she had to undergo.

In this passage Virginia also states the higher predicate “we were like that because we wanted it to be more intense, more difficult”. This is probably related to her personality. Virginia does not steer away from challenges and seems to be constantly ready to face any difficulty a dispute might cause. She appears to be always searching for the next step, and simplistic tasks that do not demand endeavor might be perceived by the informant as too effortless.

7. Question VII (transcription: Lines 3084 - 3140)

In this question Virginia is asked about her perception of IFPA’s dual system apprenticeship in comparison to other vocational schools in Brazil in general. It is a rather open question, posed to obtain a comparison provided by the informant contrasting IFPA and other regular trade schools. The informant replies the question saying “IFPA is for sure different (-) for sure (.) there’s a big difference”. She rationalizes her higher predicate argumentatively discussing about its reputation. The interviewee differentiates its reputation within a “German world”, which she describes as German schools, institutions and companies in Brazil, and its reputation outside this context. The informant claims that companies that do not belong to this “German world” have no knowledge of its existence and its apprenticeship modality, as can be observed in the informant’s rendering “Nobody knows anything about it [...] they know nothing, nothing, nothing about it, you know (?) They’ve never heard of it (‘) nothing about it”. In other words, Virginia is arguing that IFPA’s certificate is of little value in the Brazilian market when one needs to apply for a position in a non-German company. In between the lines, she is trying to convey that the certificate could considerably enhance one’s employability at a German company, but that more propaganda would have to be produced to promote the school and its apprenticeship modality in the Brazilian labor market. In the following part of her argumentative section, Virginia says that “But, then when you talk to the director (‘) another manager (‘) he might know what I’m talking about”. It seems to be a generalized at-

tempt made by the informant, claiming that managers and directors have more access to information and, therefore, would know about IFPA's existence as well as its apprenticeship modality. She continues her argumentation providing a comparison, as in "If I said USP⁹¹ (‘ from the shop floor worker (-) up to the director, everyone knows that this university is good (-) that it's recognized". Once again, Virginia makes it clear that IFPA has a limited impact on the Brazilian labor market. She states that only German companies know about it, which might limit its apprentices range of employability. Virginia ends this section of her response stating "when you talk about IFPA, you need to know your audience". Possibly, the informant is trying to convey one needs to know how to sell this qualification in the labor market in order to take advantage of it.

In an attempt to refocus the response to the question posed by the interviewer, Virginia is once again asked about a contrast between IFPA and other vocational schools in Brazil. Her response is based on a comparison made by her vocational training in Greenville in the field of IT and her office clerk dual system apprenticeship at IFPA. She begins with a higher predicate saying "(IFPA) could be worse". It is attached to a brief argumentative section used by the informant to affirm that she gained a lot more knowledge in her trade course in Greenville than at IFPA. In the following passage Virginia reflectively provides a commentary to rationalize the perception stated above. She associates her negative perception of the content taught by IFPA and, as a result, its quality in general with her language command, as in "perhaps it's a matter of my language command (,) maybe it was because of the language, because I didn't live in Germany for three years or anything like that (,) But, of course, this is the language problem". Virginia further rationalizes and states that she did well in subjects that didn't involve a good command of the language, such as financial topics and math. In the following she makes a general reflective evaluation of the benefits brought by IFPA's apprenticeship. The interviewee utters "IFPA was actually good to improve language skills, like my :English:, my Spanish (‘) and my German". She justifies her evaluation by arguing that other classes were rather weak in relation to its content. Virginia provides an example to make her statement more valid. Her kernel sentence is "for example computer class, oh my God, what was that class that teacher Max taught (?) Nobody gave a damn about it". It is followed by a narra-

⁹¹ It is a public university in the Brazilian state of São Paulo. It is the largest Brazilian university and the country's most prestigious educational institution; see ANPEI (2008).

tive description used to demonstrate the motives that made this class effortless and irrelevant, in the opinion of the informant.

It is interesting that, in her response, she does not make any comparison to other vocational schools and does not negatively portray other general trade schools in Brazil. On the contrary, she even states that another vocational school had a superior quality when compared to IFPA. In the following passage Virginia continues to criticize the quality of some subjects taught at IFPA and that it only served as a path to obtain a certificate, but she considered these effortless subjects, which posed no challenge or provided sufficient new knowledge as “ridiculous”. She ends her assessment implicitly arguing she expected to acquire more knowledge at the IFPA School, but that it served as a means to obtain a certificate that could be used later to obtain further employment. Virginia ends her response with a closing sentence with a falling intonation, followed by a longer pause.

The interviewer accordingly thanks the informant for her participation and for telling her life history. Then he politely ends the biographical narrative interview. Virginia appears to be glad to have helped and ends her participation saying “amen”, an apparent religious word chosen by the informant so as to end the questioning phase.

10.6 Structural description of single case (3): Eva Schmidt

1. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 3141 - 3167)

Eva's extempore story telling initiates with a main narrative part, in which she is asked to tell her life story without any essential intervention from the interviewer. The informant poses an issue, after the stimulus question. Eva asks, once again, about the modus operandi of the interview, which is once more reinforced by the interviewer, who appropriately stresses that the autobiographical interview should be related to the entire life of the informant, and not only to a narrative focused on one's schooling. The first full-size narrative unit discloses three crucial aspects regarding the informant's biography, namely, her grandparents' and parents' ethnic origin and her family milieu.

The informant initiates her rendering mentioning her name and a kernel sentence, namely "I come from a very small family". The next is a descriptive narrative detailing about her family and their ethnic origin. It is in all probability a background construction elucidating the informant's relation with German culture, as a necessary explanation justifying her relation to the IFPA School in her autobiographical interview. The informant reveals in her narrative that her grandfather is from Greece and her grandmother is from Austria and that they lived in a German colony in Brazil. The informant's mother lived in this colony with her parents until she was twenty years old, when she moved to Sao Paulo, met her husband, married and gave birth to Eva and, later, her sister. The informant has a connection with German colonies in Brazil and her mother has probably passed on to her the language and the culture to which she was also exposed within the German colony. In addition, her grandparents have also heavily influenced the informant's identity development. This first narrative unit ends with a closing statement in a falling intonation: "she went to Sao Paulo (') where she met my father who is Brazilian (') :and: they had two sons (-) me and my sister (,)".

2. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 3167 - 3185)

This full narrative unit begins with the frame switching element *and*, a connector indicating the continuation of the narrative. It is immediately followed by the adverb *then*; two markers

indicating the beginning of a new narrative unit. This unit deals with the informant's basic schooling. The first kernel sentence in this unit is "from the beginning /ehm/ my mother (-) both my mother and my father always /ehm/ (-) put a lot of value :in: my education /ehm/ as well as my sister's (-) so they sent me to the Schweizerschule São Paulo in Brazil". The informant's higher predicate is in all probability related to her parents' educational action scheme, which entailed private expensive schools. Her parents sent her to schools where she could be prepared for a more propaedeutic education that would, later, lead her to a higher education track.

The next is a brief descriptive narrative detailing her first elementary school in Sao Paolo. Eva reveals she attended the most expensive and prestigious elementary school in the capital city of the state of Sao Paolo, where classes are taught entirely in German. The next kernel sentence is "I studied there until the fourth grade (!) I didn't continue studying in this school". The next is an argumentative detailing elucidating the motives that led her parents to enroll her in another school. The informant argues her parents couldn't afford it anymore, given it is one of the most expensive private schools in Brazil.

Next is a justification elucidating the reason that led the informant to attend this school, as well as the motives that forced her to leave it. Eva argues her parents could no longer afford to pay costly tuition fees for two children, even though it had always been part of their educational action scheme, as can be observed in "it was actually their dream this school (-) a dream of my father and my mother". It was in all probability a way to pass on to her children the ethnic cultural exposure she had experienced in her own childhood in the German colony, and also through socializations with a significant other, more specifically, her mother, who came from Austria. In other words, Eva's first elementary school was part of her parents' educational action scheme due to their desire to expose the biography incumbent to this specific culture, as well as their intention of seeing Eva develop an identity based on German culture. In addition, it was also a part of a scheme that could lead the informant to a more propaedeutic school track, steering away from public education of a lower quality that could one day restrict the informant's post-high school educational pathway margin, especially regarding tertiary level access.

The next kernel sentence in this narrative unit is “so they opted to send (-) me and my sister to Humboldt School”. It is attached to another brief description of the school, which is located in Sao Paolo, and is also a German school. The informant finished elementary school there and then began high school at Porto Seguro, another German school located in Sao Paolo, where her sister was attending elementary school at the time. The coda of this narrative unit is a summary of the informant’s basic schooling, as can be observed in “summarizing /ehm/ I studied until the fourth grade (-) at the Schweizerschule (') then I went to Humboldt in the fifth until eighth grade (') (-) then high school I did (-) at Porto Seguro”.

3. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 3185 - 3206)

This full narrative unit begins with the paralinguistic element /ehm/, used by the informant to gain time in order to think about the next narrative topic and respective kernel sentence. This unit deals with the informant’s extracurricular activities. The first kernel sentence in this unit is “I was a Girl Scout /ehm/ it was in São Paulo”. The next is a descriptive narrative detailing about the group and their activities. The informant also uses this part of her rendering to reinforce the reasons explicating why her identity development was linked to the German culture. In addition to her grandparents’ and parents’ educational scheme, the scouts group was part of a Lutheran church, where several individuals were also German or Austrian descendants. The informant reveals: “and you end up integrating more in the community“. It is an attempt to justify the influence of human event carriers on her identity development. The next is a descriptive detailing of her activities in the group, as can be observed in: “we left :for: camping on the weekends (') we were more in touch/despite living in the big city (') (-) we were more in contact with :nature: (-) /ehm/ there was no need to get prissy (-) just go into the woods and all (,)”.

The next kernel sentence in this narrative unit is also related to the informant extracurricular activities: “:and: on weekends (') :I: used to visit my grandparents a lot”. The following is an argumentative narrative detailing as to justify the reason her grandparents live at the beach. Eva appears to have a close relationship to her grandparents and describes herself as a person who enjoys being in contact with nature, which also assists understanding why she enjoyed visiting her grandparents on weekends, as can be seen in her rendering in: “I've always been

very in touch with: nature: (-) and the :beach: (-) in short (') because the Girl Scouts have contact with the green /ehm/ (') despite having lived my entire life in São Paulo (-) I always had contact with :nature: (,) (-)". It can be already observed that the informant's childhood developments and her adolescence were essentially composed of four main social arenas: her family and her home, her grandparents' home at the beach, her private German school and the girl scouts. Eva was clearly exposed to the German culture in all of these social arenas. It is, therefore, expected that she would develop an identity related to this specific culture through process of socialization.

4. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 3206 - 3213)

This full narrative unit begins with the frame switching element *and*, which is immediately followed by the adverb *then*; two markers indicating the beginning of a new narrative unit. This unit deals with the informant's transitional period between high school graduation and her primary post-high school aspirations. This narrative unit begins with a background construction used by the informant to justify the motives that led her to graduate from high school at the age seventeen, which she implicitly considers to be too early to make a post-high school educational decision. Eva explicates that, as her birthday is in July, she was able to enter elementary school earlier, which enabled her to finish her basic schooling earlier as well. The first kernel sentence in this narrative unit is "and then I had serious doubt (') about know what I :would: study (') what would I :do:". This already indicates an indecision process undergone by the informant in relation to a determined major within a vertical educational advancement leading to a certain occupational orientation. The previous background construction is also an attempt to justify this early indecision, based on the fact that she was still too young to make an occupational orientation choice. The next is another background construction justifying her indecision process during this transitional period.

The following kernel sentence in this textual section is: "Before that (-) I had taken a vocational test (') :at: Mackenzie University (') (-) of about one year (') (-) together with :the: third year of high school (') I really didn't know what I would do". It also demonstrates that a determined measure was taken in an attempt to ameliorate the incumbent's indecision process. However, it didn't suffice to provide her with a clearer occupation orientation and her doubts

remained. Yet, it can be also observed that there wasn't any doubt regarding either a vertical or horizontal educational advancement. Eva simply didn't know which major to take within a vertical educational advancement, which was apparently taken for granted and aligned with her parents' educational action scheme, namely, aiming at a more propaedeutic educational pathway for the biography incumbent.

The next is a narrative detailing concerning the results of her vocational test, as it can be observed in: “the tests gave the most varied possible results (') I like/I liked math a lot (‘) I still like it (,) But tests always resulted in something like that (,) Ah something related to engineering (') but (-) at the same :time: also more related to humanities (') I thought a lot about working with :people: something related to psychology (') :and: /mhm/ always/I really didn't know”. The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit entails a questions, namely, “(,) what I would do (') (?)”. It is another indicator that the biography incumbent was undergoing a process of indecision and didn't have a clearer occupational orientation, issue that would have to be resolved prior to a post-high school vertical advancement. There is also an evident perception of the incumbent that choosing a major in higher education was related to a profession that would be pursued perpetually, which also assists comprehending the considerable amount of pressure and doubt undergone by the informant during this transitional period.

5. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 3213 - 3223)

This full narrative unit begins with the frame switching element *and*, which is immediately followed by the paralinguistic element /mhm/ and the adverb *then*, which also has its pronunciation stretched in order to gain time and elaborate the continuation of a rendering. This unit deals with the informant's transitional period between high school graduation and the post-high school horizontal educational pathway option of entering IFPA School in order to undergo its German dual system apprenticeship. The first kernel sentence in this full-size narrative unit is “during the third year of high school (') someone (') from=from IFPA :from: the=the technical course of IFPA School (-) gave a presentation :and: they presented the course structure”. It already demonstrates the intrapersonal and direct cooperation of IFPA and other German schools in Sao Paolo. The next is a descriptive detailing of the presentation, as can be observed in: “your chances (') of going to college (-) and if you do go to :college: after that (-)

to work for a multinational company (') (-) and everything else (,) (-) :and: then I actually (-) wanted to gain time". Eva's rendering reveals two important aspects: (a) her post-high school educational aspiration was evidently aimed at making a vertical advancement. It explains the concern of the biography incumbent regarding different possibilities to access higher education after finishing her dual system apprenticeship. (b) It would represent a functional mechanism used by the informant to gain time, work orientation and possibly a clearer occupational orientation prior to accessing university, which would, theoretically, enable her to make a more appropriate choice. This specific assumption can also be observed in her rendering in: "I wanted to do this (') (2) to maybe try this course (-) in order :to: gain a few years (') and then :see: oh my is it what I want :do: (?) Do I want to work for a company or do I not :want: it".

The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit is a summarized justification of her decision to make a horizontal educational advancement prior to accessing university, which is essentially the result of lack of occupational orientation and a post-high school indecision process. Eva also associated this indecision to being young and immature, in the sense of being still unprepared to make such an important decision, which can also be observed in her argumentative detailing (it is also the coda of this narrative unit): "I could change my mind along the way (,) (-) Because I was still relatively young (-) :so: I still had the chance /ehm/ (,) and /mhm / (2)".

6. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 3223 - 3255)

This full narrative unit begins with the frame switching *then*, which also has its pronunciation stretched in order to gain time and elaborate the continuation of a rendering. This unit deals with the informant's decision to make a horizontal educational advancement upon high school graduation, by beginning to undergo IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. The first kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: "I ended up signing up for this course (') I became interested (') I talked a lot with my parents (') and my parents liked the idea". It demonstrates that the biography incumbent looked for parental approval, and both parents agreed to a horizontal advancement. This is a rather different outcome to what they had planned within their educational action scheme for the incumbent, but it was a decision to gain a clearer occupational

orientation that could eventually lead to a more appropriate decision concerning a subsequent vertical educational advancement. Thus, the informant's parents gave their consent to the decision and the incumbent embarked on this institutional expectation, which can be observed in the typical formulaic verbal expression: "I ended up signing up for this course".

The next is an argumentative narrative detailing explicating the importance of finding a company located near her parents' home, for she would still be under parental supervision, and she would be able to attend college, as can be observed in her rendering in: "because :I: would (-) have to go to college (') I had to (-) continue with my studies after IFPA /ehm/ (,)". It already demonstrates, especially through the informant's word choice, that accessing university was perceived as an alternative-less educational pathway that would be followed regardless of IFPA's apprenticeship, which was essentially being used as an occupational orientation mechanism. The next kernel sentence in this narrative unit is "then I signed up (') (-) :I:=I applied at /ehm/ many companies (,) (-)". It is attached to a narrative detailing evidencing the sequence of events that followed her application. The informant had a number of interviews at different companies and was accepted by more than one. The next is a detailing of the four companies that accepted her as an apprentice and the motives that led her to decline three and accept the other one. Eva mentions that the first company was located far from her parents' home and she would depend on public transport, which she considers inefficient – and it must also be pointed out that the incumbent wasn't accustomed to using public transport, a representation of the unknown and lack of safety, which she had never experienced before within the four main social arenas in which she had developed her biography so far. As for the second company, Eva repeatedly uses the word "smaller" when referring to the company, and she demonstrated a unwillingness to undergo a horizontal educational advancement within a small-size company. The third company is regarded by the informant as an ideal choice, as it can be observed in: "then: there was an opportunity at INA (') that was the INA Bearings (') which was in Sorocaba (') :and: that was the one I actually liked (')". It is attached to a brief argumentative narrative detailing evidencing the motives that led her to decline their offer. The company was located outside Sao Paulo and she would have to move out, measure which her parents did not authorize. In addition, there weren't colleges in the city where the company is located, which would make attending university impossible. It becomes evident that there was intense pressure to develop an occupational orientation as soon as possible in order

to make a concomitant vertical educational advancement, which would in all probability cause relief for the incumbent, her parents and the informant's confrontation with her social world, once she would be then undergoing an educational pathway that wouldn't be questioned by other actors of her social world. Another important fact is that the biography incumbent didn't seem to demonstrate traits of permanent indecisiveness, given that she could find an appropriate decision regarding a company. Her indecision was indeed related to a more appropriate post-high school vertical educational advancement.

The next kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: "then the fourth company (-) called me (') It was the NCA (') NCA (') the one which I decided in favor of (')". It is followed by a narrative argumentative detailing, which is used by the informant to justify her choice. Eva argues that the company offered chartered transport, they were a large-size multinational, she wouldn't have to move out of her parents' home, which meant they would approve, and she could stay in Sao Paulo, where there were enough universities for her to make a concomitant vertical educational advancement as soon as she acquired a cleared occupational orientation.

The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit is a closing statement with a falling intonation. This statement is related to the possibility of continuing to reside with her parents and gaining sufficient time that could allow her to make a more appropriate major choice before accessing a university "then: I'd have time to [...] think :about: what I would study in college (') and then later I would do the entrance examination to enter college (') then I could see where I was going to college and everything else (,)".

7. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 3256 - 3271)

This full narrative unit begins with the frame switching *then*. This unit deals with the first weeks of the informant's dual system apprenticeship. It also entails evaluative passages concerning IFPA School and its VET system. The first kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: "then I started (-) to do the technical course at IFPA". It is again a typical marker indicating the beginning of an institutional expectation process. It is followed by a descriptive and also evaluative section regarding the school and its apprenticeship. Eva reveals she began undergoing an apprenticeship in the field of international trade. The following is an assessment of her

VET program: “I started liking it“. It is attached to an argumentative detailing, in which she rationalizes that she could perceive that connection between theory and practice at work, as can be observed in her rendering in: “I could use everything at the company”.

Next is an assessment of the structure of the dual system apprenticeship which offers the job-rotation aspect: “it was pretty cool“. Eva justifies her higher predicate by stating that IFPA’s apprenticeship enabled her to work in different departments, which she describes as: “(‘) I managed to work in many different departments (‘) from where there was a man operating machines (‘) to finally (-) where material turned into parts at a thousand degree Celsius (‘) :and: glowing red /ehm/ I saw the :expedition: where they :were: distributed and finally where they issue :invoices: (‘) prepared for things to go into :containers: (-) accounting (-) all=all=all departments (,) /ehm/ I saw it all during those two years at the company“. The job rotation aspect of the apprenticeship and the connection between theory and practice were fundamental attributes of IFPA’s dual system apprenticeship that enabled the incumbent to develop a sense of identification with the company and also with the occupational orientation her VET course was leading to. It can also be observed in Eva’s rendering in: “(‘) I said good (‘) then (-) is it exactly what I want (‘) I will :continue: to :work: in this=this kind of industry [...] :because: I ended up identifying with this company (‘)“. The next is an argumentative narrative detailing making clear the reason why the informant felt accepted and began to identify with the company. She argues that her colleagues were receptive and she felt accepted by the team and the company. It demonstrates that an occupational orientation within IFPA’s VET area can also be related to the experience made by the apprentice within the company. The coda of this narrative unit is an argumentation as to why the incumbent felt connected to the company and to the occupation she was developing: “(‘) I liked the work atmosphere (‘) people were super receptive and they all=all explained everything I wanted to know with the greatest patience in the world (‘)“.

8. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 3271 - 3279)

This full narrative unit begins with the frame switching element and, which is immediately followed by the paralinguistic element /ehm/ and the adverb then. This short unit deals with the informant’s concern and anxiety related to permanent employment upon graduation from

IFPA's apprenticeship. The first kernel sentence in this full-size narrative unit is “:and: /mhm/ then at the end of these two years (') the :problem: was /ehm/ would I get a permanent job here or not (?)”. It is also interesting to observe Eva's concern with early employment, despite the fact that her family still has a more socioeconomically privileged status. In addition, her decision to make this horizontal advancement wasn't aimed at obtaining permanent employment, but gaining time, work orientation and a possible occupational orientation. However, her connection with the company and the desire to follow a professional career in the field of her apprenticeship have ended up providing Eva with an occupational orientation, which as a crucial condition for her desire to obtain permanent employment at the same company upon her graduation from the dual system apprenticeship.

The following is a self-theoretical commentary made by the informant in relation to obtaining permanent employment after finishing the dual system apprenticeship. She associates it to the apprentice's level of commitment, as in: “it depended on the company (') :if: you were a good intern (') if you showed interest (') if you were good enough (') you (-) ok (-) you would be offered a vacancy”. In other words, she is implicitly demonstrating characteristics that she believes she has demonstrated during her VET program too. Hence, she “deserved” to be offered a position, which in fact happened later on. The informant reveals she was offered a position at the foreign trade department, which she assesses as: “:then: they offered me (-) I was (-) super happy about it (') of course”. It is also the last sentence of this narrative unit, indicating its coda. The higher predicate is related to the previously mentioned motives, namely, her sense of belonging and acceptance within the company, and the fact that she identified with the assignments she had to perform while working in the field of foreign trade.

9. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 3279 - 3330)

This full narrative unit begins with the frame switching element *then*. This is a longer narrative unit dealing with the informant's concomitant educational commitments, namely, her dual system apprenticeship and higher education. Eva uses this narrative unit to explicate the need to quit her first permanent job and find a new one in Sao Paolo. The first kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: “Then I=I took the job“. It is immediately attached to a second kernel sentence: “:then: it was when (-) the boss's boss actually /ehm/ I think he saw :a: possibility (')

that I could do something else (') :and: he :offered: me another vacancy (')“ . The following is a descriptive detailing and assessment of this new offer and position. Eva argues that she would have to combine knowledge about two different areas, respectively, foreign trade and logistics. She assesses the new position in: “which was a good thing (') :more: /ehm/ a much greater challenge“. She briefly rationalizes that this position would demand vast knowledge. It is rather remarkable how the biography incumbent began climbing the career ladder rather rapidly, from the very beginning of her professional development. Right after finishing her apprenticeship, she was already occupying a position that demanded a great deal of commitment and responsibility. She felt connected to the company, and the institution provided her with possibilities to advance professionally. The next kernel sentence is: “I took this job“. It is another typical formulaic expression indicating the continuation of an already dominant institutional expectation pattern in the biographical development of the incumbent. The next is a narrative detailing used by the informant to reveal she worked in this position for more than two years.

The next kernel sentence in this narrative unit introduces a process of change in the biography of the informant: “I worked in this position for more than two years in total (-) :I: /ehm/ stayed at NCA for five years (') until (-) this distance to get to (') and come back (-) from São Paulo began to become a drag“. It is an annunciation of contours of events in her biography. She is making reference to the distress that different concomitant commitments were causing. It also appears to be the beginning of a background construction explicating a possible change. The next is an abrupt break in the flow of the narrative with the purpose of providing a narrative detailing about her educational achievements during this period, especially regarding vertical educational advancement. Eva says: “I had already started to go to college (') (-) when I was /ehm/ (-) it was a part that I actually forgot to tell (') when I was going to IFPA“. It is attached to an argumentative detailing used by Eva to justify the need for concomitant horizontal and vertical advancements. She assumes that entering university after IFPA would be a “waste of time”, given she had already decided to follow an occupational orientation, which would essentially dictate the major she would take in college. Only six months after having begun the dual system apprenticeship, Eva overcame a superimposed structural impediment and accessed a private university, where she began majoring in foreign trade. It is also interesting that she opted to continue working after the apprenticeship, and she did not con-

sider accessing a public university, where competition would be much fiercer. Evidently, the source of income received by the incumbent, in addition to her parent's financial condition, have enabled her to afford a private university without further problems related to any financial constraint.

The next kernel sentence is: “:then: I did it (-) and I passed the exam and then in August I started to go to college (,)“. She has finally closed the cycle leading to a vertical educational advancement, after gaining the necessary work orientation. The next is a brief narrative detailing an evaluative section regarding the informant's concomitant educational commitments, her dual system apprenticeship during daytime and university in the evenings. She evaluates it in: “it was super tiring (,)“. It is immediately followed by an argumentative detailing justifying the motives for the exhaustive routine that involved these two parallel educational advancements. The informant argues “I didn't want to waste time (,) because I had already decided (-) I wanted to stay in this area (-)“. It is a clear statement regarding her newly obtained occupational orientation. Eva identified with the company and the tasks she was performing, conditions that led her to the decision to make a swift path to higher education. Her word choice “waste time” calls one's attention though. This expression indicates that the informant didn't want to allow time to elapse in an unproductive manner regarding a vertical educational advancement. It already demonstrates the value associated to IFPA within a horizontal educational advancement. It clearly served as a functional mechanism and not as an educational measure leading to further qualification within a cul-de-sac school track choice. It only laid the foundation for a vertical advancement, which was considered essential by the informant. Eva argues it was a safety measure, which was also related to a fear of future employability, due to the fact that the vocational school is not well-known among Brazilian companies, as can be observed in her rendering in: “even if after two years (,) I didn't have the opportunity to stay at the company (-) or to be :hired: permanently (,) at least I was going to college (-) majoring in foreign trade (,) and I could go to another company (,)“. It appears that the labor market, as a crucial non-human event carrier, tended to determine the incumbent's concomitant measure of committing to both educational levels at the same time. The next kernel sentence in this full-size narrative unit is: “then I (-) when I was a year and a half into college (,) (-) there was a vacancy (,) (-) as a permanent employee at the company (,)“. Eva obtained permanent employment upon graduating from IFPA's apprenticeship, and continued to follow

an expectation pattern, also by attending university, where she had begun majoring in foreign trade. The following textual section is a reflective assessment made by the informant about her professional attainments after IFPA: “this was an opportunity that folks that were attending college with me (-) after only a year and a half (') didn't have (,) (-) you have to finish/most times you have to finish college first (') in order to get a good position in the labor market (') :so: until you finish college (') companies :stall: you (') they hire you as an :intern: (') and then you work like that (-) until you finished college (') only then you get a permanent job (,)”. This is certainly an argument used by the informant within post-hoc rationalizations too. Despite the overvalued image associated to higher education, she gained permanent employment with the assistance of a horizontal educational advancement. It also demonstrates that IFPA and its dual system can serve as a short cut into the labor market, an outcome that higher education cannot directly and easily provide one with, in such a short period of time, within a Brazilian context.

Next is an evaluation, also a reflective detailing, regarding IFPA's apprenticeship within secondary level VET. Eva says: “actually the biggest advantage of all (-) that :I can think of (-) about this post high school trade course (') /ehm/ this was the biggest advantage it brought me to this day”. Interestingly, she comes from a relatively well to-do family, and the aspect of accessing the labor market at an early age is considered to be one of the most relevant aspects for the biography informant. It serves to demonstrate that this aspect is not necessarily connected to the socioeconomic background of the individual, but to a competitive labor market and a very predictable “normal” pathway followed within the educational system in Brazil.

The last textual section of this extended narrative unit helps understanding the motives that led the informant to undergo a considerable amount of distress during this time, given she had to dedicate to three commitments, namely, IFPA, the company and university. Eva uses a background construction to justify the outcomes of this distress: “about two and half years were left (') (-) for me to graduate from college (') :and: /ehm/ but I stopped attending for one semester (')”. The next is an argumentative detailing justifying the need for a six-month break, which is regarded by the incumbent as a source of bother. There was a clear need to access and graduate from university as soon as possible. However, Eva couldn't put up with the exhaustive routine any longer, as can be observed in her rendering: “the travel distance began to

bother me (') :because: I would go by chartered bus in the morning (') (-) and then in the evening when I returned (') (-) :I: went straight to college (-) but I arrived late for :class: (') Mackenzie begins 6:30 pm /ehm/ it is the only college in São Paulo that starts at 6:30 pm (') others start at 7:30 (-) sometimes 8 (') that's why they have class on Saturdays (') :so: I had the advantage of not having classes on Saturdays (,) So I (-) started :to: be fall behind in some subjects (') :then: I had to stop college :and: except for this one semester, I had to take a break". The fact that the vocational school is unknown, in addition to societal expectations and the labor market as an event carrier, can be the genesis for a considerable amount of distress in the biography of the incumbent, who perceives that making such a concomitant commitment is an obligation, a mechanism aimed at "not wasting time".

10. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 3330 - 3345)

This full narrative unit begins with the frame switching element *then*. This is a longer narrative unit deals with the informant's new employment after leaving the company where she did the practical part of her apprenticeship. The first kernel sentence in this narrative unit already entails a marker indicating a biographical scheme establish by the informant in order to alter the state of affairs, reduce distress and physical burden, which in turn would enable her to restart and finish college. Eva states: "':then: I began I began to think seriously (-) :about: looking for a job in São Paulo (') :or: (-) at least (-) near my college (') :or: my parents' house (') (-) because I continued living at my parents' house". The following is a narrative detailing elucidating that only after six months, an adequate employment offer arose. Eva argues that she received job offers, but that they didn't meet her need to remain in Sao Paolo, which would enable her to deal with work and university concomitantly. She needed to avoid long travel times, and also wished to obtain employment at a multinational of great standing within the labor market.

The next kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: "but then (-) something else came up (-) an interview :at: HS". It is attached to a description of the position at the international trade department. Eva clearly associates this job opportunity to IFPA School and also refers to the theory she had in the vocational school, meaning that it had eventually become useful, as can be observed in: "I even had :the: theory :in: class about international trade (-) at IFPA (') (-) in

college too (') but work=work with it (-) with dangerous cargo (') that was/is the department where I work today (') I had not even imagined that". The coda of this full-size narrative unit is a closing statement regarding her search for a new employment that could accommodate both tasks without considerable distress, namely attending higher education and working concomitantly. Eva states: "and: then I did the interview (') and: I was hired (,)"

11. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 3345 - 3372)

This full narrative unit begins with the frame switching element *and*, which also has its pronunciation stretched as to gain time for the elaboration of her next rendering. This narrative unit deals with the informant's resignation from the company where she did the practical part of her apprenticeship. This narrative unit begins with the following kernel sentence: "And: (-) that's when the :painful: phase of my life began". She explicates the higher predicating arguing that she had always enjoyed working for NCA. The informant felt connected to the company and developed a strong relationship with the institution during the two years of apprenticeship and during her permanent employment thereafter. It made this transition process difficult, which demonstrates that the dual system apprenticeship can enhance retention. It can also be observed in the informant's rendering in: "I always enjoyed working at NCA (')". The following is a narrative detailing about the event that followed her decision to resign. Eva argued that the company regretted her desire to leave, but fully comprehended her motives not to continue working there. The company even left a door open for the incumbent, in case she would like to return: "Eva the world turns (,) [...] and I hope one day I'll work with you again". This supervisor was also an important event carrier in her development within the company during this biographical period. Eva refers to his influential role in the following passage: "he was/actually /ehm/ he ended up inspiring me a lot".

The following is an assessment of this human event carrier in its biographical influence. Eva argues he played a sort of parental role and assisted her in developing professionally. It also demonstrates that it is of extreme importance to have a person within the company who can assist the young apprentice during the practical part of the internship. It can lead to a better identification with the company, which could result in unwillingness to cease an intense identification with the company. The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit is a closing

statement followed by a short question: “I mean /ehm/ it was a pity (,) But what can I do (? (2)”. Eva regretted having to leave the company that she identified with and that helped her to grow professionally, by investing time, money and had dedicated to her development. It draws one’s attention that leaving the company felt like a betrayal, given all the investment.

The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit is a final argumentative detailing indicating the motives that led the informant to leave NCA and accept a new job offer at HS. Eva says: “for this reason (-) I went to work at HS (-) in this department that I had no idea what it was”. The next is a descriptive narrative detailing about her new job in an unknown department. Eva reveals she received additional specific training and began working with logistics of dangerous cargo, which she evaluates as: “(I) had no idea about it (') (-) :and: I wound up becoming interested in it (,) (-)”. This is also a clear marker indicating that IFPA and its apprenticeship indeed led the incumbent biography to the development of an occupational orientation. Today, Eva still works for the same company, in the same department.

12. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 3372 - 3387)

This full narrative unit begins with the frame switching element *and*, which also has its pronunciation stretched by the informant to gain time so as to elaborate her next rendering. This is narrative unit deals with the informant’s relationship to a young man, a significant other who later became her husband, and how it changed the course of her biographical development. This unit also deals with the informant’s new residency with this person. This narrative unit begins with the following kernel sentence: “:And: in the meantime in the meantime (-) I had started dating Rodrigo”. It is attached to a narrative of the flux of events that culminated in the decision to begin living together in Sao Paulo with Carl, who is currently the informant’s husband. Eva provides a descriptive narration about the state of affairs at the time: “:he: worked at NCA too (') we met at NCA :and: /ehm/ (-) he left NCA and began working at Toyota (') as an engineer (') but the distance became a problem /ehm/ because / ehm/ all of this travelling (-) this come and go (-) almost two hours”. The outcome of this situation was that Carl decided to quit his job and they decided to move in together, in Sao Paulo.

The following is a continuation of the motives that led them to begin living together. Eva argues that he could easily find a new job in Sao Paolo in the field of engineering, given that he holds a higher education degree in mechanical engineering. In the next, Eva provides a background construction that will assist elucidating the motives that made it easier to move to Sao Paolo to begin living together, as can be observed in: “(the new job) was a home office job (') /ehm/ where he could work anywhere in Brazil (') (-)”. The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit is a closing statement that summarizes the outcomes of these processes, more specifically, Carl’s dissatisfaction with his job at the time, the long commuting hours to go to work and visit each other, the lack of quality in the relationship due to the distance, Carl’s new job flexibility, and the eagerness to leave their parents’ home resulted in the following: “that was when I left my parents' house (-) in 2009 (-) yeah in 2009 (,)”.

13. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 3387 - 3427)

This full narrative unit begins with the frame switching element and, which also has its pronunciation stretched by the informant so as to gain time and elaborate her next rendering. This narrative unit deals with the informant’s first opportunity to further develop her professional career in Germany. This narrative unit begins with the following kernel sentence: “at the beginning of 2010 (-) I began at this dangerous goods department (-) and they began some projects (-) /ehm/ :of: maybe sending someone to Hamburg”. It is attached to an argumentative detailing used by the informant to reveal that the company needed to send an employee to their headquarters to work on a project in the field of logistics for a period of three months. The next kernel sentence is: “So (-) I went/I was chosen (') (-) out of four /ehm/ people (')”. It is followed by a rationalization of the motives that led the company to choose her and not any of the other four candidates. Eva argues that she spoke German and English fluently and had always been very committed at work, and that these motives convinced her supervisor she should be the one representing the Brazilian company in the project in Germany. The next kernel sentence is: “it’s now March of 2012 /ehm/ (-) they sent me in July of 2010 (,) (-) To initially stay for only three months”. Then, Eva explains the sequence of events that followed, while she was in Germany, and how it changed the course of her private and professional life at that time, as it can be observed in: “at the end of the second month (') my boss (-) from the dangerous cargo department here in Hamburg (') /ehm/ (-) /ehm/ told me there was a vacancy

(') and he asked me without any :commitment: (-) he wanted :no: immediate answer (-) or anything (') but he asked me if I (-) would be interested (-) in staying for a longer time (') (-) without a specific contract (-) no specified period (') (-) in Hamburg (-) /ehm/ doing the exact same thing I did in Brazil". It clearly demonstrates how IFPA can expand one's future employability internationally as well. Eva obtained permanent employment in Germany and is today following a clear dominant institutional expectation pattern. The next textual passage is another argument justifying a condition that made it easier for the company to hire Eva in Germany. She reveals: "(-) since I have a Greek passport (') /ehm/ I could be contracted without major problems (') :and: without a contract for a fixed period of time (-) in Hamburg (,) (2)". This professional outcome, however, depended on a condition related to her private life. The informant didn't want to lose a significant other. Eva would only accept the job offer in the case where Carl could also move to Germany, so they could continue a normal life and begin the foundation of a family. Eva says: "=:And: for this reason at this time (-) I had to talk to Rodrigo (') (-) we (-) although /ehm/ we lived :together: (-) we weren't married or anything else (') and asked him if he would like to come or not to Germany (') (-) because this would end up influencing my private life a lot". Next is a basic biographical orientation of the incumbent. Eva does not place professional development before private life and her relationship with Carl. She explains that without Carl, she wouldn't be able to commit professionally in Germany, as can be seen in: "I wouldn't excel at work (') and maybe=maybe my decision would have been so different (,) (-)". The following kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: "he said "okay" /ehm/ (-) he said yes (') (-)". It is attached to an evaluative passage of this decision and the impact it could have on their biographical development. Eva assumed it was the right time to leave for Germany because, in case it didn't work, they could return to Brazil and continue their professional career there. In addition, she argues that they were still more focused on professional development and were not thinking of having children and continue this institutional expectation pattern by starting a family. The following kernel sentence indicates the outcome of her effort during the dual system apprenticeship, the arrangements with Carl and the international offers she received from the company where she had done the practical part of her dual system apprenticeship: "(-) So /ehm/ :I: quit my job in Brazil (') [...] I finished my contract with HS in Sao Paolo 100% (') and I was hired in Hamburg". The coda indicating the end of this narrative unit and the flux of events described and justified by the

informant is a closing statement summarizing these processes: “And then /ehm/ since then (-) I've been here in Hamburg (-) in this department /ehm/ working at the headquarters here”.

14. Narrative unit (transcription: Lines 3427 - 3445) – Coda and laconic rendering

This full narrative unit begins with the paralinguistic element /ehm/, which is used by the informant to gain time as to elaborate the next rendering regarding the flux of events in her biographical development. This narrative unit deals with the informant's closing statements of a very laconic narration phase. Two details can be observed: (a) the informant didn't fully comprehend the modus operandi of the autobiographical interview. She provided very laconic renderings, which demanded a very long questioning phase. (b) Eva is not used to doing biographical work on a regular basis, and does seem to be accustomed to telling her biographical development to others. Her autobiographical rendering is very short and lacks argumentative detailing and also entire chunks of her biographical development. However, it is necessary to bear in mind that even short interviews with strong laconic textual sections could also be of crucial importance, given that they can also show interesting aspects and phenomena of the social reality; see Detka (2011).

This narrative unit begins with the following kernel sentence: “/ehm/ (-) Rodrigo (-) in the meantime he also /ehm/ came and he went to another town in Germany and started doing a master's degree (') he started to work as well (-) as contractor for another company (') (-)”. The next is a narrative on the flux of events that succeeded Carl's decision to come to Germany with Eva. He ended up obtaining employment at the company where Eva was also hired and they began working for the same company once again. The following is a clear coda indicating the end of the main narration, which is also done very abruptly by the informant, as it can be observed in: “So :then: that's it (,)”. Interestingly, Eva realizes that her rendering is extremely laconic and the interviewer is unable to comprehend the entire life history, given that there is a clear lack of narrative and argumentative textual sections that could provide a plausible concatenation of biographical processes within her biographical development. Hence, the informant essentially restarts her rendering and refocuses on a more comprehensive narrative. Nonetheless it is still a very short textual passage, which does not suffice to comprehend all the “gestalts” and flux of events and processes in her biographical develop-

ment, which will demand a longer questioning phase. Eva says: “my sister (‘) /ehm/ she studied at the same school where I went (‘) just to go quickly back to school history /ehm/”. It is attached to a narrative detailing on the flux of events after Germany, in which Eva reveals that her sister also went to Germany to enter university. It is important to notice that there is a clear reproduction in the biography of the informant’s sister. Both children made a vertical educational advancement just like their parents had also previously done. The next is an assessment of the developments in Germany, in which Eva argues “So /ehm/ we (-) adapted very well in Germany”. Eva only justifies that the distance to her parents and family made the process more difficult at that time. This brief evaluative passage is followed by a second closing statement indicating the end of this pre-coda section. Once again, abruptly, Eva ends the main narration, as can be seen in: “the distance is big (-) far from our parents (-) we always lived with them (,) (pause)“. The longer pause indicates the end of her renderings and she believes to have narrated about all processes and developments in her biography. The interviewer realizes that it is a clear laconic rendering and tries to re-start the main narration by questioning, without any influence on a specific topic or section of her biographical development: “Right (-) ok (,) (-) So /ehm/ is that it (-) Eva (?) Or is there anything else (?)”. Eva is confident that there is nothing else to be told, explicated or narrated and ends the main narration with the following coda: “No (-) I think that’s it (,) (2) I don’t think I forgot anything (,) (-)”. Thus, the interviewer appropriately thanks the interviewee and a longer questioning phase begins. It is important to notice that the motives that have led the incumbent to IFPA appear to be very relevant for a theoretical variance, given that she used it within a very special mechanism. Hence it is absolutely necessary to engage in a more comprehensive questioning phase, descriptively and argumentatively.

Questioning Part I

1. Question I (transcription: Lines 3446 - 3519)

In this question Eva is asked to provide information about her childhood development, which was not provided in the main narration. That a very important missing “gestalt” in her autobiographical interview. Eva begins her rendering with the following kernel sentence: “my childhood actually /ehm/ I have good memories of it”. The next is a descriptive detailing of

her childhood developments, which are also accompanied by evaluative sections. Eva reveals that her parents bought their first residence in Sao Paolo when she was nine years old. The incumbent had a normal, harmonious childhood with intense social interaction with other children in her neighborhood. Eva states that: “(I remember) playing :outside: (-) playing :volley: and also (-) :playing: ball (-) :rollerblading: (') (-) things that today we can't even imagine (-) especially living in São Paulo (')”. The informant is making reference to the current levels of violence in this metropolis, which had made it difficult for parents to allow children play outside without having to worry about criminality. The following kernel sentence in this reply is: “shortly after/as a matter of fact my sister was born (') (-)”. It is attached to a brief detailing elucidating that the family has always lived in this house, and childhood developments were uncomplicated.

The following kernel sentence regarding this reply about the informant's childhood developments makes reference to her basic schooling: “/ehm/ :and: /ehm/ in=in school I honestly I don't remember having much difficulty”. In the following it is possible to perceive that the informant was raised within cultural arenas that constantly exposed her to German culture, more specifically, the private German schools she attended, her grandmother from Austria, her friends and peers from Germany and Switzerland, who also attended the same schools, and the Girls Scouts that were also integrated to a German Lutheran church. It can be observed in her narrative detailing in: “I went to the Schweizerschule in Sao Paolo until fourth grade in (,) (-) And /ehm/ I always had that thing /ehm/ of=of having friends of=of/most friends were from :German: or Swiss families [...] I always had many friends coming over (') /ehm/ this part /ehm/ my childhood was/is a very good memory for me (,) (2)”.

The next kernel sentence regarding the incumbent's childhood developments is: “when I was about 8 or 9 years old (') (-) I=I joined the Girl Scouts”. It is attached to an argumentative and descriptive narrative detailing about this social arena and its impact on her biographical development. It also helped the informant to shape her identity, which is very closely related to the German culture, which she identifies with and associated herself to. Eva argues that within this social arena she made many friends, who also served as an example of an identity development based on the German culture, as it can be observed in her rendering: “So /ehm/ I ended up making /ehm/ other very good friends outside of school (') (-) and it was cool (-) it :was:

like a group of scouts of German origin (') there was a lot of people from both Humboldt School (-) or Schweizerschule (-) or Porto Seguro School (')". The educational action scheme of the informant's parents was not only to provide the incumbent with high quality expensive basic schooling within German private schools as to pursue a more propaedeutic educational pathway by making a post-high school vertical educational advancement, but also to assist developing an identity based on German culture, to which the family was already entirely related to.

The following textual section makes reference to the Girls Scouts and the informant's experiences in the group. Eva mentions the following: "So (') it was cool (,)"'. She justifies the higher predicate arguing that it was the opportunity to sleep outside in the camps during the weekends. It was the first opportunity, within one of her social arenas, the informant had to exercise independence and being away from parental care. In addition, it was certainly a social arena that helped fostering her social and personal skills, such as working in groups, dealing with problem-solving, integrating, organizing and demonstrating responsibility. It certainly helped boost her identity development and also an early sense of independence from parental care. Eva mentions: "I spent whole weekends /ehm/ (-) traveling from Saturday :morning: (-) we would go /ehm/ camping (-)". It is attached to a descriptive narrative detailing that helps elucidating that she acquired several social and personal skills on the grounds of the activities she performed within this group, as it can be observed in: "we had to make our own :food: (-) there were :activities: (-) games and we had to make :fire: at night (') (-) so it was a very good part of a childhood (,) I was / ehm/ a scout until I was 18 years old (,) (-) So (-) basically this is part of my personal growth (')". The informant also acknowledges this non-human event carrier had a fundamental role in her identity development. In addition, the incumbent also began developing leadership skills in this social arena: "and also (-) as we got older /ehm/ there (') there was a voting (-) to see who would be the next :coordinator: (-) who will be :sub: (-) who will be :this: and who is going to be :that: (') (-) /ehm/ if /ehm/ you ended up being the oldest of the group (') you ended up with a position of coordination (,) (-)". It is attached to a reflective assessment of the benefits it brought to her development, which could even become helpful later in her professional development, as it can be observed in: "I was developing leadership skills and /ehm/ whatever (-) how to give advice (-) how to instruct people (') (-) and explain what had to be :done: (-) and everything else (,) (-) And so I think for the devel-

opment (-) of what I am today (-) all that happened in (') the Girl Scouts had a big influence on my life (,) (-)".

Next, the informant elucidates the motives that led her to begin attending this group that has so intensively influenced her identity development. The kernel sentence in this textual section is: "it was also /ehm/ partially because of /ehm/ my mother (,) She was also a member of this scouts group (,)". The scouts were also part of the parents' intention to develop certain skills an experience her mother had already acquired in the group. It was rather a reproduction of patterns, which the incumbent experienced very positively, as can be observed in her assessment of this specific process: "And: this was cool". The higher predicate is associated to another important narrative detailing. Eva mentions that the group was located at a Lutheran church, which the whole family used to go to, and also where she later got married. Even though the family didn't go to this church regularly, there was a religious influence on the development of the incumbent as well, given that it is an institution that transmits determined societal values and expectations, which are to be followed by its members.

Next, Eva also assesses the fact that the family used to go to this church on weekends in: "So (') this was part /ehm/ of my life a lot/it marked my life (-) (it was) not a boring obligation (-) I mean / ehm/ it was nothing like "oh my God (-) I have to go to church (-) it sucks (,)". The informant seems to have enjoyed socializing within these two social arenas, the Girls Scouts and the Lutheran church, where she was in intense contact with German culture, the language and the influence of significant others and human event carriers therein. The coda of this reply is characterized by a closing statement with a falling intonation, which is followed by a three-second pause: "And /ehm/ that (-) came from my mother /ehm/ because she had been in this same group of scouts (,) (3)".

2. Question II (transcription: Lines 3520 - 3574)

In this question Eva is asked to provide information about her parents, who are very important significant others constituting the social arena related to the informant's home. In addition, their educational and basic biographical orientations might also have influence the incumbent's biographical development. Hence, it is crucial to obtain a solid reply about this aspect

of her life. Eva begins her rendering with the following kernel sentence: “my=mother is a mechanical engineer“. The following is a descriptive detailing about her mother. Eva says: “(‘) (-) she has (-) a college degree (‘) she started working (-) as an engineer (‘) and worked a while (-) and then she got pregnant (‘)”. Interestingly, her mother has also pursued a higher education degree. In addition, the informant’s father has a degree in business administration, the same educational area in which the informant obtained an MBA within a further vertical educational advancement later on. Eva also reveals that her father had continued a vertical advancement later on, as can be observed in: “he did an MBA (,) But that was 10 or 15 years (-) after his graduation from university”. The next is an argumentative detailing justifying the motives that led her father to pursue this degree. Eva argues he intended to become a teacher after retiring from his work as an engineer, which he wound up not doing, as can be observed in the informant’s rendering: “he had a plan that /ehm/ when he retired (-) he wanted to start teaching at a college (,) But /ehm/ he didn’t carry on with this plan (,)”. Next, the informant refocuses the descriptive narrative detailing on her mother’s educational and professional achievements. She states that her mother had worked as an engineer for a few years and she stopped working for some years, given that the children were born. The family was developing within an institutional expectation pattern. It can also be seen in Eva’s rendering: “and my mother (-) actually /ehm/ after she graduated from college (‘) she worked as an engineer for a while [...] (‘) she got pregnant (-) and she stopped working (‘) after she finished maternity leave (-) she didn’t go back to work”. In the following, Eva affirms her mother decided to go back to college later on and majored in pedagogy, which led her to begin working as a school teacher in Sao Paulo. It is attached to a descriptive detailing of the subjects taught by her mother: “math and physics :and: I think chemistry too (,) If I’m not mistaken (,) (-)“. The following kernel sentence within this response is: “then she began to teach :at: the Schweizerschule (-) in the meantime I had finished school”. Eva explains that it didn’t have an important or influence on her development, given that her sister and she had already finished their basic schooling when this occurred, as in: “neither of her two daughters was going to that school anymore (,) (-)”.

The coda indicating the end of this reply is also characterized by a summarizing statement, as can be observed in: “/ehm/ :so: this was the=the education of /ehm/ my parents (‘)”. It is attached to an evaluative statement. Eva implicitly refers to her parents’ biographical develop-

ment as normal, be it educationally or professionally. She also makes it very clear that both parents hold a higher education degree, hence it would be expected of her to pursue a vertical educational advancement as well, which demonstrates that IFPA was indeed only a functional mechanism used by the informant to gain work orientation, which could possibly lead to a clearer occupational orientation that could enable a more adequate course choice within a vertical advancement to higher education.

3. Question III (transcription: Lines 3575 - 3705)

In this question, the interviewer still perceived there could be more about her childhood development that could be important in determining school track choice and certain conditions that may have been influential regarding this matter. Hence the informant once again asks, in a very open manner, if the informant would like to add anything about her childhood developments. Eva takes a few seconds to think about the question and says: “Well /ehm/ (2) :Oh: (-) yes (,) maybe about the place where we lived until I was eight years old and the routine there (,)”. It turned out to be a very productive question, given that the informant added a lot more detail about her childhood development. This response is rather long and the informant even approaches issues that weren’t directly inquired about. It demonstrates that the open questioning prompted further narration on this specific biographical period of the incumbent was appropriate and helpful for the subsequent analysis of the autobiographical interview. Even though the informant repeats a whole chunk of narrative detailing, she once again re-approaches other important aspects of her biographical development, even providing assessment of processes, as will be observed in this unit.

The informant begins her narrative detailing talking about the routine during her childhood, as it can be observed in: “we moved to this house /ehm/ and=and our routine was practically /ehm/ my mom waking up early (-) taking me and my sister to school (') my father too (') he had to wake up early sometimes he drove us to school /ehm/ and then went to work (,) (-)”. It can be observed that Eva lived in a harmonious and very protective home, where her parents cared for her and her sister and tried to make them feel protected as well, especially living in a huge metropolis such as Sao Paulo. Eva continues her narrative detailing by stating that her mother never stopped working, and had become a private teacher at the time, in all probability

to continue working and also to contribute financially to the expenses of the home, especially considering that both children were attending expensive private schools in Sao Paulo. The informant narrates about both commitments her mother had at the time, namely, caring for the children and working so as to obtain the necessary means for the family's existence, as can be observed in: "(') of course, at that time she had no formal contract (-) but she never stopped working (-) /ehm/ she gave private classes (,) /ehm/ her students were scattered throughout the day on a timetable (') students went to our home (-) sometimes she went over to a students' house". In the following textual section, the informant makes reference to a proximity to her mother, especially due to the fact that she worked only part-time and was in contact with the children more often during daytime. Eva also mentions other activities she did during her childhood: "=:swim: classes and my sister :ballet: (') /ehm/ my mother always (-) took us (') and stood there waiting /ehm/ and tried to make it work within her schedule (')". It reveals certain aspects of the informant's family milieu. Eva comes from a middle class family, both parents hold a higher educational degree, and they have always tried to involve the informant in different extra-curricular activities, such as swimming classes and the Girls Scouts. In the next part of this narrative detailing, Eva makes an evaluative assessment of her relationship to her father, which seems to have been more distant than the one with her mother. She explains: "I remember :that: my father always arrived too late from work (') [...] so during the week I do=not/didn't get to see my father :a lot: (,) (-)". It appears that the father's work commitment had also affected the relationship with the children, who barely had a chance to see him during the week. Eva utters a final closing statement regarding the routine at home during her childhood saying: "That was our routine (-)".

In the next, the informant continues narrating about her childhood developments, and once again talks about the Girls Scout activities, which seem to have had a tremendous impact on her development, both personally and socially. Eva mentions: "I had the weekend camps /ehm/ the Girl Scout activities". This social arena made part of a considerable chunk of her biography, and has also helped further developing her connection with the German culture. The next is again a narrative detailing evidencing the importance of her grandparents as significant others as well. Eva mentions once again that she used to constantly visit her grandparents on weekends at the beach and also during school vacation. Eva says: "at end of my vacation I didn't want to go back home (-) of course (,) (-)". It demonstrates she enjoyed so-

cializing with her grandparents, and she was then intensively exposed to the German language and culture, given that her grandparents speak German at home and intensively live the culture, despite the fact that her grandfather actually comes from Greece. It also helps understanding that it might have been easier for the incumbent to make a decision to move to Germany and begin working there, in the sense that she was already used to the culture, spoke the language and identified with it; after all it wouldn't represent a huge change. The next kernel sentence within the informant's response is: "The routine changed a lot when I finished high school (') when I applied for IFPA School (')". The next is an argumentative narrative detailing clarifying the reasons for this abrupt change. Eva argues that she began attending college, and was working permanently at the company where she had done the practical part of her dual system apprenticeship. Even though it might have been a phase off strangeness to the still young incumbent, she seems to have dealt well with the new routine. It can also be argued that the role her father played at home can have influenced her perception of work, which demanded commitment and was very time-consuming. It called attention that she did not refer to the confrontation of her decision regarding other participants in her social life, who might have only been attending college at the time. Nevertheless, Eva still refers to the physical effort she had to make regarding work and the vertical educational advancement she was making at the time, as it can be observed in her rendering: "I=I had to leave the Girl Scouts because I entered college and I (') /ehm/ started working during the day (-) and in the evening I went to university (') so /ehm/ these five years /ehm/ I can say :I: /ehm/ lived at my parents' house (') but I barely/during the week I never saw them (-) or had no contact with them (,) Because when I arrived at midnight and went to sleep (') everyone was already asleep (') I left at 5:30 in the morning and everyone was sleeping (') and on weekends I could forget about it (,) I was dead tired (,) On weekends I slept almost 48 hours (,) (-)". Next, Eva provides a narrative detailing about her teenage years. It is rather attention-grabbing the manner how she faced these commitments and also how it affected her social life. It can be clearly observed that IFPA's apprenticeship has completely changed her biographical development. She entered the labor market at an early age and was committing to two difficult processes concomitantly. In addition, she also certainly had to deal with the inquiries of other social actors of her social world, who might have been puzzled by the responsibilities in her early adulthood, which others weren't yet facing. It can be clearly observed in her rendering in: "and: I went out on weekends too (') oh (-) My God (,) It was also a phase/ there were two

phases (-) actually (,) /ehm/ Either I just slept (-) or other /ehm/ didn't want to and went out the entire weekend (,) I went out every Friday (-) Saturday and Sunday (-) I didn't want to know (,) (-) :And: /ehm/ but it was just for a=a month (,) After that the fatigue came back and I would sleep the entire weekend again (,) (-) So this routine during those five years of college were/was quite heavy (')".

The following kernel sentence in this response is: "before finishing college (-) I met Rodrigo". In the following, Eva argues that the relationship with Carl worked out and they eventually moved in together. It is interesting that this event appeared at a very important time in the biographical development of the incumbent, who was, at the time, struggling to keep pace with friends and socializing due to the time- and energy-consuming commitments she already had at an early age. Carl represented a balance in this time, given that the relationship served to distance her from parties and friends. It might have ameliorated the social confrontation of the incumbent at the time, also due to the fact that Carl was also working at the same company and could identify with the efforts made by the incumbent at the time.

In the following, Eva once again repeats the rendering she had already provided on the flux of events that culminated in the decision to move in together with Carl, as can be observed in: "and: I left NCA (,) I continued to live at my parents' house (') :Rodrigo: /ehm/ was still working at NCA (-) but he quit this job (-) and then began working at Toyota in Indaiatuba (,) (-) /ehm/ this driving back and forth was too complicated". The next is an argumentative narrative detailing used by the informant to justify that moving in together would actually resolve this problem and they would have a better quality in their relationship. The informant continues with her argumentative detailing about the motives that led them to move in together. It seems to have marked her biographical development as a crucial change, which could be associated with the informant's religion as well. It is assumed on the basis of her argumentative detailing in: "I first talked /ehm/ with my parents (,) of course /ehm/ to see if they would accept this situation (,) (-) Because /ehm/ normally (-) in Brazil there is no such possibility of=of you just leaving your parents' house (') you have to get married before and everything (') but my parents accepted it well". It is certainly related to the value she grew up with within her family, which also included the religious beliefs she was exposed to at church and at home through the influence of significant others. Eva says: (,) It was much easier than we imagined

(')“ It is a demonstration that she considered it to be met with an expected approval of her parents. In the next, the informant continues to rationalize and assess the attitude of her parents: “(they) didn’t say "no” (,) you have to get married first (-) before leaving home (,) :And: Rodrigo's parents too (') because it could have /ehm/ whatever (-) they could have created a problem (') but no (,)”. It is a clear indication of the very influential role of the parents on this decision. Moreover, the informant’s values can also be observed in such a rendering. She was surprised with her parents’ approval and expected they wouldn’t accept it. In the following the informant makes a final assessment of the situation and of her parents’ approval and the fact that she got along with Carl: “it worked out really well (,) Of course (') we get along well (') so it was not painful”. The next narrative detailing is used by the informant to narrate about the initial difficulties they had when they moved in together, related to daily chores. Eva mentions: “when I lived at my parents' (') my mother taught me /ehm/ (-) how to take care of things (-) :that: I didn’t know (-) how to :sew: a button on a blouse that fell off (-) stuff /ehm/ like that (-) small things you need to know in order to get by (,) Because no one will do it for you (,) (-) Like :cleaning: /ehm/ :ironing: a shirt and all (,) That was a bit painful too at the beginning”. It also demonstrates the perception the informant has of a wife and the home chores she believed she should have been better prepared for before marrying. These are all cultural and religious traits of influence on basic biographical positions of the incumbent. She continues her narrative saying: “I=I always got by (,) (-) Because my mother ended up teaching me /ehm/ some things (')”. It shows the importance it had for the informant, who appears to be a very formal and traditional individual, especially regarding such values as matrimony. The coda indicating the end of her response is an evaluative passage, in which the informant addresses the whole flux of events and the courage to make the decision to move in together, without getting married, overriding her values and parents’ expectation. Eva concludes: “it worked out :super: well (') it was a very good experience (') [...] I/we were not married or anything (') but then we can come up with a plan "ah let's get married (-) let's have a party (-) get married in church and so on (,) So /ehm/ it was not traumatic or anything (,) It was an experience I would repeat (,) (3)”. As can be observed in the informant’s rendering, it was predictable that she would marry some time soon. The idea of moving in together without getting married was more difficult for her, than it was for her own parents to accept. It shows certain basic biographical positions of the incumbent, which are relevant to comprehend how she

experienced the entire flux of events in her biography until the present day. Eva is very traditional, correct, dedicated and committed to certain religious values as well.

4. Question IV (transcription: Lines 3706 - 3721)

In this question Eva is asked to provide further information about one of her commentaries during the main narration phase, more specifically, about the fact that her parents always put a lot of value on her education. Eva begins her rendering with the following kernel sentence: “I wanted to say :that: /ehm/ they have always paid great schools (-) for me and my sister (,) (-)“. In the next, Eva argues that her parents always managed to pay private, expensive and high-quality elementary and high schools for her and her sister. It can be noticed that the parents’ educational scheme for the incumbent is clear. They wanted her to obtain a high quality of education in order to follow a more propaedeutic pathway. In addition, they also aimed at providing Eva with a wider post-high school educational margin, in the sense that high quality basic schooling would prepare her to access higher education at a public university, or at a private university that they would then sponsor. The informant rationalizes that, despite the tight budget, her parents always set her education as a priority, as can be observed in “/ehm/ whatever (-) sometimes /ehm/ the budget was tight during the month (-) but they always gave priority to our schooling so that we had a good education (') until we graduated (') (-)”. Eva’s parents also demanded her to achieve satisfactory results and accomplish their educational action scheme. It becomes evident that these two significant others were of great importance in her school track choice. There are traits of a reproduction scheme, in which parents feared any possible downward mobility. Their educational action scheme is clearly aimed at providing the functional means for the incumbent to find an occupational orientation that could provide her with a satisfactory income and social prestige. Eva even states that her parents’ conveyed the perception that it was her obligation to excel in school, thus justifying the fear of downward mobility through low-school performance. It can be observed in the informant’s rendering in: “They always said :that: our only obligation was to do well in school (') since /ehm/ after all it really was true (-) that we would take this with us for the future /ehm/ what we had :learned: after our :schooling: (') what major we would like to do in college and all (,) (-)”. The coda indicating the end of her response is a short summarizing statement that once again answers the question posed by the interviewer: “So /ehm/ is / it was more or less what I

mean (,) /ehm/ (-) although maybe there wasn't a comfortable budget available every month (') they made sure to enroll us in private universities (-) and bilingual schools actually (,)'".

5. Question V (transcription: Lines 3722 - 3731)

In this question Eva is asked to provide information about the social arena constituted by the Lutheran church she used to go to in Brazil with her family. Eva begins her rendering with the following kernel sentence: "in church (-) the worship was in German (,) (-) :And: I had many friends who came from Germany (') who sometimes didn't even speak Portuguese". The influence of German culture on the identity development of the incumbent is clear, and undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship was certainly a continuation of this development. This was definitely an influential condition leading the informant to make this horizontal educational advancement. The cultural identification facilitated the informant's and her parents' acceptance of this school track choice. However, it was always taken for granted she would, just like her grandparents and parents, access higher education. The coda indicating the end of this short response is: "I was born in Brazil (-) and /ehm/ went to a bilingual school (-) because the parents had decided that way (,) (2)". As previously observed, Eva was born and raised in an immersion in German culture; not a single social arena in her biographical development was unrelated to this aspect.

6. Question VI (transcription: Lines 3732 - 3772)

In this question Eva is asked to provide additional information about her grandparents' education. Eva begins her rendering with the following kernel sentence: "my (maternal) grandmother /ehm/ she didn't have a profession (,) She was a homemaker (')". The following is a narrative detailing used by the informant to explicate that her grandmother has always been a housewife. In the next, the informant reveals an important piece of information about the ethnic origin of her family. She states: "Because my grandfather (-) he is Greek (') and he went to college in Austria (-) and met my grandmother in Austria (') /ehm/ and then they /ehm/ immigrated to Brazil (,)"'. She mentions that her grandparents moved to a large German colony in the south of Brazil, at first. Eva also uses this narrative detailing as to justify the motives that led her mother to be raised bilingually and also to justify why she speaks German fluently as

well, as it can be observed in: “Then (‘) she was born/she grew up bilingually in Austria with German :and: Greek (,) (-)”. Eva also makes known that her grandfather hold a degree in engineering. It can be seen that there’s been a clear reproduction in school track choice between generations. From a reproduction point of view, it would be expectable that Eva would also access higher education. The following descriptive narrative detailing about her grandfather also reveals a reproduction in relation to her father’s professional development, as in: “my grandfather always had good positions (-) in good companies (,) (-) So /ehm/ life/professional life turned out well (-)”. The next is also a reproduction of the incumbent’s professional development. Just like her grandfather, Eva has also traveled to Germany as to work there, and has equally worked in Brazil. It is important to bear in mind that Eva spent a great deal of time with her grandparents during her entire childhood and teenage years, and her grandfather has certainly served as a vocational-identity role model. He might have stimulated Eva either directly, indirectly or both. In other words, Eva had to channels of influence regarding her educational and professional development, namely, her parents and grandparents.

7. Question VII (transcription: Lines 3773 - 3818)

In this question Eva is asked to provide information about the vocational test she took prior to her decision to make a post-high school horizontal educational advancement. This test was taken in a transitional period in the biographical development of the incumbent, in the end of high school, during a period of indecision regarding a specific occupational orientation that could lead her to a more appropriate course choice in higher education. Eva begins this response with the following kernel sentence: “this vocational test I did during the third year of high school (-) in :the:/ I was 17”. It is attached to a descriptive narrative detailing in which the informant states that the test was offered at no cost by the university, where she later began majoring in foreign trade. The test lasted one year and the incumbent took a variety of tests weekly. Eva evaluates this measure as: “/ehm/ it was=was interesting (-) it was=was valid but not/didn’t really help much”. She justifies the higher predicate saying that the tests didn’t provide her with a more accurate orientation of a determined profession she could pursue, which would as a result lead to a more appropriate choice in relation to a higher education major. In the following Eva makes an assessment of this vocational test and expresses it didn’t help her to achieve a clearer occupational orientation, as it can be observed in: “the test

results said :that: (-) I don't remember exactly (') (-) but it was/I knew what my problem was (,) So (') (-) when you answer a question in a vocational test (-) at least I saw this difficulty (') /ehm/ "Do you like dealing with numbers (-) are you a person who thinks rationally (?)" /ehm/ yes (-) I like (,) /ehm/ "but do you (-) like to talk (-) do you like to :discuss: issues (?)" yes (-) I also like it (,) (-) /ehm/ do you understand (?) You could become a psychologist (-) or you an engineer (,) I knew that already". The informant's rendering conveys that idea that the test couldn't eliminate the process of indecision she was undergoing in this educational transitional period. However, there is no doubt that Eva's primary post-high school educational aspiration was to access higher education, which she didn't at first for she didn't have a clear occupational orientation, which as a result also led to an impediment superimposed by her parents who became reluctant to invest in an expensive university and feared change or drop out. Eva concludes her rendering about the vocational test with a closing statement in a falling intonation. She makes an assessment and also affirms it didn't help her with her indecision process. Possibly, it only helped reinforcing her parents superimposed impediment. Eva says: "So (-) ok (,) It was valid (-) but it didn't solve my problem (,) (-)".

In the next textual section, the interviewer further inquires of the informant about her statement "I :knew: what your problem was (?)". Eva continues with an argumentative detailing stating: "my problem was /ehm/ I couldn't decide what I wanted to study in college". It is clear that there was no doubt related to making either a post-high school horizontal or vertical educational advancement. Her indecision process was exclusively related to a lack of orientation regarding a determined major in higher education that could lead her to an occupation based on personal cultivation and self-realization. The next rendering is a continuation of her rationalization as to justify the process of indecision regarding higher education and a specific major. Eva says: "I knew I=I liked :math: (-) I thought it would be a good :opportunity: / ehm/ but [...] (in the end) it could be psychology (-) pedagogy or engineering (') we're talking about /ehm/ :things: that are completely different /ehm/ are not/we aren't talking about mechanical engineering or marine engineering (,) (-) /ehm/ So /ehm/ this was my problem (,) My problem was which course to attend in college". This argumentative textual section makes it very evident that the informant didn't intend to access a vocational school so as to undergo secondary level Vet in the subsequent modality. It can arise later as a second order school track with the exclusive purpose of gaining work and occupational orientation that could ena-

ble the incumbent to make a more adequate choice regarding higher education. Then, Eva argues, the vocational test didn't help her overcome her process of indecision. In the next Eva ends up affirming that IFPA fulfilled its functional role mechanism, as can be observed in her rendering in: "Because I ended up majoring in what I did :more: because I was already engaged with IFPA (') studying something I liked (') which was foreign trade". Next Eva discusses a hypothetical situation and makes reference to the importance IFPA had on her educational and professional development by providing her with an occupational orientation, a labor market entry at a multinational company. The vocational school also ended up dictating post-higher educational processes, such as the MBA the incumbent did later, which can all be observed in her final rendering regarding this response in : "maybe if I hadn't gone to IFPA (-) /ehm/ and had tried to begin studying :engineering: for a year (-) /ehm/ perhaps :even: one year of :pedagogy: (') I might have had another education today (,) (-) I don't know if it would have been different in my life (,) (-) I know that IFPA ended up guiding me a lot (-) in my=my next decisions that I had to take/make (-) about what to do (,) (-)". In the coda indicating the end of this response, Eva refers to the identification with the company, which also appears to be a primordial condition leading to an occupational orientation, as in: "(I) :liked: my work (-) I :loved: the department (-) and it made me :wonder: that I could see myself working there (-) things like that (,) (-)". This work orientation wouldn't be possible, at least at first, if she had made a vertical educational advancement immediately after high school graduation, given that higher education in Brazil does not have a dual system.

8. Question VIII (transcription: Lines 3819 - 3831)

In this question Eva is asked to provide information about one of her utterances during the main narration, more specifically "I could still change my mind (') because I was still fairly :young: (-) then (') I had this chance to change my mind (,)". Eva begins her rendering with the following kernel sentence: "because: I had no plan of (-) graduating at age 30 from college". Next she rationalizes that there was in fact the possibility of change in higher education, which her parents also wanted to avoid. She feared it could lead to a need for more time to graduate from university. There was an evident pressure to access higher education and to graduate as soon as possible, as can be observed in: "(,) I had a plan (-) or at least I had imagined to graduate :from: college /ehm/ whatever (-) at age 23 or 24 (,) I was 17 when I graduat-

ed from high school (,) [...] I didn't want to graduate at age 30 or 35 (-) know what I mean (?) I didn't want to waste time (-) that's why (,) (-)". In other words, Eva wanted to comply with her parents' and societal expectations. Her educational development was already aimed at higher education access from the very beginning, it was taken for granted. Accessing IFPA was in fact a second order choice. Nonetheless, this unintentional school track choice has benefited the incumbent incredibly, who developed an occupational orientation, continued to follow a career in the area, made a more adequate vertical educational advancement that did not lead to drop out or change, and is today following an already dominant institutional expectation pattern.

9. Question IX (transcription: Lines 3832 - 3858)

In this question Eva is asked to provide information about her concern and anxiety related to permanent employment upon graduation from IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. It is rather attention-grabbing that, despite the informant's family milieu, she was still very concerned about remaining in the labor market prior to obtaining a higher education degree. Eva begins her rendering with the following kernel sentence: "when companies/when they hire you to as an intern to go to IFPA (') they don't give you the guarantee that you will be hired afterwards (-) 100% (-) you don't have a 100% certainty that you will be hired afterward (-) after you finish the course (,)". It is attached to an argumentative detailing evidencing the anxiety she underwent during the second year of her apprenticeship. She even refers to it as a real problem that can turn into a trauma, as can be seen in her rendering in: "it turns into the problem of your life (,) Of course /ehm/ if you :want :and: have :plans: to continue in the company where you are doing your apprenticeship (,) (2) this ends up like a=a trauma (') "ah will they have job for me (?) Do they want me to stay (?)". In all probability this is related to the educational pathway she had decided to follow. Eva had already developed an occupational orientation, identified with the company and her dual system apprenticeship, and was already attending higher education in the same area of her VET program. In other words, she was already working for a company in a position she desired and leaving the company would result in a difficult experience, firstly because of the identification and secondly due to a possible trajectory of unemployment; which could also be a minor one. It can also be easily identified in her following argumentative detailing: "As I had already started college (-) and I had guided my

personal plans /ehm/ according to the trade course I was :doing: (-) :with: the company where I was working (!) it became a problem for me”. The next textual section is a rationalization of the informant as to justify the mutual interest between her and the company to continue working together and reap the fruits of the dual system apprenticeship, as in: “(,) But I don’t/shouldn’t have had this type /ehm/ of thought (-) [...] :and: I ended up creating an=an (-) unnecessary question mark in my head (,) Because I later talked with HR (!) :and: they said “of course we’d find some job for you here (-) Eva”(,) So they called and asked me “which department are you interested/what is the department :that: you would be interested in working for (?) “ah I liked logistics (-) exports (-) I would be interested in working there” (,) :and: soon after that (-) they offered me a position (!) and I ended up being hired at the end of the second year (,)”. It helps understating that such dual system apprenticeship can establish a sense of identification in the apprentice and the willingness of the company to keep this individual and further invest in him or her. The coda indicating the end of this response also entails a summarizing statement regarding the interviewer’s question: “So /ehm/ this was the problem”. Next Eva argues that his problem was general, which helps explain that there is a general identification with the company through IFPA’s dual system that leads to an occupational orientation and the desire to continue developing professionally within these organizations. It can also be observed in the informant’s rendering in: “this was not just my problem (!) it was general (,) (-) We saw that when (-) we reached the end of the course (!) everyone started /ehm/ to wonder what would happen :will: I :get: a job or not (-) :and: /ehm/ and so on (,) (-)”.

10. Question X (transcription: Lines 3859 - 3866)

In this question Eva is asked to provide information on a higher predicate she used to refer to her concern regarding permanent employment upon IFPA’s dual system apprenticeship graduation. Eva uses the following word choice: “it was a trauma”. Eva begins her rendering with the following kernel sentence: “to people who wanted to stay in the company and had it as a goal (!) it turned into a :trauma:”. It is attached to a brief argumentative narrative detailing used by the informant to argue that sometimes the company wouldn’t hire a former apprentice. It is certainly a reference to outcomes that could arise from such a lack of interest regarding the company in offering permanent employment to the apprentice: (a) the fear of future

employability within the Brazilian companies that wouldn't recognize the apprenticeship. (b) The concern of not accomplishing the aim established within the functional mechanism associated to IFPA as a horizontal educational advancement (c) the disappointment with the company in relation to an already developed sense of identification, which could even lead to doubts regarding an already developed occupational orientation.

11. Question XI (transcription: Lines 3867 - 3887)

In this question Eva is asked to provide information about how she could obtain permanent employment without holding a high education degree, educational level to which she associates great value and that represents a "natural" educational pathway. It can be observed that the informant couldn't fully comprehend the question: "/ehm/ not really (,) /ehm/ when was it (?) [...] but I was doing or I had already finished IFPA (?)". In the next Eva uses the following kernel sentence to begin her response: "I know what I said (-) I=I mentioned /ehm/ when :I: was working at NCA (') :I: (-) I received an offer to come work :at: NH". Next the informant narrates about the flux of events that succeeded her resignation from the company where she did the practical part of her dual system apprenticeship. She reveals that she hadn't graduated from college yet, as in: "I hadn't yet graduated from college (') so I wanted to finish this first stage /ehm/ to graduate (-) and only then start looking for a new job (,) (-) But (-) :when: :I: left and began working at NCA (') I still had one additional semester in order to graduate from college". In the coda of this response the informant is still unsure whether she had answered and understood the question appropriately. Yet the interviewer let her know that the question had already been replied to and there was no need for further details.

12. Question XII (transcription: Lines 3888 - 3900)

In this question Eva is asked to provide information on a commentary made in the main narration of the interview regarding her concomitant horizontal and vertical educational advancements and her perception of the need for this process, as she expresses in "when I was attending IFPA (') I started majoring in foreign trade not to waste any time". Eva begins her rendering with the following kernel sentence: "actually waste time /ehm/ is linked to :my: initial plan". It can already be observed that the incumbent's initial plan refers to her primary post-

high school educational aspiration, which was to graduate from high school and immediately make a vertical advancement and leave secondary level education, as can be seen in her rendering: “when: I was 17 (-) 18 (') :of: not wanting to get my degree :much: older (,) (-) So /ehm/ suppose / ehm/ if I started to do a course that I didn't like and then gave up /ehm/ did two or three years and then said "oh my (-) this is not what I wanted to do /ehm/ it would be like :wasting: time in my education”. The informant considered that it was a risk to make an immediate vertical advancement by accessing higher education during a process of indecision and a lack of clearer occupational orientation that could potentially lead to change or drop out. In all probability her parents were also in doubt regarding any costly investment given the incumbent's indecision, especially after an entire year of unfruitful vocational tests. Eva wished to make a choice and follow through with it, but first she needed an educational program that could enable her to gain work orientation and possibly an occupational orientation, as can be observed in her argumentative detailing: “So=so in my head it was like a waste of time (-) you attend another course in an area you wouldn't like to work (,) Of course :that: nothing is in vain (-) :that: everything is valid (-) it is undoubtedly valid (') but it was/I considered it a waste of time (,) (-)”. Eva still tries to rationalize that she could have done a vertical advancement, but she is implicitly trying to convey that making a horizontal educational advancement by entering IFPA was a more prudent, functional and appropriate second order school tack choice at the time.

13. Question XIII (transcription: Lines 3901 - 3926)

In this question Eva is asked to provide information about her perception that one of the biggest advantages of IFPA's dual system is to provide one with early labor market entry, which universities cannot provide one with. The interviewer questions her about this comparison made within a self-theoretical commentary regarding employability within IFPA's apprenticeship and higher education. Eva begins her rendering with the following kernel sentence: “for me it wasn't more difficult (') but /ehm/ I'm/I saw people who attended the same college that I did (-) majoring in the same field as me :and: :who: sometimes had neither an internship nor a permanent job”. It is attached to an argumentative detailing used by the informant to justify the motives that make it difficult for someone to find permanent employment or internships while attending higher education. She states that it relies on the fact that companies lack inter-

est in retaining individuals that stay only for a short period of time and do not develop any identification with the company, as can be observed in her rendering: “But it is very difficult because /ehm/ companies sometimes are not=not interested in hiring :an: intern (-) :for: just six months”. The next is a further argumentative detailing concerning the matter. The informant also related the difficulty in finding permanent employment during college because companies have trainee programs or they demand qualification which one does not yet have. Next she discusses the perception she had of other participants within her social frame and how their vertical educational advancement alone hadn’t helped them enter the labor market, as in: “Then I saw that :the: situation of my friends/of my college and roommates (-) was harder than mine (,) (-) Because I /ehm/ virtually (-) when I entered college (') I was working (-) I had a position guaranteed during those two years (-) until I finished the two years of IFPA”. It was also certainly another argument that helped the incumbent deal with any questioning regarding her school track choice. She also certainly used this perception to convince herself that this was an appropriate decision, despite the fact that she wasn’t following a “normal” vertical educational advancement yet, which had always been her primary educational intention anyway and which was also perceived as compulsory and unquestionable.

The following kernel sentence in this response is: “when I=I started going to college (-) I already had an internship position guaranteed for two years (,)”. Next is a further rationalization of her decision to make this horizontal advancement. Eva argues that it was an opportunity to enter the labor market so as to gain work orientation, gain experience and possibly identify an area of personal interest that could lay the foundation for a self-fulfilling professional development.

14. Question XIV (transcription: Lines 3927 - 3939)

In this question Eva is asked to provide information about the double citizenship she has. During the main narration she mentioned she has Greek citizenship as well. The intention was to attempt to observe any connection to this and her identity development and the biographical impingements it had on the process she underwent. Eva begins her rendering with the following kernel sentence: “I could also have an Austrian passport /ehm/ but :the: Greek was easier to get“. The next is a brief argumentative detailing used by the informant to state that she only

decided in favor of the Greek citizenship due to the fact that there was a lot less bureaucracy to obtain it than the Austrian one. Next, there is a short narrative detailing about the age she was when she received the citizenship: “My mother went for /ehm/ all the documentation before I was 18 (,) (-) Now :I: I don’t remember (‘) (-) but I think a little before that (-) I was 16 or 17 years old (-) possibly (,) (-)”. This was also part of an action scheme established by the incumbent and her family aiming at widening Eva’s employability margin internationally. By holding a Greek passport she knew she would be entitled to work in any of the European Union countries, including Germany, where she currently works; for the same company she began working right after she left the one where she had done the practical part of her dual system apprenticeship.

15. Question XV (transcription: Lines 3940 - 3980)

In this question Eva is asked to provide information about the routine at IFPA School during her apprenticeship. Eva begins her rendering directly with a descriptive narrative detailing about the classes at IFPA during her apprenticeship, as in: “classes started at 7 (‘) so we had to be there before 7 (-) in the classroom (‘) it was basically like it was in school (,) Then we :had: classes until noon (‘) (-) there are two classes if I’m not mistaken (-) there was a fifteen minute break (-) two lessons /ehm/ of=of 45 minutes /ehm/ from 7 to 7:45 (-) from 7:45 until 8:30 /ehm/ 15 minutes then a break (,) (-) Then from 8:45 until 9:30 (-) then 9:30 until 10:15 /ehm/ 10:15 to 10:30 and another 15 minute break (‘) then we had three more classes until noon (-) I don’t remember now exactly (-) just do the math / ehm/ one class every 45 minutes (,)”. The informant is implicitly saying that the routine was very intense, with an extensive number of classes. It was certainly a contrast to high school and elementary education, which normally takes place either in the morning or in the afternoon. In the next section of this descriptive detailing, it can be observed that the incumbent was well-integrated in school: “.And: then we had an hour (-) an hour and a half free (-) we had lunch at school (‘) they have a cantina (‘) and /ehm/ sometimes we went out somewhere (,)“. Next, a further descriptive detailing continues. The informant reveals she would drive to school with a neighbor who also attended the vocational school. It is also another indicator that other social participants, also outside her schooling context, believed and perceived this horizontal school advancement was worthy, despite not being the “normal” vertical pathway leading to higher education. It can be verified in her

rendering in: “there was a girl in my neighborhood who also went to IFPA (,) (-) We did it together (,) :Then: during another time I went with another girl who was=was (-) :no: third year of high school (-) her father drove us (') and then I'd also go with her /ehm/ in the first year“ . The next is a kernel sentence in this response: “(,) Then in the second year (-) I :got: my driver's license”. Eva reveals she had a car and began driving to school. It also shows the socioeconomic context of her family. They probably bought the car, given that the incumbent wouldn't be able to afford a car only with an apprentice's salary.

The following narrative detailing is a continuation of the timing aspect the informant had already approached at the beginning of her response. Once again she tries to convey that it was rather exhausting and certainly demanded dedication and commitment. Eva says: “we ate lunch and then returned to class (-) and had class until 16:30 every day (-) except Fridays :when: we :left: (-) after lunch if I'm not mistaken (-) /ehm/ yes :on: Fridays (-) in the afternoon we were free (,) We had free time (,) (-) But it was from 7 until 16:30 (') it was only for one month (-) four weeks (,) (-)”. The following is a descriptive detailing of the cluster dual system apprenticeship, which the incumbent underwent at IFPA. Eva explains: “after /ehm/ :two: or three and a half months (-) /ehm/ two and a half months (-) three: months in the company (') then I went back to school (,) my=my course was in blocks (')“. She explains it as to differentiate it from the traditional modality, in which the apprentices spend two days in school and three days in the company every week for two years. It can also be observed in her rendering: “mine was in blocks (') and :so: I only went to school for a month (') :and: after that I had to stay three months in the company (,)”.

The next textual section is used by the informant to explain that the company always dedicated to preparing all the tasks, departments and projects that had to be developed by the apprentice. She also talks about the commitments and responsibilities of the apprentices, which she evaluates as acceptable, despite the fact that the work seemed to be very laborious. Eva concludes it by stating: “But the school was not honestly (-) it wasn't the :end: of the world (') the school was very similar to the lessons we had in college (,) (2)“. She also makes a comparison of IFPA's course with the intensity and quality of classes in higher education, implicitly stating there are essentially no differences. Eva is attempting to convey that both educational

commitments, despite the level, were demanding. It also appears to be another argument used by the informant to deal with post-hoc rationalizations.

16. Question XVI (transcription: Lines 3981 - 4000)

In this question Eva is asked to provide information about her classmates during IFPA's apprenticeship. It could reveal further information on her relationship to other social actors within this social arena. Moreover, it could also generate further descriptive detailing about these actors. Eva begins her rendering with the following kernel sentence: "Well /ehm/ my classmates were from=from the same schools /ehm/ either from Schweizerschule São Paulo (-) or Porto Seguro School or (-) Humboldt School (')". It is attached to a further argumentative detailing. Eva reveals that her classmates were individuals she had already seen or had contact with at her private German school. It can be seen that there was no need for post-hoc rationalizations within the school, but outside that social arena. Within that context, other social actors were very likely experiencing similar processes of rationalization in confrontation with their social world. Given that this social arena entailed a number of individuals coming from more socioeconomic privileged families, it certainly helped individuals to rationalize this "unusual" school track choice. In the next Eva mentions that there was also an individual who had already made a vertical educational advancement and later only decided to undergo secondary level VET, as can be observed in her rendering: "there was :a: girl for example who :she: had already studied and she went back to IFPA (-) but I don't remember now (') but /ehm/ I don't remember now what year (') I know that :her: went back to school (-) and started studying at IFPA (') so she was a year older than me (')". It also demonstrates that it was a very heterogenic social arena, which could foster processes of creative metamorphoses of biographical identity, which indeed ended up occurring. In the following textual section Eva talks about more socioeconomically underprivileged classmates that came from German colonies in the south of Brazil. It is interesting how she detaches herself from these individuals' group. It also helps understanding that in fact there was a determined social marginality within the educational institution, despite the educational level, which is essentially regarded as insufficient regarding a "normal" school track choice in a Brazilian context. It can also be seen in Eva's descriptive detailing. "these people necessarily had :that: block modality (') because they came for a month to São Paulo (') stayed in the dorm there (-) :that: the school it-

self rented to the apprentices”. Then, the informant narrates about one of these individuals that belong to “the other” group. Eva mentions that these individual had to undergo IFPA’s apprenticeship in the cluster modality, for they needed to return home whenever possible. In the next commentary, Eva makes a clear argumentative detailing evidencing a social segregation within the school, as in: “Between=Between themselves they were much more (-) of course (,) because they /ehm/ live in this dorm (,) (-) /ehm/ well (-) then (‘) they knew=knew each other much more (,)”. Eva explains that it was easy to integrate in the social arena IFPA constituted, for most of its actors were already known and also understood the incumbent’s school track choice for they were also undergoing the same post-high school educational pathway, as it can be observed in the informant’s argumentative detailing: “but /ehm/ otherwise (-) everyone who was there was from German schools and we had already seen each other at some point (,) (-) So we /ehm/ eventually formed a group of friends and it was very cool“. In the next Eva provides a narrative about her relationship to the teachers at IFPA. She says: “the teachers were all Germans (‘) And the German teachers /ehm/ I had already had classes with German teachers before (-) actually during my entire life (,) By the third year of high school it was basically always the same (‘) so I’d say that (-) I don’t know /ehm/ nothing special (-) or nothing extraordinary”. This helps determine that undergoing IFPA’s dual system apprenticeship was also easier for the incumbent who perceived it as a cultural extension of the identity development she had already established. It represented a harmonious social arena where the incumbent was exposed the “already known”, from German teachers, to the language the classes were taught and also classmates. In other words, there were no in-group motives for strangeness of post-hoc rationalizations regarding this choice. The confrontations were essentially in the out-of-school context.

17. Question XVII (transcription: Lines 4018 - 4024)

In this question Eva is asked to provide information about her relationship to the teachers at IFPA. Eva begins her rendering with the following kernel sentence: “it was=was cool (‘)”. The following is an argumentative detailing used by the informant to justify her higher predicate. She argues that there was a cultural exchange process between teachers and apprentices, as can be observed in: “:they: /ehm/ didn’t know much :and: many things about the country and they would at times tell us [...] /ehm/ for them everything was new (,) (-)“. In addition they

were a mere continuation of a social arena the informant was already accustomed to. Eva had already attended a German private school for many years, and had also developed an identity closely related to a German culture. Hence, these individuals were simply part of a routine she was already used to. Proof of that is that she can't even recall names, given that they were simply additional German teachers in her schooling, as in: “:but: so /ehm/ honestly I don't remember (-) any names (((laughs)))”.

18. Question XVIII (transcription: Lines 4025 - 4040)

In this question Eva is asked to provide information about the process of her choice to go to IFPA and what helped her make this decision go opt for a horizontal educational advancement within a post-high school option. Eva begins her rendering with the following kernel sentence: “/ehm/ I don't know (,) (-) /ehm/ the fact that my parents :had: supported me in my decision”. Then, Eva provides an argumentative detailing evidencing her search for approval, which was needed for it didn't characterize a “normal”, expected vertical post-high school advancement. The informant also looked for parental approval in the sense of their expectations, but it always remained clear that a subsequent vertical advancement would be made and IFPA would have the specific functional mechanism of providing the incumbent with a clearer occupational orientation and wouldn't represent a cul-de-sac educational pathway leading to the labor market. It can all be seen in her rendering: “I :sought: their approval of what I was about to do (') (-) and my parents /ehm/ helped me a lot (') :because: in=in the process I had been chosen to work in a company /ehm/ smaller (-) which was just around the corner from our home (') /ehm/ among other companies too (') :but: (-) the fact that they oriented me”. The informant continues her rendering stating that her parents approved the concept of the dual system for she had the opportunity to work for a multinational company and gain work orientation. It is interesting that, despite the fact that the family is relatively wealthy; they still perceived it positively, meaning that an early entry to the labor market can be equally relevant for individuals from different social classes. However, one's entry might have a completely different functionality. Her parents' support can be seen in: “/ehm/ "oh my (-) you got an offer from NCA (-) it is a :great: company (-) a :multinational: :and: etc (-) /ehm/ it is a little :more: (') but worth the effort (,) (-) then (') all /ehm/ the fact that I already had a company (') when I started doing the interviews (') and then /ehm/ all right (,) So I'll do that (,) (-)”. This last sen-

tence is also a typical formulaic expression indicating an institutional expectation pattern in the biography of the incumbent. Eva decided to undergo secondary level Vet in the subsequent modality, an educational level that usually has individuals with a very distinct socioeconomic profile than hers. However, she had a clear functional mechanism in mind and her parents could also comprehend the indecision process she was undergoing and the risk it represented by an early higher education access, especially at a private university. These last remarks can also be observed in: “/ehm/ they supported me (,) (-) I don’t know (‘) /ehm/ maybe the fact that I didn’t know exactly what I wanted to study in college (‘) and :then: I=I wanted a light at the end tunnel (‘) to /ehm/ maybe unconsciously (‘) and they said (-) I would have two years (-) (‘) to really decide later /ehm/ if I :wanted: to stay in a company :or: if I didn’t want to (,) (-) This also (-) led me to decide in favor of IFPA (‘) (2) It helped me (,) (2)”. Parental approval has demonstrated to be crucial in the process, especially their comprehension of the structure offered in the dual system. It also helps reducing processes of rationalization regarding this school track choice.

19. Question XIX (transcription: Lines 4041 - 4069)

In this question Eva is asked to provide information whether IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship were part of her educational pathway intentions. The aim was to confirm that this was merely a second order choice and not the informant’s primary post-high school educational aspiration. Eva begins her rendering with the following argumentation: “if I didn’t like (-) or didn’t want to continue working :for: a company :and: in the industry /ehm/ in an :office: (‘) I knew I’d end up with some qualification (,) so it’d not have been in vain (,) (-)”. One can perceive the meaning associated to the VET she underwent. It was clearly an attempt to adjust further educational choices, leading to more appropriate choices. In addition, it would be an additional qualification that would accumulate with an already predictable and obvious subsequent vertical advancement. There is evidence that the incumbent wasn’t preoccupied in case she couldn’t find the orientation she was looking for, given that she would access higher educational anyway.

In the following Eva discusses about the image IFPA School and its apprenticeship has in a Brazilian context. She states: “among people who know (‘) who know the course we are

:talking: about (-) what it :is: almost=almost exclusively in the German schools /ehm/ know it well". She justifies that its popularity is rather restricted. It has a twofold purpose: (a) it is easier to give it a different perception to facilitate processes of rationalization regarding this school track choice; (b) it remains selective and aimed at a determined group of individuals, which also turn it into a distinct VET school among secondary level ones. It is also another argument that can be used by the incumbents in case of inquiries coming from other social actors within their social world who cannot comprehend the need for a horizontal educational advancement instead of a "normal" vertical one.

In the following the informant makes a rationalization indicating that IFPA and its apprenticeships are beneficial educational goals for those who aim at staying in the labor market in Brazil, as it can be observed in: ":you: if you are dedicated (-) and a good employee to a company or an intern (') inevitably you will finish your apprenticeship and get hired :or: with a random great company (,) (-) So /ehm/ one is highly regarded by people who want to continue in Brazil (')". This rendering makes reference to the possibility of attending a German high school in Brazil under the so called B curriculum, which enables one to obtain Abitur level, which grants one with the possibility of accessing university in Germany. In the next she provides a contrasting example, by citing the developments of her sister: ":because: /ehm/ this is not the case if we speak about people who want (-) to do their /ehm/ Abitur (') because they want to go to college in Germany (-) for example (-) in the case of my sister (,) [...] It is a great course (') :but: if she wanted to go to college in Germany (-) /ehm/ it wouldn't solve /ehm/ her problem by going to IFPA (') (-)". It can be observed that the informant divides the ones who will access university and the ones who will stay in the labor market in Brazil. It is also a rationalization arguing that ones who make a vertical educational advancement do not need to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship within a horizontal advancement. Next it becomes clear that this rationalization is also based on a change of perception the incumbent underwent regarding IFPA. This change occurred for two different reasons: (a) processes of rationalization to explain this school track choice have demanded the gathering of as many arguments as possible and this was used to enhance one's perception as well as other social actors, by convincing one another that this horizontal educational advancement was worthy of and different to other regular secondary level VET programs within the subsequent modality. (b) the informant currently reflectively perceives that, despite the effort justification paradigm, she can see the

impingements IFPA had on her educational as well as professional development. This change in perception can be observed in her rendering as well: “(,) At the time :that: you are doing it of course everything is a drag (,) because it is :shit: like "this school :sucks: (,) because everything is :crap: (-) and because teachers are not :good: and all"(,) (-) But after you leave (-) you see the result (,) (-) you have a better job than the person :who: only went to college”. The informant also rationalizes that, despite the overvalue associated to higher education, she had the opportunity to follow a rapid professional development that this educational level cannot offer at times. However, she still made this vertical advancement to comply with societal expectations and also those of a relevant non-human event carrier, namely, the labor market.

20. Question XX (transcription: Lines 4070 - 4090)

In this question Eva is asked to provide information about her statement arguing that IFPA has a positive reputation within a specific limited range of individuals. The interviewer asks the informant to explicate who are these individuals that can see the positive reputation of this vocational school. Eva begins her rendering with the following kernel sentence: “People who went to German schools (,) :and: have access to this information (,)”. She continues with an argumentative narrative detailing explaining that only the ones who can speak German can access this vocational school. In the next she provides a clear rendering of her confrontation with her social world within higher education and how she had to go through processes of rationalization to convey the perception that undergoing secondary level VET in this specific school and modality was worthy, as can be observed in: “(-) /ehm/ when I spoke about it in college (-) my classmates said (-) "ah I am doing a trade course /ehm/ I'm an intern at NCA"(-) /ehm/ they asked "but this is a trade course (?) (-) they always had the question (,) Because nobody knows (,) (-) and they ask /ehm/ "ah (-) but is this at SENAI (?) :and: I said "no (,) It is not at SENAI (,) It is a post-high school course (-) in a German trade school (,) /ehm/ Ok”. Eva had to justify that IFPA School and its apprenticeship weren't related to SENAI and the perception these individuals have of the socioeconomic profile of its apprentices as well as their socioeconomic profile. It can be seen that there was a constant need for argumentation as to differentiate IFPA from other regular VET secondary schools. Eva also had to do it to protect her identity development as well. Unconsciously, she did not want others to perceive her as someone who would attend SENAI's VET programs; she still wanted to be associated with

an exclusive group. Hence, she had to rationalize, explain and give others a determined perception of IFPA to resolve any cognitive dissonance others might have observed. The fact that IFPA's apprenticeship is unknown can also facilitate one's rationalization processes to convey an image of positive distinctiveness in relation to IFPA's apprenticeship, as it can be observed in Eva's rendering: "they never knew (,) It is not known (') because as for Brazilian schools /ehm/ they don't even need to get to know about it (') because :for: you to do the course /ehm/ you need to know how to speak German (,) (-) [...] so you study in a German school (,)/ehm/ I=I think the reaction was always positive (,) It was a thing /ehm/ interesting (,) (2)". It can be concluded that the higher predicate used by Eva that her argumentations were enough to convince other social actors that this school track choice was worthy of following. However, her school track choice didn't avoid these confrontational situations.

21. Question XXI (transcription: Lines 4091 - 4103)

In this question Eva is asked to provide information about her higher predicate related to higher educational and an occupational orientation, as she says in: "a light at the end of the tunnel. The interviewer also asks the informant about additional vocational schools or VET programs she considered at the time, other than IFPA School. Eva begins her rendering with the following kernel sentence: "The only other option was to go to college then (,) (-)". Eva argues that only IFPA represented a possibility for post-high school subsequent modality VET. She justifies this single option on the fact that she did not know any other courses within this modality and never intentionally looked for any of them. It helps demonstrate that the peculiar aspects of the structure of the VET program offered by IFPA make post-hoc rationalization processes easier to be dealt with. Points of distinctiveness make it easier for the incumbent to convince him/herself and others that this school and its VET program can be detached from other general secondary level VET courses, thereby giving it a positive perception that can resolve cognitive dissonance. It can also be observed in her argumentative narrative detailing in: "I don't know another trade course (,) (-) I don't know any other (') I never thought about it (,) For me (-) there was no such possibility (') because you do a trade course /ehm/ just any (-) whatever /ehm/ :that: will not add anything (') it was better to go to college then (,) (2)". It also shows the informant's perception of secondary level VET within a Brazilian context. She considers it to be rather worthless, and wouldn't even consider doing it.

However, she opted to enter IFPA that, as a matter of fact, still belongs to secondary level VET, and still is a vocational school offering a trade course, which invariably led to post-hoc rationalization processes whenever the incumbent was asked about this “unusual” school track option.

22. Question XXII (transcription: Lines 4104 - 4129)

In this question Eva is asked to provide information about her perception of secondary level VET courses in Brazil. It was an attempt to verify the existence of cognitive dissonance in her school track choice. In other words, she opted for a horizontal educational advancement that had a very specific functional mechanism for providing her with work and also a clearer occupational orientation that could enable her to make a more appropriate choice in higher education. However, she still enrolled in a school that had VET programs, trade courses at secondary level, which was questioned by others in a tone of surprise, as could be observed in her previous answer. Eva begins her rendering with the following kernel sentence: “It depends (,) (-) The=the trade course is valid /ehm/ for a person /ehm/ actually this question /ehm/ is kind of complicated (,)”. She justifies her higher predicate by trying to exemplify and demonstrate that there are individuals undergoing secondary level VET for different purposes. Eva rationalizes that attending a regular secondary level VET program in Brazil and not making a subsequent vertical educational advancement by accessing higher education will considerably restrict one’s professional development margin. It can be observed in: “First the person who will do the trade course :and: not go to college (,) then :ok: /ehm/ you have a technical background and you will do this for the rest of your life (,) (-) /ehm/ then (-) imagine a mechanic who did a course at :SENAI: :and: started it at age 14 (-) or 15 (,) and finishes it at age 18 :and: would become a technician (,) He finished high school (,) has a diploma (-) a certificate (,) :but: if he doesn’t go to college (-) he will not grow (,) (-) He’ll do this for the rest of his life (,)”. It is also a clear perception she has of this educational modality. She considers it to be insufficient and aimed at someone who has a different socioeconomic profile than that of hers. Next, the informant continues to rationalize and states that in case one wishes to climb the career ladder, there is a need to obtain a higher education degree. She focuses on the labor market though, and does not directly refer to a personal intention: “:but: if you have bigger ambitions (,) you say “oh my (-) Do I want to do a trade course like a :mechanic: (-) at

:SENAI: (?) and then later when I am 30 or 40 years old (') my goal is to become an :engineer: (-) be a :leader: (-) I want to do projects :and: (-) :develop: this and that"/ehm/ you will not achieve it without college (,) Forget it (,) (2) Today (') the companies I worked for (-) :there: were not so many (') but this is not possible". In the next part of her argumentative detailing, Eva makes a clear reference to the labor market as an event carrier in one's school track choice. She once again presents higher education as an alternative-less educational pathway, which needs to be followed regardless of any VET program one has undergone, and despite the reputation and/or structure of the VET program offered by the educational institution, as can be observed in: "But the rule is :if: you did a trade course end of the story (') you are not well seen by companies (,) You must have :theoretically: a college degree in Brazil".

Then, she makes a further comparison between Germany and Brazil regarding school track choice. She argues in a self-theoretical commentary that only in Germany one can undergo solely VET and you do not need to access higher education to develop professionally, something which does not happen in Brazil: "I'm talking about Brazil /ehm/ not about Germany (,) Because in Germany (-) the situation is extremely different (,) (-) it's totally the opposite in Germany (,) (-) So /ehm/ I cannot tell you whether it is a good or bad thing to do (,) (-) It depends on your point of view (,)".

In the following Eva argues that she in fact underwent secondary level VET and also higher education, despite the perception she had of IFPA, given that obtaining a higher education degree is perceived by her as mandatory in case one wishes to develop professionally in Brazil, as can be read in : "I /ehm/ did a trade course and for me (-) to me it was great (,) (-) what I did (,) But I also went to college and did a MBA (,) So (-) there is no way to compare it then (,) (-)".

23. Question XXIII (transcription: Lines 4130 - 4139)

In this question Eva is asked to provide information about her own educational pathway development and school track choice. The interviewer questions whether she perceives her pathway as a regular one in relation to societal expectations. Eva begins her rendering with the following kernel sentence: "Most people I know yes". She states that other individuals in

her social circle have also undergone secondary level VET, and then accessed higher education and later on continued pursuing further tertiary level specializations in their respective areas.

In the next textual section, Eva makes a comparison of her educational pathway and school track choice, for the first time, with individuals who she considered belong to another social group and who do not share the same socioeconomic profile as her. Eva says: “I cannot compare it with people / ehm/ who (-) did a trade course for example 30 or 40 years ago (') :that: did a trade course to become a mechanic (') and :who: has worked with it his entire life (') and today may well be a leader”. She is trying to convey that nowadays undergoing secondary level VET isn't sufficient to achieve such managerial positions or to climb the career ladder within an organization. In other words, one is compelled to obtain a higher education degree.

In the following textual passage Eva makes a second interesting comparison between Germany and Brazil: “because I know people who have only done_a trade course :and: came to Germany (,) But then :the: labor market is different here / ehm/ it is something else entirely (,) (2)”. She is once again implicitly stating through a self-theoretical commentary that the labor market in Germany does not demand one to obtain a higher educational degree to succeed professionally, whereas in Brazil it is a compulsory educational requirement. The informant perceives higher education as an obligation one needs to comply with, the price of effort one needs to pay to achieve higher managerial positions in Brazil. She argues that someone who does not make a vertical educational advancement post-IFPA's apprenticeship at secondary level should leave for Germany, where one does not necessarily need a higher education degree. If one decides to remain in the Brazilian labor market, one will need to comply with its demands.

24. Question XXIV (transcription: Lines 4140 - 4154)

In this question Eva is asked to provide information about her self-theoretical commentary that if a person doesn't go to university, companies will be willing to employ him or her, but that it is very difficult to get a leadership position with only a secondary level VET qualification. In addition, the interviewer asks the informant whether these individuals belong to a

lower class context in society. Eva begins her rendering with the following kernel sentence: “Yes (,) /ehm/ actually (-) :yes: (,) Because the technicians I know (') are these kind of people (,)“ . In this textual section, Eva clearly states that individuals who undergo secondary level VET come from more disadvantaged socioeconomic contexts, and that she was fortunate to come from a family milieu that enabled her to have a wider educational pathway margin. She argues it allowed her to discard other secondary level vocational schools which she regards as not worthy. It can be seen in her argumentative detailing in: “Fortunately (-) I have not had to look for other possibilities (-) for another trade course (-) after I finished high school (,)“.

In the following rationalization, the informant stigmatizes individuals who undergo secondary level Vet. It also helps understanding the need for post-hoc rationalizations and also to find a school that offers a secondary level VET based on a distinct structure, which can facilitate processes of rationalization used by one so as to detach him/ herself from this stigmatization. She states: “Because /ehm/ maybe these people began to go to SENAI (') which is the only trade school I know (-) :that: is the trade school system that you do together with high school (') and they offer these courses /ehm/ general mechanics and (-) something similar (,) (-) So /ehm/ I guess people come from a lower class /ehm/ low (-) how do you call it (?) /ehm/ a social class :more: /ehm/ a little lower“ . In the coda of her response, Eva argues that IFPA is aimed at individuals coming from private, German schools, who are more socioeconomically privileged individuals. It is interesting how she associated herself with a distinct group within an educational modality she regards negatively as insufficient.

The informant provides this final argumentative detailing in this response: “Because /ehm/ it is the same as (') you can't compare these people (,) Because people studying in German schools in Brazil (') which are private schools (-) :and: have a very expensive monthly fee (') are people who have to have a better condition to pay this monthly fee (,) So people inevitably come from a higher social class (-) this is for sure (,) (2)“ . It assists determining that IFPA school creates a social arena where social actors share a similar socioeconomic profile, which does not demand in-school processes of rationalization and also helps the incumbent comprehend that this school track choice is acceptable within this scenario and structure; which would not happen within a regular secondary level Vet program at any other school.

25. Question XXV (transcription: Lines 4155 - 4184)

In this question Eva is asked to provide information about her perception of IFPA, given that it is a secondary level vocational school as well. It was a question posed to observe how she dealt with processes of rationalization and which argumentation she presents in post-hoc argumentative renderings about her school track choice. Eva begins her rendering with a clear sequence of arguments she used, in all probability, to convince others and herself that IFPA shouldn't be regarded as a regular secondary level vocational school. Eva states: "So (') but the trade course I did (-) is /ehm/ is a post-high school course (,) And the first thing I needed in order to be admitted /ehm/ was to be able to speak German (-) and the fact that you know how to speak German in Brazil /ehm/ already puts you above others". Her word choice already indicates superiority associated by the informant to IFPA School and its apprentices, namely, "above others". She essentially presents two arguments: (a) the language in which the apprenticeship is conducted, which is exclusory for not everyone can master the language at this level, (b) she argues it is a post-high school VET, as if it were superior to other VET programs. There is a clear lack of understanding of how the system works. It demonstrates that not only secondary level VET is perceived as an insufficient educational modality, which is not even considered as a school track choice by the informant, but she also demonstrates not to know the structure of a possible VET offer. There are several other secondary level VET courses in the subsequent modality, but that the informant very likely does not seem to perceive as a social fit.

In the next section of the informant's argumentative detailing, she states that: "at least in São Paulo (') I don't know /ehm/ how it is in the South (-) where the vast majority speaks German (') :but: /ehm/ in São Paulo (-) either you are a child of German /ehm/ (-) of a German company director :that: has been living here for three or four years (') and went to Brazil and inevitably sends his children to a German school (') or you come from a /ehm/ a social class a :little: higher (-) of parents who have the dream to pay a private school /ehm/ and speak German (,) (-) So well /ehm/ for me that is it (,) (3)". The informant uses the language in which the apprenticeship is taught as an argument that is often used. Interestingly, she does not refer to its dual structure and the possibility for work orientation. She focuses on this exclusory

aspect that can help her to provide a rationalization separating her from the group of “regular” individuals that attend other regular secondary level VET schools.

In the last argumentative section of this response, Eva argues that she did not have to deal with the school track choice she made, referring to IFPA as a horizontal post-high school educational advancement. It can be observed in: “I didn’t have to deal with the situation (,) For me it was kind of normal (,) (-) it is a possibility that there among German schools (,) which actually :you: can only do it if you have minimal /ehm/ command of German (,) (-) So it didn’t bother me”. It can be realized that the social arena IFPA constituted represented an extension of the German school and the cultural influence she had always had in her biographical development. She nearly perceived IFPA as an extension of the educational environments she had already been exposed to. However, in the final passage of this argumentation, Eva once again refers to how she had to explain to others her educational choice. It can be seen that she does not realize or perhaps wants to deny that she underwent post-hoc rationalization processes, which may have caused minimal or intense distress, a fact which cannot be measured. It can all be observed in: “It was one thing :that: I dealt with well (,) :And: also others who didn’t know what it was (,) they would say "interesting (-) wow that is cool (,) I don’t know this (-) but how is it (?) How does that work=work (?)"/ehm/ do you understand (?) (-) People ended looking at it with other eyes (,) (-) It is not a normal trade course (-) like the conventional ones people know in Brazil (,) (2)“.

26. Question XVI (transcription: Lines 4185 - 4196)

In this question Eva is asked to provide information about her perception of the motives that led people to perceive IFPA was a special vocational school with a distinct apprenticeship system. The interviewer aimed at understanding how other social actors altered their perception through the post-hoc processes of the incumbent, whenever questioned about her school track choice. Eva begins her rendering with the following kernel sentence: “Well /ehm/ the fact that you need to speak German (,)”. Once again she does not mention and refer to the dual system offered by IFPA’s apprenticeship, but focuses on the exclusory admission aspect that one needs to speak German. She says: “The language (-) yes (,) (-) :Because: this is the decisive point (,) whether you can speak German or not (,) (-) Not just anyone can do it /ehm/

a person studying in a regular Brazilian school comes and says (') "I want to do this trade course" (-) no (,) The first thing you need is to speak German (,) (-) So this is part of the elimination criteria (,) You know (?) :ok: (-) you can take a German test (') but you have to show a minimum knowledge (') (-) can you pass (?) :ok: if you can then you do it (,) Otherwise you can't do it (,) (-) So (') that's why people ended/it caught people's attention /ehm/ people's attention (,) (-)". Especially concerning her last statement, it appears that the exclusory language aspect of the vocational school and its apprenticeship is more important than the dual structure and the possibility of work and occupational orientation, which was the incumbent's functional mechanism related to this school from the beginning. It is interesting that the school had a determined purpose for her, but whenever confronted or questioned about her school track choice, she used an exclusory aspect to rationalize her horizontal school advancement.

27. Question XXVII (transcription: Lines 4197 - 4260)

In this question Eva is asked to provide information about whether she, at any given time, considered graduating from IFPA's apprenticeship and not make a subsequent vertical educational advancement by accessing higher education. Eva's response is negative. It is attached to an argumentative narrative detailing used by the informant to explicate: "/ehm/ no /ehm/ because I think :that: the schools where I studied :and: even at home (') this hypothesis was never considered (-) it never existed (,) (-) So :I:=I was more or less conditioned that I would at least (-) have a college degree". It is a clear reference to the expectations of her parents regarding their educational action scheme, and societal expectation. She clearly argues that other actors of her social circle also normally make a vertical educational advancement, which is regarded as an alternative-less educational pathway. The informant implicitly conveys that not accessing university would not be accepted by her parents and wouldn't be understood by others. It only helps explain the cognitive dissonance and processes of rationalization undergone by the incumbent in relation to IFPA. Therefore, as soon as she gained occupational orientation, Eva already promptly made a vertical educational advancement to avoid further need for argumentations, and to begin following a "normal" and excepted post-high school educational pathway.

Then, the informant provides the following statement: “The trade course actually (-) would not solve my problem (,) I knew I needed to have a college degree (,) So I never thought of the idea of only going to IFPA and then doing nothing else (,) (-)”. IFPA School was certainly a second order choice regarding the informant’s primary post-high school educational intention. However, it had a very important functional mechanism. It allowed the incumbent to enter the labor market at a company she works for today and where she rapidly developed professionally, and she gained the occupational orientation she lack to make a prompt vertical advancement upon high school graduation. She also justifies her higher predicate saying that “her problem” was to obtain a higher education degree.

The next textual section is a continuation of an argumentative detailing used by Eva to explain the motives that made IFPA School become a vital event carrier in her biographical development. She states: “it allowed me /ehm/ to open some doors in the companies :that: I worked for“. The informant didn’t have to struggle with trajectories of unemployment. IFPA had widened her employability margin. She also argues that higher education is needed in a managerial position, which she appears to be willing to achieve, as in: “I’m not a manager yet (,) /ehm/ then (-) I know the policy of the companies I worked for (') :that: they don’t like to put people in leadership / ehm/ positions that don’t have a minimum level of education (') equal to or higher than that of normal employees (,) (-) So=so perhaps it opened more doors to me (-) in the future (,) But /ehm/ the fact that I have college degree (-) I think that it helped me to get to where I am today (,) (-)“. It can be observed that Eva acknowledges that both degrees have assisted her in her professional development, one as a functional mechanism and the other as an alternative-less pathway.

In the following Eva makes reference to how IFPA provided her with occupational orientation and led her to an appropriate and also similar educational area at tertiary level: “It is not like I’ve majored in zoonosis (') and work in an office doing foreign trade nowadays“. Then the interviewee asks the informant about the motives to continue pursuing this educational area by doing an MBA. Eva clearly continues to study so as to reach her goal one day to become a manager at the company she works for. She also argues she thought of a second higher education degree in a similar area, but she decided in favor of an MBA: “when I finished college (') (-) I realized that I couldn’t stop studying (,) (-) I even thought at that time about going back

to college to get a second degree (,) But then I thought (-) I didn't know what I :would: do (-) I suddenly needed to=to rearrange my thoughts (,) (-) So to continue the learning process (') I decided to do the MBA :and: didn't stop studying (') anyway /ehm/ I ended up doing the MBA (,) (2)“. There is no doubt Eva will continue to grow professionally and will achieve a managerial position. She is very driven and dedicated, and above all wishes to continue studying to achieve her professional intentions.

10.7 Structural description of additional cases

(1) Structural description of non-intensive case (1): Alice Bauer

- 1. The preamble of Alice's autobiographical narrative interview:** it deals essentially with the presentation of a crucial social frame within her biographical, namely, her family milieu. The informant descriptively narrates that elucidates that her grandfather fought in the war and then later decided to leave Germany. In addition, she has two siblings, both of whom are younger than she.
- 2. Basic schooling of the informant:** She presents a background construction with the intention of explicating the reason that led her to attend a private German elementary and high school. It was the dream of her paternal grandparents, who emigrated from Germany to Brazil due to a fear of other wars. Her grandparents couldn't afford a private German school in Brazil. Hence the informant's father can speak the German language, but wasn't alphabetized in it.
- 3. *Gymnasium* in Germany during first year of high school:** The informant only stopped attending school in Brazil for six months, when she visited her aunt in Germany in order to attend a *Gymnasium* there.
- 4. End of high school education in 2001:** The incumbent embarked on an institutional expectation pattern. Alice decided to take the admission test to enter IFPA School. The informant provides an argumentative narrative detailing explicating that the motives for her decision were: (a) improve her German language command (b) the school certificate was recognized in Germany as well. This was very likely in an attempt to acquire a necessary qualification to work in Germany alternatively.
- 5. IFPA's course choice and a macro-political and economic condition:** The following background construction involves an interlink of biographical importance during the informant's decision making process regarding IFPA and an adequate occupational orientation. Alice wished to attend the international trade course, a course that could very visibly enable her to perhaps utilize her German language command that she liked so much; however, macro-political and economic conditions impeded her from doing so. The terrorist attack of the World Trade Center in 2001 led to a temporary difficulty concerning finding vacancies in the labor market, and it also affected IFPA

School and the companies with whom the school has cooperation. This is the rationalization made by the incumbent to explicate the motive that led her to enroll in a course focusing on insurance, the only course she could find a company where she could do the practical part of her dual system apprenticeship.

6. **Assessment of IFPA's apprenticeship:** Following kernel sentence is "It was a course /ehm/ I liked it a lot". It is followed by an argumentative textual section which is used by the informant to explicate that she appreciated the material used in the course as well as the teachers, especially due to the fact that they were German citizens. The following is a kernel sentence with a higher predicate "It was very cool". Alice rationalizes it by stating classes were taught in German as a first language and this was highly appreciated by the incumbent. Moreover, the informant expresses that the contents were heavily based on a German context, which made it difficult for apprentices to transfer it to a Brazilian context.
7. **Biographical evaluation made by the incumbent:** "I didn't want to work with insurance companies for the rest of my life". This is also understandable given that her choice wasn't based on subjective aspects. It was due to a situational condition related to an interlink of biographical importance. She was practically compelled to do this trade course, which after all, she didn't perceive as a possible occupational orientation.
8. **Alice graduated from IFPA School:** she wasn't offered permanent employment at the insurance company where she did her dual system apprenticeship. It led her to continue following an institutional expectation pattern and she decided she needed further qualification. Hence she accessed a private university to major in business administration. The informant argues it was a choice specifically aimed at obtaining a higher education degree and that she was still undergoing a process of indecision concerning her occupational orientation. She hadn't yet found a vocation related to subjective aspects, closely related to personal and self-fulfilling aspects. University was partially paid by the parents, given that the salary Alice received at the first company she worked for after her apprenticeship wasn't sufficient to cover private university tuition fees.
9. **Newly employed and the continuation of an institutional expectation pattern:** After finishing the first year of university, Alice obtained employment at Siemens in their logistics department. The informant openly associates it with IFPA stating that

this was one of the companies that had cooperation with IFPA and they knew the school and its apprentices were regularly hired by this company. Alice also appears to be puzzled by the fact that she didn't have any experience with logistics, and yet was still hired. It can be seen that the informant obtained employment in an area she initially aimed at working with logistics and export, departments that are also related to the international trade course she was initially interested in.

- 10. Alice embarks on a professional program in Germany:** it was an intention she always had, especially due to the socialization processes she had been exposed to with her parents. She was offered the opportunity to work in Germany for two years, and it was her first opportunity to work with exports between Brazil and Germany. She assesses it with a higher predicate "it was very good". She essentially had the opportunity to work in Germany, where she would use the language she liked so much and it certainly had a very big representation within her family, which culturally relates to Germany.
- 11. Dominant institutional expectation pattern:** The informant returned to Brazil and continued to pursue her professional career at the same company for another 4 months.
- 12. New employment and further educational goals:** The kernel sentence of this passage is "I got a new job at General Motors". This is also where the informant is currently working. In addition she has just finished a specialization course at tertiary level in the area of logistics, which became her primary vocational orientation. Yet, she does not provide any clear narrative that could make events, motives and linking of processes evident.
- 13. Realization of a laconic rendering:** Alice attempts to prematurely end her main narrative, without any pre-coda containing evaluative language or a conclusive coda. Yet, she realizes that her rendering is extremely laconic and the interviewer is unable to comprehend the entire life history, given that there is a clear lack of narrative and argumentative textual sections that could provide a plausible concatenation of biographical processes within her biographical development. Hence, the informant essentially restarts her rendering and refocuses on a more comprehensive narrative.
- 14. Family milieu:** The informant discloses that both her parents hold higher education degrees in the area of IT. In a narrative detailing, the informant states that both have worked for many years in their respective area and her mother is already retired. The

informant has two siblings who have also attended private German schools in Sao Paolo. Alice makes an important commentary about her sister's education, namely, "she didn't want to go to IFPA after school (‘) (-) /ehm/ she never liked German so much". This is also implicitly conveying that the informant liked the language and she is linking it as a motive to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship. As for her other sister, the informant says "she went to IFPA (-) too (,) And she works at the company :that: my mother used to work for (,) (-)". This sister has also worked in Germany, has accessed higher education and appears to have a successful professional career nowadays, according to the descriptive narrative detailing of the informant.

- 15. Daily routine at IFPA and the informant's assessment:** The informant begins with a higher predicate, more specifically, "well (-) I thought it was nice to go to IFPA (-)". She justifies it by saying that she identified with her classmates and seemed to be socially integrated in school. Alice's argumentative passage elucidates the meaning of "nice" attributed to the vocational school. She explicates that this was a period of transition, in which she turned eighteen and began becoming more independent from her parents, including financially.
- 16. Self-assessment regarding school achievement:** The kernel sentence in this passage is "I was never fond of studying". Alice describes herself as an average student that never put more effort into a school matter than was necessary. It only helps demonstrate that achieving all her educational goals was through acts of endurance, not visibly related to personal, subjective conditions. The only noticeable self-fulfilling aspects identified in her narrative were: (a) her interest in the German language (also as a part of the culture she identifies herself with very intensively) (b) as a way to satisfy her family's desire and educational action scheme.
- 17. Intrapersonal information and the influence of event carriers:** kernel sentence "my high school has great incentive (-) /ehm/ to enroll at IFPA School (,)". One can observe the influence of other institutions on the informant's educational pathway decision. She was apparently constantly exposed to this VET possibility. The following is a narrative description of the admission procedure adopted by the vocational school. The informant also mentions the influence of the teachers, as crucial event carriers, in the decision leading to IFPA.

- 18. The family educational action scheme:** Kernel sentence “my mother always said /ehm/ I pay a private school for you (‘) (-) so that :you: can go to a university I don’t have to pay for”. It is obvious that the parents wanted Alice to follow the same pro-paedeutic educational pathway they had pursued. Yet, Alice once again, in a short background construction, indicates her lack of interest in studying, as in “I prefer working to studying”. This is also an indicator that her post-high school educational choice can be related to a more personally adequate track. The informant clearly demonstrates an unwillingness to pursue an academic pathway. This construction is used by the informant to explicate a compromise made with her parents. She would travel to Germany to live with her aunt for six months and attend school there, and upon her return, she would enter IFPA.
- 19. Motives leading to IFPA:** The informant discloses other reasons for her educational choice: (a) lack of occupational orientation that could serve as a guideline for her tertiary education. (b) A possibility for work orientation and later association with a higher education degree. (c) Financial independence though an apprentice’s salary. (d) A financial relief for the parents, who wouldn’t need to disburse the tuition fees, paid by the company.
- 20. Experience in Germany:** Alice resided for six months with her aunt and went to school in Germany. She excelled in exact sciences and didn’t like humanities. A kernel sentence about this period entails a higher predicate “it was a good (‘) but /ehm/ at the same time (-) bad time”. Alice rationalizes her higher predicate by stating that her cousin was experiencing psychological problems and the harmony at home appeared to be terrible.
- 21. Not-overcome examination:** It nearly hindered Alice to continue her institutional expectation pattern, since she didn’t pass an important language test leading to the official certification of her German language command. In addition, a teacher confirmed she wouldn’t be able to undergo IFPA’s apprenticeship. Nonetheless, she had made a promise to her mother and she committed to and passed IFPA’s admission test.
- 22. IFPA providing occupational orientation:** The informant states “IFPA helped me a lot :to: find out what=what I wanted to do in life (,)”. It demonstrates that the school helped solve the indecision process undergone by the informant, and influenced her

occupational orientation, which was further pursued on the basis of a higher education degree.

23. Parental influence on decision making process regarding IFPA: Alice clearly indicates the influence of her mother as a significant other. Her mother's arguments were: (a) direct access to the labor market. (b) Opportunity to obtain a paid internship (c) an apparent difficulty accessing the labor market while attending higher education. The informant also mentions "my mother always insisted that I should enter IFPA". Yet, it was obviously a second order option for the reason that the entire educational action scheme of the family was directed at a more propaedeutic educational pathway, which the incumbent essentially declined due to her lack of interest in studying at the time.

24. Socialization process at school and the influence of the educational institution: The kernel sentence in this passage is "I knew most of my classmates at IFPA (‘) because we went to the same school before (,)". It indicates that intrapersonal information as well as the influence of the institution, including teachers, and also classmates, were determinant in the discernment of the incumbent that this was a feasible, and above all, adequate educational institution within her social frame.

25. An assessment of the practical part of the apprenticeship program: The kernel sentence contains an important higher predicate "it was not easy to work at the company". It is followed by an argumentative section explicating the meaning of "not easy", which is clearly stressed by the informant in her rendering. Alice claims that the company didn't comprehend the idea of job rotation and didn't give her meaningful tasks in different departments. Moreover, the company demanded high grades from the incumbent, who openly stated that she disliked studying. It was a clear conflict of interest. The company wanted to have a committed apprentice, whereas the incumbent wanted to have diversified tasks. It almost led the apprentice to drop out of the VET program, and the school had to intervene.

26. Further assessment of the theoretical part at school: another higher predicate in the narrative of the informant "the school was always cool". She associated it with the fact she was very integrated with her classmates and that she felt included and accepted within the educational institution.

27. In search of work orientation: After graduating from IFPA, Alice left the insurance company where she did her apprenticeship. It can be inferred that the relationship had

deteriorated and apparently neither side showed interest in continuing to work together. Hence, the informant obtained employment in another insurance company, which she evaluates as “I worked there for four months only (‘) (-) then I realized that working with insurance wasn’t for me” or in another passage “I don’t like it”. This elucidates that this brief work orientation attempt didn’t help the informant establish an occupational orientation. She accessed IFPA in a trade course she didn’t intend, and the result was that she graduated with the same indecision with which she began the apprenticeship. Hence, IFPA didn’t provide work orientation in the sense of a specific vocation.

- 28. Further rendering about employment in Germany – post-IFPA:** After the initial laconic narrative, the informant re-approaches the period of time she worked in Germany in a more in-depth narration. She uses different higher predicates to refer to this period of time in a very positive evaluation. It was also a key experience that further fostered the informant’s capability to deal with her own finances and also to care for her own-existence without any kind of parental assistance. Moreover, the opportunity was used by the informant to travel and visit new places in Europe, which is another interest of the informant, in addition to the German language.
- 29. Implicit construction of the informant about her parents:** It seems her parents have always struggled to keep all their children attending private German schools and that financial matters were always carefully discussed within the family due to a scarce availability of capital. This is, partially, an important aspect regarding the decision made by the informant to not begin attending a private university. In other words, the over concern of the parents regarding financial matters might have restricted the margin of possibilities of the incumbent.
- 30. Returning to Brazil after working in Germany:** The informant states that after working in Germany, she returned to Sao Paolo, where she currently lives with her boyfriend. There is a clear comparison between her current place of residence and the location where she lived in Germany, as a background construction to demonstrate the daily difficulties of living in such a metropolis.
- 31. Another significant other as an agent of influence:** Alice met her boyfriend in Germany, where he was working an engineer on a project. He was certainly another key

event carrier leading the informant to intend to access higher education, given that he already held a degree at the time, and Alice could see his professional development.

- 32. Rationalization explicating the motives for a higher education degree:** Alice approaches the issue once again in the following kernel sentence: “I always had in mind :that: /ehm/ to do/finish IFPA’s apprenticeship (-) and then go to college (-) then some specialization (,) And I :still: want to do an MBA”. It is followed by an argumentative narrative detailing explicating the need for such a degree. Alice demonstrates that it is nearly entirely an objective decision, related to the labor market. She excludes any subjective aspect that could indicate a personal or self-fulfilling choice regarding her educational pathway, as in “I didn’t do it because I like it (‘) I did it because the labor market demands it (,) (-) I /ehm/ I have already said (-) I don’t like studying”.
- 33. Evaluation of educational objectives within her biographical development:** Alice refocuses on an explanation of her educational intentions and their motives. She is very clear about her desire to develop a professional career in a company and that one of her main goals was to work in Germany. This can be explained in an entire family influence, which initiated with her grandfather and was passed on to her father, and later to her.
- 34. Employment offer in Germany:** The informant once again narrates about it in a more in-depth descriptive and evaluative textual passage. Alice recalls a scene of biographical importance. She met a director from the same company she worked for in Brazil, and he offered her a job in Germany. A background construction assists in the understanding of this offer, as in “I had a new boss and we didn’t /ehm/ get along :very: well”. This boss was on the verge of firing the informant, and the German director offered her relocation instead of dismissal. She rationalizes that this opportunity arose from her German language command and the knowledge she had about the area. She uses direct speech to narrate about the scene of biographical importance, as in “the director said (-) I can’t fire her (,) Firstly (-) because she is a good worker (-) and secondly (-) she has collaborated a lot with our German projects (,) I :can’t: fire her (,)”.
- 35. The director as an event carrier:** The director played an important role in Alice’s professional development. He essentially provided her the opportunity to work abroad, in Germany, one of the incumbent’s main objectives, in a period of time when she was on the verge of being dismissed due to a bad relationship with her supervisor in Brazil.

He avoided a possible trajectory of unemployment and concomitantly provided further vital international work experience, which would also assist the informant in her future career development.

- 36. The informant's dual nationality:** Still providing a narrative about the above-mentioned scene of biographical importance, the informant reveals that she is Brazilian and also has a German citizenship, which was considered by her as a precondition to being offered a job in Germany. This also helps understand the interest of the incumbent in the language. It was certainly driven by her desire to create an identity closely related to the German culture, given that her father also had German citizenship and her grandfather was born German.
- 37. Returning to Brazil after Germany:** This passage indicates the beginning of the pre-coda section of the main narration. The informant refocuses on the time of here and now, and the narrative entails various evaluative passages concerning the overall development of her biography. The main kernel sentence of the introduction of the pre-coda segment is "I came back to Brazil (‘) and I stopped thinking about my=my professional life (-) and I=I began thinking of my :personal: life (,)". The informant relates it to the concept of establishing a family, which also indicates the continuation of an institutional expectation pattern in the present development of her biography.
- 38. New employment at General Motors:** Alice explicates that after returning to Brazil, she worked for a while at Continental again and soon after that she obtained a job at General Motors. She provides a background construction to elucidate the re-direction of focus on her life. The informant argues that she was offered a management position in Germany, but declined it for the reason that she wants to focus on her personal life, which is clearly the beginning of a process of founding a family of her own, as she states in "for example (‘) I want to become a mother [...] I stopped thinking about my=my career now (,)". She is focused on a normal life-cycle pattern and wishes to achieve personal goals within her biographical development.
- 39. Pre-coda evaluative assessment of important developments:** The informant makes a final assessment of the all developments and her life by linking certain motives. She addresses her parents' self-theoretical commentaries about education and finance, which she openly borrows from them as well. Firstly, the informant states "my parents always told us (-) that material things end (‘) but education and knowledge can't be

taken from us”. This only reinforces the educational action scheme established by the parents for the incumbent, namely, to dedicate to a long journey of qualification in order to assure it will function as a necessary functional mechanism providing for one’s self-existence. Secondly, the informant states that “my mother never gave us things very easily” or even “It was never easy with my parents” and a last passage “they always /ehm/ taught us how to deal with money”. These observations led to a rationalization indicating a very interesting phenomenon. Even though Alice’s parents afforded an expensive German school for all three children, they imposed a constant search for financial independence on them. Hence, obtaining an apprentice’s salary at IFPA was also a representation of financial relief for the parents and herself. This was the objective Alice had always been directed at. Even if unconsciously, this was an important aspect influencing her decision. In other words, the constant parental pressure on teaching financial responsibility may have led the incumbent to search for an educational modality that entailed the possibility of financial relief and at the same time a source of income, despite her socioeconomic background.

Questioning phase

1. **Mother tongue at home:** Alice mentions that German was never their mother tongue at home, especially because her mother isn’t fluent. However, her grandparents always spoke to them in German.
2. **Family milieu:** Her aunt left for Germany for good in order to learn the language and live in the country, which she also feels closely related to. Her grandfather underwent an apprenticeship in Germany as a mechanic.
3. **Experience of going to school in Germany:** The informant assesses it positively, but within a turbulent period in which her cousin was experiencing serious health complications. It was a period of mixed feelings for the incumbent.
4. **IFPA’s certificate explanation:** Alice explicates that they were exposed to information about IFPA in school and were told the certificate was recognized in Germany and in the European Union. This was also a motive leading the informant to seek this educational modality, given that she always related to Germany and also wished to work in the country later in the development of her professional career.

5. **Assessing IFPA's apprenticeship once again:** Kernel sentence "the negative point is that (-) as everything was in :German: (') some things couldn't be applied in Brazil (,)"'. She criticizes the content of main subjects stating that they don't prepare you for the Brazilian labor market, being too focused on the German market. Another kernel sentence "it was very strange that=that /ehm/ they had an oral exam". This was very likely a consideration regarding previous educational levels, which might not have used oral exams as an evaluation method.
6. **The negative experience at the insurance company:** Kernel sentence "the mindset of the company was /ehm/ she will stay in this department for=for :only: three months (,) So let's not teach her much (,)"'. This is a criticism of the informant regarding the job rotation of the apprenticeship, and the lack of communication between company and school. This aspect led to the deterioration of her relationship with the insurance company, which in turn led to her leaving the company upon graduating from IFPA's apprenticeship.
7. **Motives leading to IFPA apprenticeship:** The informant very clearly formulates, in a brief textual passage, the main reasons that led her to seek the vocational school, namely: (a) indecision during post-high school education. (b) A lack of occupational orientation. (c) A mechanism that would allow the informant to gain time to decide about a more adequate higher education degree. (d) A search for work orientation that could help the informant detect whether the apprenticeship are would be of professional interest. (e) Acquiring further German language command while obtaining a qualification that is officially certified.
8. **IFPA admission process:** The informant argues that everyone can access the school. The only pre-requisite is to pass the admission test, which is essentially a German language test. Alice says "it is not exclusively for=for people from German schools". Yet, it can be observed that a very restricted number of individuals can speak the language at this level, which makes the trade course rather selective and exclusory.
9. **Assessment of the self:** Kernel sentence "I'm don't like theory (,) (-) I'm a practical person (,)"'. It is followed by an argumentative detailing used by the informant to state that she dislikes studying, but she dedicates to objectives she commits herself to. Hence, she forced herself to do whatever was necessary at IFPA and university as well. In other words, disliking studying didn't prevent her from successfully undergo-

ing her dual system apprenticeship. Regarding IFPA, she was compelled to commit because the company compulsorily demanded a minimum grade. This outer condition also played a key role in her dedication. As for college, the informant and her parents were paying for it, and this great financial burden was certainly a motive to commit, despite not liking to study.

10. Commentaries regarding higher education in a Brazilian context: Alice mentions that her parents, in their educational action scheme regarding their children, paid for expensive high-quality schools so that they could pass the entrance examination at a public university, which they wouldn't have to pay for. The informant continues her descriptive detailing, which is intermingled with self-theoretical commentaries. She argues that competition is fierce at public universities and offer is very scarce. Self-theoretical commentary: "people who /ehm/ have good schooling (‘) have better chances to enter a public university". Yet, the informant states that she didn't even try to access a public university, she avoided this pathway. She opted for a VET pathway and later attended a private university. It is a clear representation that structural super-impediments can help neutralizing the family's educational action scheme.

11. Reason for higher education degree: The informant begins with a self-theoretical commentary "for you to have a good job in Brazil (‘) you need a college degree (,)". The informant has clearly aligned her educational objective according to societal expectations. In addition, her decision to obtain a college degree is based on an objective aspect, more specifically, fulfilling the obligation of accessing tertiary education, as can be observed in her rendering "it's mandatory to have a college degree (-) here". Alice continues her rationalization stating that she was fully aware she would need to go to college after IFPA because "it is :necessary: in the labor market". It calls one's attention that the informant was interested in practical tasks, which could have led her to a more subjective orientation concerning a vocation; she was driven by objective and societal motives to access higher education, which was an act of endurance for the informant, who disliked studying.

12. Evaluation of the German culture in relation to her identity: The kernel sentence is "I wanted to=to go to Germany (‘) and it was because /ehm/ this culture is part of my reality". It reveals an important aspect regarding the informant's identity development. She intensively associates with the German culture and this identity reason was

certainly another key condition leading her to IFPA's apprenticeship for the reason it is all taught in German, by German teachers and still within a social frame with several classmates who also came from private German high schools in Sao Paulo. Undergoing IFPA's apprenticeship helped the informant further shape her identity, as someone who feels extremely related to the German culture.

13. Parental discernment of IFPA School and its apprenticeship modality: the kernel sentence is "my mother was always in favor of IFPA". It is followed by an argumentative section used by Alice to explicate that her mother perceived it as a possibility to enter the labor market and obtain a first permanent employment. Alice utters another self-theoretical commentary "many people finish college and can't find a job" with the purpose of justifying the advantage that IFPA's apprenticeship provides one with the opportunity to enter the labor market and obtain work experience. A second kernel sentence regarding her mother's perception is "she knew I didn't know what to do and she was afraid of paying a private college and then I'd drop out because I didn't like it". This is an interesting remark, despite having the capital necessary; parents feared a wrong occupational choice that could lead to a waste of investment. Hence, one's educational choice can be heavily influenced by parents who perceive indecision regarding their children's choice. It could culminate in a financial burden that wouldn't resolve this indecision and provide an occupational orientation. In addition, Alice's mother wished her to go to IFPA to gain work orientation, which would very likely provide the informant with a general guidance for a possible occupational orientation.

14. Self-theoretical commentary regarding period of indecision: Alice says "after high school we are very young to choose what you want to be for the rest of your life professionally". It shows how Alice perceived the decision to choose a major in college. She saw it as a one-time decision that couldn't be altered later. Therefore, it gained a very significant consideration for the reason that an equivocated choice could be financially disastrous and also lead to an unfulfilling pathway regarding her professional career and development.

15. The family's educational action scheme and Alice's reluctance: The informant discloses that her parents complained about her choice of not attempting to access a public university. Alice said she preferred to focus on working and entering the labor

market, obtaining experience and only later enter university. Her parents disapproved of it, but accepted her decision.

- 16. Overall assessment of her vocational identity development:** Alice openly states that she didn't opt for a vocation based on a subjective assessment of an educational pathway and modality that could lead to a profession based on personal cultivation, and self-realization. It can be observed in her rendering in "until today (-) I don't know what I want to be [...] what I do is not my passion". The informant also rationalizes that opting for a business administration higher education course was also an option based on her indecision. It can be seen that Alice's educational and professional development was directed at a pathway leading to a self-alienating occupation.
- 17. The parents' disapproval of her educational choices:** For the first time in her narrative, the informant mentions a crucial point concerning her occupational orientation choices. Alice says "all the courses I said I wanted to study in college (‘) /ehm/ my father always said no=no=no=no". The informant actually had made a choice regarding higher education, but they were declined by her parents, who clearly contributed heavily to a development of a career path that didn't become a self-fulfilling occupational orientation for the incumbent. The informant wished to major in a course related to biology, namely, either oceanography or marine biology. However, her parents didn't allow her, and kept convincing her she should enter IFPA, which she ended up doing.
- 18. Self-theoretical commentary regarding VET in Brazil:** The informant says "a trade course is not well seen here (,) (-) It is not like college (,)"". She associates a trade course with a "first phase" in one's educational pathway. Alice argues that it should provide work orientation and possibly assist you in the development of an occupational orientation, but it does not represent a cul-de-sac educational option that will lead to the labor market in a profession that will be followed permanently.
- 19. A further reason for a college degree:** The informant feared that IFPA's certificate wouldn't be acknowledged by other Brazilian companies, who perceive a higher education certification as a compulsory educational achievement.
- 20. Confrontation with social world regarding IFPA:** The informant mentions that she wasn't much enquired about it, given that her classmates were her friends outside school. They were all undergoing the same educational pathway.

- 21. The routine at IFPA and the teachers:** Both aspects are very positively evaluated by the informant, who felt accepted and integrated at school. She clearly stresses that she appreciated the contact to German teachers and it led to enhancing her German language command.
- 22. Perception of IFPA and a comparison to other secondary level VET schools:** The informant firstly begins by stating that “IFPA isn’t a trade school”. It is followed by an argumentative narrative detailing explicating the motives. Alice rationalizes that: (a) general secondary level trade courses are aimed at the socioeconomically underprivileged individuals who are seeking short courses leading to a qualification. Whereas IFPA is a selective vocational school, only for those who can speak German. She argues “I can do any trade course here (‘) but /ehm/ somebody who :can’t: speak German (-) can’t do what I did”. She justifies it is an exclusory school that can’t merely be attended by anyone who wishes to do so. Moreover, Alice makes an objective assessment stating that IFPA’s apprenticeship offers one the possibility to begin an internship and receive an apprentice’s salary, as opposed to other regular trade courses. Yet, she evaluates that the language, in which it is taught, makes it a selective, exclusory course, regardless of belonging to the same educational level. A last assessment regarding the matter is rather interesting. The kernel sentence is “maybe /ehm/ people see it here like a course in a university of applied sciences”. The informant associated it with a different educational level in order to avoid any possible comparison with other regular trade courses at secondary level. This is an important indicator of how the individual dealt with any occurrence of cognitive dissonance regarding his or her educational choice.
- 23. Further comparison and the image of VET:** Alice argues that the general image of secondary level VET is associated to SENAI and SENAC in Brazil, and that the individuals that undergo their apprenticeships are manual workers. The informant refocuses on the “obligation” of having a higher education degree in Brazil, and that she never considered not going to college. In addition, undergoing an apprenticeship was a first step. However, she didn’t enroll at regular trade schools such as SENAI and SENAC, which are not aimed at her socioeconomic profile and also not at her professional objectives that didn’t involve becoming a manual worker.

(2) Structural description of non-intensive case (2): Mary Weiss

- 1. Family milieu:** Mary opens her interview preamble by providing a description of an important social frame, namely, her family milieu. She comes from a well-to-do family. Her great grandfather was a merchant and her grandparents were wealthy individuals as well. Some were doctors, while some owned laboratories, properties and even a hydroelectric power plant.
- 2. Her grandmother as a significant other in her biographical development:** Mary's grandmother, who is still alive at 93 years of age, attended an expensive French school in Rio de Janeiro. She doesn't have a higher education degree, a fact which is considered surprising given the quality of education she had during her basic schooling. She explicates it saying that "these were different times and my grandfather didn't allow her to go to college".
- 3. Self-theoretical commentary:** This is an orientation of the informant. She expects individuals who are highly educated to access higher education.
- 4. The informant's parents:** Her father majored in business administration in Rio de Janeiro and has also attended high quality, private elementary and high schools. Her mother was born in Vitoria and also attended private schools, majoring in architecture in Rio de Janeiro. Mary's parents met in college, married and returned to Vitoria.
- 5. Mary was born:** in Vitoria, a year after her parents got married. At first, they resided at Fumaca Island, which was an island that belonged to her great-grandfather. The family was robbed on the island and decided to relocate after the incident.
- 6. Financial source for the existence of the family:** Mary's father had a construction business in Vitoria. He even constructed a building where several family members lived together for a while, a place where Mary had family and constant social contact to others.
- 7. Mary's first school:** she began attending an elementary school in Vitoria. After a year, her father decided to open a new business in SP. It was an attempt to establish a new factory there and also search for better schooling possibilities in a huge metropolis for Mary and her sisters.
- 8. First episode leading to a loss of significant others:** Mary had to leave school, her friends and most importantly her family and move to Sao Paulo with her parents.

- 9. Family's educational scheme:** Mary's father wanted her to enter Porto Seguro School, which is a private German school in Sao Paolo. Due to a long waiting list, she would have to be enrolled in another school. Yet, in the meantime, she could prepare for the admission test that the school uses to select its students.
- 10. First elementary school in Sao Paolo:** She began attending a smaller private school (Dom Barreto). Mary went to this school for two years and in the meantime had to prepare for the admission test at Porto Seguro.
- 11. First confrontation with a structural impediment:** Still very early in the development of her biography, Mary had to prepare for the admission test of an elementary school. It would be the first attempt to pass a selection process in education. It was, naturally, part of the educational scheme established by her parents. They wanted her to attend this elite, private school to receive a better education that could eventually prepare her for a more propaedeutic education.
- 12. Second elementary school in Sao Paolo:** Mary passed the admission test and began attending the 4th grade of elementary school at Porto Seguro. It was the first time she would have contact with the German language and culture.
- 13. Collor's financial plan as a significant interlink of biographical importance:** The outcomes of the crisis that led to hyperinflation and high unemployment were catastrophic for the biographical development of the incumbent. Her father feared the crisis that ended up freezing 80% of individuals' private assets for 18 months. Thus, he decided to leave for Portugal with the entire family.
- 14. Second episode leading to a loss of significant others:** The interlink leads to drastic measure and Mary has to leave the school she had to dedicate years to get into. After she passed the admission test, she was abruptly taken out of the German school. Once again, she had to suddenly interrupt important social relationships with friends, classmates and family in Brazil.
- 15. A restart in Portugal:** Her father opened a new business and Mary began attending a private German school in Lisbon. She had to cope with the language barrier, given that many classes were taught in German, and she didn't only have German as a foreign language anymore. (difficult because many classes were taught in German)
- 16. Third episode leading to a loss of significant others:** After only a year, she again lost significant others. The friends and peers had to be once again left behind. As the

crisis was over in Brazil, her father decided to return in order to carry on with his construction business in the South American country.

- 17. Returning to the German school in Sao Paolo:** Mary returned to Porto Seguro and had problems integrating. She began experiencing social loneliness within the educational institution and couldn't associate with one of the groups in the school.
- 18. A self-assessment attempt as a rationalization for social loneliness:** Mary begins describing herself as a shy, reserved person – “not a cheerleader”. This is an argumentative passage used to justify the difficulties she had reintegrating socially within the school she restarted to attend in Sao Paolo.
- 19. A self-assessment attempt so as to depict a school achievement:** She also assesses herself as an average student who always had average grades. Mary liked more exact sciences and disliked history and literature. She used to excel in physical education and others perceived she had a talent.
- 20. First intentional action scheme of the incumbent:** It was the first time in her biography she steered a plan within her biographical development. She decided to take the test that could allow her to do an exchange program in Germany, which was offered by the private German school where she also attended high school.
- 21. Second confrontation with a structural impediment:** Mary had to take another admission test in her biography. Yet this time, it was part of an intentional scheme developed by the incumbent. She once again passed this admission test and went to Germany for a few months. She evaluates her experience as fruitful and this will have an impact on further career desires. Mary begins to develop an intention to work in Germany one day.
- 22. Access to information through the private German school:** During her last year of high school, IFPA representatives went to Porto Seguro and gave a presentation about its apprenticeships.
- 23. Socialization processes at school and IFPA:** The informant claims she didn't pay enough attention. She didn't perceive it as an alternative, given that none of her friends had done or were going to do it. This is an important demonstration that Mary didn't perceive, at the time, as a “natural” pathway and, therefore, didn't consider talking with her parents about this presentation she attended.

- 24. A preparatory course for a third confrontation with a structural impediment:** Mary began a preparatory course to do the entrance examination at public universities in Brazil. She decided she would like to **become a nutritionist (WHY?)**. However, she didn't pass and decided she would continue dedicating to this preparation to follow a more propaedeutic educational pathway, which would be in line with her parents' as well as classmates' education and educational intentions.
- 25. A preparatory course for a fourth confrontation with a structural impediment:** Mary began a second preparatory course to do the entrance examination at public universities in Brazil. This time, she decided to do the exam at one public university in food engineering and at a private university to major in architecture.
- 26. Second not-overcome structural impediment:** Mary didn't pass the entrance examination at public university and decided to begin architecture at PUC. The family had the necessary capital to afford this alternative. As for her alternative major, it can be associated with two different aspects, namely, her mother who had also majored in architecture, and also her father who had had a construction business for a long time
- 27. Beginning of a trajectory for the entire family:** It can be observed in two typical formulaic expressions indicating contours of events in her biographical development; respectively, "that was when the mess began" and "that was a very troubled period". Mary's father's business began deteriorating and the family was nearly bankrupt. Drastic measures followed as outcomes of this trajectory. The family sold their house to pay for the construction business debts. Mary is clear about it stating "we didn't have a house to live in or money to live on". A financial constraint process initiated and had two serious developments: (a) Mary had to drop out of university for the reason that tuition fees became unaffordable. It would be the second time in her biography she had to abandon an educational institution she had struggled to access, after overcoming structural impediments. (b) Her sister had to drop out school. Her parents couldn't afford a private school anymore.
- 28. The end of an institutional expectation pattern:** Mary dropped out of college and began experiencing a trajectory with the entire family. It was the genesis of a very "confusing period" as the informant depicts it. It was difficult for the incumbent to comprehend the outcomes of the situation and comprehend the financial deterioration

process the family was undergoing, especially given the biographical and socioeconomic background of the family.

- 29. New residential situation for all family members:** Without a house, a friend lent the family a residence in another city where they could stay on a provisory basis. The children had to leave Sao Paolo and go live with their grandmother in Vitoria.
- 30. A new biographical action scheme:** Mary stayed in Vitoria living with her grandmother and began trying to find alternatives that could enable her to further develop educationally and professionally in her biography. She was convinced she had to continue searching for a possibility to obtain a college degree and access the labor market.
- 31. Grandmother as a significant other:** Even though the informant describes her grandmother as a very frugal person, she offered Mary help and began paying for a German course for her. She also obtained employment for the incumbent as a secretary at a clinic, where she knew the doctors.
- 32. A first job as a secretary:** Mary began working in a clinic, as a secretary. It was the very first time she was working to provide for her own existence, and also as a way to save money that could enable her to pursue further educational goals. The informant assesses it as “not a waste of time”. She rationalizes it was an opportunity to learn how to deal with complaints and daily problems at the work place.
- 33. Second biographical scheme that intermingled with an institutional expectation pattern:** After working as a secretary for eight months, Mary remembered the presentation she once had in the third year of high school. She decided to consider IFPA School and its dual system apprenticeship as a feasible option. She assesses the outcome of this educational intention as: (a) No tuition to be paid. (b) Access to the labor market during the acquisition of further qualification. (c) She would receive an apprentice’s salary that would be the provision necessary for her self-existence in Sao Paolo.
- 34. Returns to Sao Paolo:** The incumbent asked her father for permission to return to Sao Paolo and the contour of events are still in motion. As the financial strain was still occurring, Mary’s father was skeptical about IFPA and feared it would generate further costs.
- 35. A preparatory course for a fifth confrontation with a structural impediment:** Mary needs to prepare for the admission test. During the year she worked as a secre-

tary at her father's business, she began studying and preparing for the test alone. Once again in her life, she is confronted with impediments that can inhibit her from carrying on with educational intentions within her biographical development.

- 36. Parental influence and disapproval:** Once the informant's parents saw the location of the school (a more working class neighborhood) they were against the idea of undergoing the VET program. It can be observed in a scene of biographical importance described by the informant, as in: "My father said, let's get out of here, we won't stay here for another minute". However, the informant was really determined and she saw IFPA as an opportunity to bridge that entailed all necessary conditions, including a qualification that would allow her to enter the labor market with the purpose of providing for her own existence, which would consequently enable her to pay for a private university later.
- 37. The beginning of an institutional expectation pattern:** Mary passes the admission test and begins IFPA's dual system apprenticeship. She finally managed a way to continue searching for qualification, enter the labor market and provide no further expenses to her family.
- 38. The beginning of the dual system apprenticeship:** Mary passed the admission test and was accepted by a multinational company (Krupp). She started the block system in the office clerk apprenticeship and had two months of class at school and another three months of work at the company.
- 39. Perception of her development at work:** In a background construction, Mary explicates her dedication, commitment and hard work at Krupp. This was to elucidate the reason why the company offered her permanent employment after she finished the dual system apprenticeship.
- 40. First employment post-IFPA apprenticeship:** She began working at the financial planning department at a rather low salary. In a self-assessment statement, Mary argues "I never complained about it". This is part of her personality, being shy and reserved. It is also very likely due to the fear of reoccurrence that had been developed from the barely credible changes the financial constrain brought upon her family.
- 41. Reestablishing and resuming the primary educational objective:** Mary was then financially able to afford a private university. She also began noticing that she needed

a higher education degree if she wanted to climb the career ladder, to develop professionally within the company.

- 42. The meaning of IFPA:** The informant provides different argumentative narrative textual sections concerning the matter. She claims “it isn’t college, so I knew I still had to go to college”. It calls attention to the fact that she perceived it as nearly an obligation that wasn’t developed from a subjective assessment related to a personal self-fulfilling desire. She simply had to comply with determined societal and business expectations. She also argues IFPA isn’t sufficiently known in Brazil and feared other companies wouldn’t recognize it as a worthy qualification.
- 43. Preparation for the sixth confrontation with a structural impediment:** The informant embarked on an institution institutional expectation pattern and, after passing the entrance examination at PUC - where she once had begun majoring in architecture – she began majoring then in business administration. Her choice is clearly related to objective aspects, such as her career at the company and to comply with this expectation coming from the labor market. It appears to be unrelated to subjective aspects, and is absolutely dissimilar to the first orientation she had when she attempted to pass the entrance examination to major in food engineering at a public university.
- 44. Dominant institutional expectation pattern after college:** Mary graduated from college and began climbing the career ladder within the company. She firstly became a junior and later senior analyst in her field of expertise at the company.
- 45. Opportunity to work abroad:** Mary was offered a position in the US, which she accepted. She broke up with the boyfriend with whom she was in a relationship at the time to go to the US. Mary once again demonstrates some of her basic orientations: “I didn’t want to disappoint” and “I chose to dedicate, to commit”. This dedication appears to be related to previous biographical difficulties, and fear of reoccurrence.
- 46. Social loneliness and an action scheme:** Mary focused and worked hard in the USA, but couldn’t establish social contacts, which triggered a sense of extreme social loneliness. The informant tried to contact a group of Brazilians and a group of Germans while working in the US, but couldn’t fit in either of the two small groups. This was the second time she couldn’t find her place within a social frame, as this had already happened when the family returned from Lisbon and she began attending Porto Seguro once again. Her main free time activity was shopping, which she did alone. She also

mentions “I was never a person that splurged or spent a lot of money”. This orientation also mirrors her grandmother as a significant other and also a fear of a reoccurrence of the financial strain she had experienced with her family previously in her biographical development. This social loneliness made her give up her dream of working abroad and she decided she had to return to Brazil. She contacted HR at Krupp in Brazil and eventually they found a position for her there.

- 47. Returned to Brazil:** Mary again began having difficulties adapting in Brazil. She argues that “there was nothing to do there” or “I had very little to do”. It was upsetting because she was very busy in the US with different projects. At this point in her biography, she had the social contacts she needed, but the professional aspect had substantially deteriorated.
- 48. New process and a new occupation in Brazil:** Mary decided to leave Krupp to begin working with her father in this new construction business, which is where she still works today. Again she believes she has been acting very responsibly. She evaluates herself as very committed and dedicated at work.
- 49. Evaluating the professional change in the coda:** Mary believes it was a risky action, but that she is currently in a moratorium, evaluating whether it is adequate for her and if she will succeed in this challenge. Otherwise she may go back to working at a multinational company.

Questioning phase

- 1. Self-theoretical commentary about grandfather’s attitude towards education:** Mary explicates in an argumentative passage that “I think :he: had that (-) :old-fashion: kind of mindset (-) that women shouldn’t go to college (,) ”. She is implicitly expressing that nowadays, modern women, especially the ones coming from the biographical milieu of her grandmother, should attend university.
- 2. Motive for a private German elementary and high school:** In an argumentative narrative detailing Mary explicates that her father wished they learned foreign languages that would serve as a distinctive qualification later on.
- 3. Perception of others regarding her school achievement:** In a scene of biographical importance, using direct speech, Mary recollects an important episode. She narrates

that the director of the school she attended in Lisbon once told her she would have to improve her grades to study there. It can be observed that the informant still remembers this criticism, and this can be related to her desire for achievement as well. One of her basic orientations is to dedicate, commit and “not disappoint”.

4. **Transition between high school and higher education:** the informant provides another argumentative narrative detailing in an attempt to justify the reason she didn't care much for the presentation IFPA made at her school. She claims she was undergoing a process of indecision and didn't know whether she would like to access higher education immediately after high school graduation. In a reflective assessment, Mary states “Perhaps /ehm/ I was a bit immature”. She also argues that the access to this information was obtained way too late during this decision making process. This happened only in the last year of high school, and it didn't leave enough time for a better consideration regarding this educational pathway.
5. **Description of social frame within IFPA:** Mary describes the other actors that composed the social frame of the trade school into which she was also inserted. She mentions that there were many apprentices from other German schools in Sao Paolo, some from the Southern regions of Brazil and also one girl from Paraguay.
6. **Rationalization of university major:** in an argumentative narrative detailing, Mary justifies her choice, business administration, from a rather objective manner. There is no clear evidence that this choice was made in consideration of subjective aspects, considering an occupational orientation that was personal cultivation, and self-realization. The informant states “I wanted to major in business administration (-) more or less (-) just to have a degree”. There is a connection between her choice at IFPA and this major, however. But her choice is guided by the objective aspect that she needs a higher education degree to grow professionally, regardless of what she considers more biographically adequate.
7. **The social integration during her architecture studies:** Mary remembers that during the time she was majoring in architecture, she was socially integrated and enjoyed being at college. She claims that many of her classmates became close friends. This is opposed to two other times she experienced social loneliness, when returning from Lisbon and also from the USA.

- 8. The parents' perception of the school:** Firstly, the informant addresses the retrospective perception of her father, and mentions that his perception changed considerably after seeing her achievements. She also explicates that her father feared the distance and the fact that she would have to move to Sao Paulo. Parental protection was also a reason for disapproving of her educational choice. Once again the informant justifies that her parents were preoccupied with the location of the school. She uses the following adjectives to describe her parents' perception "scary, little place, weird, strange".
- 9. The informant' perception of the school:** Mary explicates that the school is not well known in Brazil and it forced her to obtain a higher education certificate, especially in case she had to apply for jobs at non-German companies. In addition, she once again makes the observation leading to an objective choice regarding tertiary education "For me to continue climbing the career ladder in the company /ehm/ I saw that they demanded a college degree in business administration, international trade or economics (' (-) so I thought this could influence my career (,)". Mary also perceives the school as an educational institution for potential students who will be successful in their professional career. She also argues that companies see the apprentices as potentials, who speak other languages and come from high-quality private schools.
- 10. The desire to work abroad:** The informant associates it with the fact that she has always enjoyed travelling and learning languages. The first aspect was certainly strengthened through her exchange program to Germany and later by her father who decided to enroll Mary in a bilingual school. In addition, the informant had already showed interest in the German language by doing a course spontaneously in Vitoria, which was paid by her grandmother, and also by preparing for IFPA's admission test alone reading several books in German.
- 11. Motives leading to IFPA' apprenticeship:** The informant presents two reasons; namely, the lack of options regarding educational pathway and the difficulty of entering the labor market without a higher education qualification. It also demonstrates she opted for an educational modality that could help her achieve her primary post-secondary level educational objective, more specifically, entering higher education. Mary also clearly states it in "I always had in mind I wanted to have a higher education degree". In other words, IFPA was the opportunity she was looking for that could provide a pathway leading back to her primary intentions.

- 12. The objective orientation of IFPA:** One of the objective orientations regarding the vocational school appears to be the German language, which is highly appreciated by the informant. She even concludes that “I learned a lot more German during the apprenticeship”. She also provides another narrative rendering passage that calls attention: “I still read the book in German from the school (,) They are really good”.
- 13. Perception of IFPA in relation to other educational possibilities:** Mary states that IFPA isn't well known and this is a source for concern. Moreover, she is clear about her intentions “it is a trade course (,) it's not university”. Interestingly, in a comparative manner, she argues that the contents and quality of education seemed to be equal or even superior in relation to her major in business administration. It demonstrates two aspects, the link between IFPA and her tertiary education choice, and also the fact that she felt prepared and qualified for her profession, yet the labor market wouldn't perceive her as sufficiently qualified.
- 14. The perception of general secondary level VET:** The informant associates it with SENAI and argues the profile of these individuals is different, claiming they come from more unprivileged socioeconomic backgrounds. She further argues that these individuals don't speak foreign languages, went to public elementary and high schools and will do the manual work. Whereas IFPA's apprentices will become managers or directors and they will do the non-manual work.
- 15. The social contact within IFPA:** The informant tries to rationalize her lack of social contact during her apprenticeship by relating it to her age. She was at the time 21 years old and her classmates were younger than she. It can be observed that the perception she had of her own personality was crucial for her integration within different social frames.
- 16. The social segregation within the school:** Mary states in her rendering “the people from the south (-) stayed there in their little group”. It can be seen that groups are divided within the school, and it is also an attempt to justify her social loneliness within the institution
- 17. Self-theoretical commentary about the institution and its VET program:** The informant claims apprentices are very young and lack responsibility, which could deteriorate the image of the school among companies. This is also related to a basic orien-

tation of the incumbent. She is dedicated, committed, responsible and above all doesn't want disappoint anyone.

- 18. The perception of others regarding IFPA as an educational pathway:** The informant was also constantly asked about her educational pathway by other social actors as in "Everybody asked what it was (-) nobody knew it".

(3) Structural description of non-intensive case (3): Jessica Mai

- 1. The preamble of Jessica's autobiographical narrative interview:** it deals essentially with the presentation of a crucial social frame within her biographical, namely, her family milieu. The informant descriptively and extensively narrates about her maternal and paternal grandparents, who came from the Swabia region, located in southwestern Germany, after Second World War, in 1951. They came to the state of Parana, to a town named Guarapuava where they helped founding a Germany colony in the region, which until the present day hasn't emancipated from the municipal district. The informant also discloses in the same narrative detailing further relevant aspects regarding the presentation of this frame, more specifically, that her grandparents received a piece of land where they could begin working with agriculture for their self-existence and also for commercialization due to the fact that they had to pay a small amount of money for these properties.
- 2. First background construction:** Within her family milieu description, Jessica mentions that her grandparents and other farmers decided to create an agricultural cooperative in their German colony, so that all farmers could pool their resources and sell it on the market. This cooperative will have an enormous impact on the informant's biography as an important event carrier.
- 3. The culture brought by the grandparents:** The informant also provides an extensive descriptive narrative of the culture brought by her parents to their colony, including traditions, customs and the Swabian dialect.
- 4. Parents met in the Germany colony:** In a further narrative detailing Jessica reveals that her parents belonged to the same group of friends, and that her mother went to elementary school, the only one located in their German colony, and that her mother

didn't like studying and was never a high-achiever. As for her father, the informant also provide a brief narrative description stating that he went to the same school, but only until the fourth grade and never finished elementary school. Jessica justifies that her father had to help providing for the family through his work on the farm as well.

5. **Jessica was born in Guarapuava:** where her parents still live in this small town. The informant also enunciates she had an older and another younger sister, and they were all born in the only hospital of the German colony. Jessica continues her narrative descriptive detailing saying they firstly lived in a one-dormitory house, and later they were given a three dormitory house by her grandfather.
6. **Childhood developments:** Kernel sentence is "my mother stayed home taking care of the three children (') :and: father worked as a farmer". It was the family's main source of income and it provided for their existence. Jessica narrates that her parents have always struggled financially and that her grandparents had to constantly helped the family. Another kernel senesce in this segment is: "I remember very well that (-) my parents /ehm/ in my childhood (-) :they: used to fight a lot because of money (-) because the lack of money". It is attached to a further narrative detailing elucidating that this was a present and very dominant subject within her family. It is followed by an evaluative statement with a higher predicate "we didn't have money (-) but /ehm/ we had a :good: life". Jessica rationalizes that despite the constant financial constrain, they could still attend the private elementary and high school located inside their colony. The informant states "there we learned German (') it was very important to my parents (,)" . The informant provides a background construction to explicate how this was possible. The following kernel sentence is: "we had a scholarship (-) to attend the school". It is followed by a narrative detailing explicating how the family obtained it. The informant states that the agricultural cooperative owned the school, and as her father also worked for the cooperative, the children were entitled to attend the school. Jessica makes another evaluative commentary entailing a higher predicate, namely, "my childhood was :very: pretty". It is attached to an argumentative section explicating that she used to play outside with her friends a lot and that the neighbors and all individuals in the German colony were united and life was harmonious in the colony. It appears to have been a childhood of intense social integration with friends and classmates, filled with various activities and contentment.

7. **Grandparents as significant others:** Kernel sentence is this brief segment is: “my maternal grandparents were very important in my life (,) We visited them :every: weekend (,)”. Jessica narrates about their proximity and also about values she learned from them.
8. **The preservation of the culture within the colony:** The kernel sentence in this textual passage is: “my aunt always said we=we should :play: (-) but speaking in German (,)”. The informant further rationalizes that they were taught to play in German in order to improve our language command, which belonged to a local custom of teaching the children the German dialect. It is followed by an evaluative commentary made by the informant regarding this custom: “I want my children to=to learn it too”. She finds it important to preserve the culture and she openly identifies herself with the culture of her German colony, which served as the basis for her identity development.
9. **Schooling of the incumbent:** First kernel sentence is: “at age four (-) I=I began attending a German kindergarten (-) in the colony”. Jessica also reveals that her classmates remained the same from kindergarten until the end of high school. Later she accessed the private elementary school, which she evaluates positively. The informant focuses especially on the fact that the school had German teachers, who helped with their German language command. Finally, Jessica assesses her school achievement as satisfactory and as a dedicated student.
10. **Difficulty to detach from German colony:** Kernel sentence is: We had a trip with the school in high school (‘) and we visited :many: cities in Brazil”. The informant uses this example to justify the difficulty it represented to be away from her family and culture.
11. **Influence of the older sister:** Kernel sentence is: “my older sister went to Germany to study theology (‘) :and: nowadays (-) she lives and works in Stuttgart”. The informant doesn’t provide any more solid narrative on the matter, but clearly her sister has established the possibility that leaving their colony was possible and that individual effort was necessary to achieve it.
12. **An institutional expectation pattern:** The informant met her boyfriend in the German colony in the last year of high school. The informant narrates that after dating for only six months, she had to make an important decision. She states “I had to make a decision about what to make with my life (,) (-) And my biggest dream was to study

journalism”. It is followed by an explication, in a argumentative detailing, elucidating the motives that led her not to follow this orientation. These appear to be heavily based on a subjective assessment of a possibly occupational orientation. The informant argues that there wasn’t a public university offering this major near her German colony. The informant further explains that she would have to go to another city and the family wouldn’t have the money to finance a living in a different city, despite the fact that the university would be free of charge.

13. Overcoming a super-imposed structural impediment: Kernel sentence is: “I did the entrance examination at a public university :near: our German colony (‘) :and: I passed (-) to study linguistics (,) But I didn’t want to study languages”. It can be observed that the informant had a clear occupational orientation she wished to follow, based on a personal choice focused on a self-fulfilling vocation. Yet, a concatenation of circumstances including a limited offer within residential location, financial constraints of the family, and a lack of alternatives leading to another suitable occupational orientation, have considerably restricted her educational pathway margin.

14. In search for an educational alternative: In a scene of biographical importance, the informant uses direct speech to provide a narrative about an important scene in her biography. The informant states “one of my teachers in school was telling /ehm/ another person :that: /ehm/ ah (-) she said (-) you could go to IFPA (‘) a school in Sao Paolo”. The informant still vividly remembers hearing their conversation and concluding this appeared to be a potential option.

15. Motives leading to IFPA: first kernel sentence is: “I could live there on the salary I would receive from the company”. She explicates it called her attention for she wouldn’t create any financial burden for her parents who didn’t have any financial condition to help her with further educational objectives, unless she stayed in the university near their house and studied languages, which she didn’t want. This argumentative narrative section ends with another assessment made by the incumbent at the time: “I wanted to do something I didn’t need my parents’ help”. Hence, one of the key motives leading to IFPA: (a) a lack of offer regarding her primary educational orientation near the informant’s place of residence. (b) Financial independence through an apprentice’s salary. (d) A financial relief for the parents who wouldn’t need to disburse the tuition fees, which were paid by the company.

- 16. Making a decision in relation to IFPA:** Kernel sentence is: “going to Sao Paolo was a very difficult decision”. It is followed by an argumentative narrative detailing used by the informant to explicate that for a person of such a small colony leaving for a metropolis like Sao Paolo was extremely challenging to the point of generating a determined fear. In addition, Jessica explicated that she had a boyfriend and this decision would implicate in the loss of this significant other. Nevertheless, she argued this was a way to continue seeking qualification and that she needed to care for her own self-existence, in case she decided to leave her German colony.
- 17. Following an institutional expectation pattern:** The informant passed IFPA’s admission test and was accepted by a company HK in Sao Paolo. Jessica makes an evaluative commentary regarding the outcomes: “I was super happy (-) and thought I had to take this opportunity”. The informant provided another reason for her to consider IFPA. She stated she was supported by her parents and could always return to her colony if she didn’t adapt in Sao Paolo. In a next kernel sentence Jessica utters “my mother /ehm/ came to Sao Paolo with me (,) she was here (-) during the first days (,) (-) When we arrived (-) /ehm/ oh :my: God (‘) it was /ehm/ super/we didn’t even know which way to go”. It is followed by a narrative describing how overwhelming it was to move to a huge metropolis and how this created a very difficult transition in her biography.
- 18. Resolving a sense of social loneliness:** Kernel sentence is: “Two more people :from: my colony went to=to IFPA too (,)”. The informant mentions it as an attempt to justify the reason why she didn’t feel lonely in Sao Paolo, and also due to the fact that they lived together in the dormitories offered by IFPA for two years.
- 19. Assessment of the beginning of her apprenticeship at IFPA:** First kernel sentence containing a higher predicate: “The beginning was super difficult”. She justifies the higher predicate saying that the city is enormous, and that she was far away from her parents and colony, and living on a very limited amount of money paid by the company.
- 20. Descriptive and evaluative textual passage regarding the school and its apprenticeship:** The informant begins with the kernel sentence: “I chose the office clerk course (‘) because of the German language”. The informant explicates she wished to use her German skills for a profession she would have one day in life. It already

demonstrates she began a trade course in an area in which she wouldn't like to pursue a career. However, it was an important mechanism to develop her language skills that would be used in the occupation she would later develop in her biography. The next is a descriptive detailing of the apprenticeship. The informant elucidates she attended the block system, in which she attended school for two months and worked in company for three months. The informant also mentions the job rotation characteristic of the apprenticeship. She makes an evaluative commentary "it was a great", which is explicated by Jessica as a significant mechanism that provides one with the opportunity to see different departments, which enables one to obtain a more comprehensive view of the entire company.

- 21. A criticism and fear regarding future employability:** Kernel sentence is: "I thought :the: content was very focused on the German market (') it is difficult to use it in Brazil (-) in my opinion". The informant feared her future employability, given that she would have to search for employment in Brazil after finishing IFPA, in case the company didn't hire her upon graduation from her dual system apprenticeship.
- 22. Opportunities during apprenticeship:** In the second year the company offered her the opportunity to visit one of their units in Chile. Jessica makes an evaluative statement: "it was very interesting". She explains the higher predicate saying that it was a positive experience to see the company there and also use the Spanish language they were learning in school. This biographical event also assisted the informant to reinforce her perception that she was identifying with the company and seemed to enjoy her apprenticeship.
- 23. Finished IPFA' apprenticeship and continuing a normal life cycle pattern:** The informant was hired to work as secretary of the director of the company in Sao Paolo. Jessica narrates that later the director became the president of the company and she remained working as his secretary, opportunity to grow professionally in the company. Soon after that the incumbent accessed higher education. She was then able to pay for a private college, and began majoring in marketing in Sao Paolo. The informant does not provide a clear explanation to the motives leading to this specific major, though.
- 24. A pre-coda segment entailing several evaluative textual passages:** First evaluative commentary entailing a higher predicate is: "IFPA was very important to me". It is attached to an argumentative narrative detailing used by the informant to explicate that

the school and its apprenticeship enabled her to achieve her professional development much faster, given that its due to a dual system made access the labor market at a very early age possible, and that working for a multinational German company without any qualification was the genesis of the her future professional development.

25. Perception and meaning of IFPA: Kernel sentence is: “it is only a trade course (-) but it is dual (-) in German and Portuguese (‘) and has cooperation with German companies”. The informant assumes the school has a good reputation in the labor market and that it has also assisted her to succeed in her professional development.

26. Husband’s new employment re-steering biographical development: The informant left the company where she underwent her apprenticeship and worked for four years after that. Her husband, who had also undergone IFPA’s apprenticeship, was offered a job in Germany and they left together to Hamburg. The informant narrates that, in Germany, she worked for a German company, and also associated this professional achievement to the qualification she obtained at IFPA.

27. Self-theoretical commentary regarding perception of VET qualification: The informant makes an important self-theoretical commentary: “in Germany I=I realized that (-) a trade course is as worthy as a college degree (-) for some professions”. Even though she doesn’t further provide narrative on the matter, it can be concluded that the informant assumes that a VET course is inferior to a higher education degree in the Brazilian context.

28. Assessment of residing in Germany: The informant lived for five years in Germany and assesses it very positively. One of the most important events during this period was related to her grandparents. Jessica visited the region where they came from in Germany. She could personally see the town where they were born, and the house they lived in before going to Brazil. She evaluates it in a higher predicate: “it was a very touching experience”. It made the informant even more aware that she wished to maintain the values of the culture that was brought to Brazil by her grandparents. This event helped reinforcing the identity developed by the incumbent in her biographical development.

29. Returning to Brazil and following a normal cycle life pattern in the colony: Jessica’s wish to preserve this culture resulted in a decision. The informant and her husband decided to leave Germany and return to Brazil, which she evaluates as: “I believe

the cycle is closed”. Jessica rationalizes in an argumentative narrative detailing and also makes an evaluative assessment of the development within her biography. “I always said I wouldn’t come back (-) because I had discovered the world”. Yet, she justifies that she wanted to go back to her place of origin, where she would like to obtain employment and found her own family.

30. Dominant institutional expectation pattern: The informant refocuses on a narrative detailing about the current developments of the agricultural cooperative in the German colony stating they have increased substantially and have many more employees nowadays. This was a key condition for them to return for they would have a place to work and provide for their existence in their German colony, but not base on agriculture, but on the qualification they had already obtained. The informant’s husband is currently working at the cooperative and she is currently waiting for a position there. It can be observed the importance of this non-human event carrier in the biographical development of the incumbent. This institution provided financially for her grandparents and parents’ existence, provided her with the possibility to attend a private school where she learned German, essential pre-requisite to accessing IFPA, and it was also where she was exposed to information about the vocational school. Later, it also played a key role in her life, given that it enabled her return to the Germany colony to continue with the culture upon which she developed her identity. The informant is currently following an already dominant institutional expectation pattern in her biography. She is going to re-start college for she still needs to finish a few courses before graduating and she intends to have a child soon as well. Jessica ends her main narrative with a final evaluative statement that is certainly related to an entire assessment of her biographical development, more specifically, “We don’t want to leave here anymore (,) I want my children to be born and raised here (,)”. She wants them to continue this culture they are inserted in, the Swabian culture.

Questioning phase

31. Financial help provided by the grandparents: Jessica explains that her grandparents gave a house to the family because a one room house was extremely small for a family

with three children, and the family didn't have financial conditions to afford a bigger residence which could better accommodate all family members.

- 32. Experience of attending a private school in the German colony:** A further descriptive narrative detailing providing additional information about the school. Jessica reveals that it offered extracurricular activities in the afternoon and a space for children to play there, which only helped fostering a sense of social integration for the incumbent. Jessica also provides a further descriptive narrative regarding the subjects taught in this school. She mentions there were two unusual classes, culinary and plantation. It also indicates that the school has a curriculum aimed at the inhabitants of the German colony.
- 33. The incentive to speak German since the early years:** The informant provides an argumentative detailing explicating that it was easier to communicate in Portuguese, which was her mother tongue, but the family members forced her and her cousins to use the German language. Jessica makes an evaluative reflective commentary: "I think it was good (-) this/what they did at that time". She argues that it was a fundamental measure to keep the culture present in her biography, which, consequently, became a basic orientation for identity development.
- 34. The dream of majoring in journalism:** Kernel sentence is: "I knew I wanted to do something in the area of communication". She argues she saw how journalists worked on television and that it called her attention. However, the informant also explains that later when she already had the financial condition to major in journalism in a private university she no longer had it as a possible occupational orientation, as it can be observed in her rendering "I didn't want it anymore". It is followed by an argumentative textual section used by Jessica to argue that the labor market is saturated with these professionals and the job offers are limited. She further states "I was already in a company (') (-) so /ehm/ that is why I chose marketing later". It shows that, even though the vocational course chosen by the informant didn't lead to a professional career in the office clerk area, it provided her with a necessary work orientation that was used later to decide on further educational objectives leading to a more concrete occupation.
- 35. The entrance examination at a public university:** The informant reveals that she did it as a safety net, as a last resort possibility. She says "if nothing else worked out (') I would study languages (-) it was just twenty kilometers away from our house". Jessica

justifies her action by stating this could, at least, provide her with a higher education degree. She also defends the idea that majoring in languages would somehow be related to writing, which could essentially be associated to her primary choice of studying journalism.

- 36. The experience of living in the dormitories during the apprenticeship:** kernel sentence is: “it was stressful at time”. Jessica rationalizes that living with many other girls caused conflicts sometimes, but that it also fostered social companionship and avoided any sense of social loneliness. The informant also mentions it was a period of emotional difficulty, as it can be observed in “sometimes I cried a lot (-) because I missed my family”. However, Jessica states that living in a dormitory was very important exactly due to this fact. These other apprentices ended up replacing the family she didn’t have nearby at the time. The informant also makes an evaluative commentary regarding the period “I think I learned to be an adult during this time”. She relates this personal change to a variety of commitments she had while living in Sao Paulo, such as dealing with her own finances, taking care of her daily routine, being away from parental care and being responsible for her own decisions.
- 37. Transition from office clerk to majoring in marketing:** First kernel sentence is: “IFPA is only a trade course (‘) so you need a college degree”. It is attached to an argumentation section used by Jessica to express a self-theoretical commentary regarding her own perception: “trade courses are not really well seen in Brazil”. Then, she makes a contrastive comparison and states that in Germany it is completely different, being well seen. She also states “in Brazil (‘) you must have a college degree (-) by all means”. The informant states that this was the reason leading her to access higher education, which can be observed in her rendering as an obligation imposed by societal conditions. The next kernel sentence is “I chose marketing (‘) nothing to do with=with the office clerk course (‘) but during our course (-) we /ehm/ we participated in many events and I thought /ehm/ wow the marketing done in these events is amazing (‘) I want to work in this area”. The informant states that the exposure to the area in these events led her to look for a private university in Sao Paulo and begin majoring in the area. It demonstrates and confirms that Jessica never underwent IFPA’s apprenticeship to make a professional career as a secretary. It was an important mechanism leading to

further educational opportunities that could then aid her to follow a vocation more oriented on a balance between subjective and objective considerations.

- 38. The reason leading to a private university:** the kernel sentence is: “I couldn’t access a public university (‘) because I had to work during the day”. The informant relates to a fact of many public universities in Brazil, which offer full-time courses that can’t be attended by those individuals who need to work to provide for their self-existence. The informant also provides an explanation regarding the continuation of her higher education qualification. After returning to Brazil, she transferred her major to a university in the state where she currently resides, where the German colony is located. She is currently attending the last necessary courses to graduate.
- 39. The meaning of IFPA:** The first sentence is already an evaluative commentary of the meaning associated by the informant to the apprenticeship she underwent at this educational institution: “actually (-) they offer trade courses”. Jessica states that the course is very demanding, but that it isn’t sufficient in terms of qualifications regarding the Brazilian labor market. She states again “here (‘) you must have a college degree”. The informant perceives it as an alternative-less educational pathway.
- 40. Overall evaluation of IFPA’s impact of biographical development:** The informant begin with the following commentary “IFPA :was: /ehm/ the best decision of my life (,) If I had entered university after high school (‘) I /ehm/ my God (‘) I wouldn’t have everything I do (-) I wouldn’t have learned so much”. Jessica concludes that undergoing IFPA’s apprenticeship as a crucial step within her educational track, but obtaining a higher education degree was necessary.
- 41. Perception of VET in Germany x Brazil:** In this textual section the informant presents an argumentative detailing explicating how she perceived the difference between trade courses in Germany and in Brazil. Jessica argues that “in Germany (-) they /ehm/ they don’t want everybody to have the same /ehm/ how do you call it (?) /ehm/ the same level of education”. The informant continues her rationalization providing her discernment of higher education “it is for people who want to study more (‘) in the past it was for the=the elite (‘) but nowadays here (-) in Brazil /ehm/ everyone goes to college (,) Everyone must have a college degree (,)”. Jessica further assumes that it as a problem because everyone is going to have the same qualification one day, and that trade course should be better seen due to the fact that not every individual wishes to

enter university. In a last self-theoretical commentary about the issue, the informant states: “if you don’t have a college degree here (‘) they don’t even call you for a job interview (,) It is a problem here in Brazil (,)”.

- 42. Explicating the higher predicate “I believe the cycle is closed”:** The informant argues that it represents their return to their place of origin. She believes all educational and professional steps were taken elsewhere and now she was back where she should be at.
- 43. The image associated to IFPA by the informant:** Kernel sentence is: “I think IFPA has a good image”. It is attached to a justification, in which the interviewee utters that her classmate who also IFPA have “very :good: positions”. This last higher predicate is associated to the fact that IFPA is well seen by the companies, argues the informant. It is followed by another argumentative narrative detailing using a comparison with Germany. Jessica says “in Germany it’s very common (‘) but in Brazil it is special (,) there has existed for a long time (-) this dual system (,) But here /ehm/ it=it is special”.
- 44. Considering other vocational schools as an alternative:** Jessica argues: “No, I didn’t even consider it”. She justifies that she wished to enhance and use her German language command and apply it at work, and IFPA was the only option she had that could fulfill this desire. The next is an evaluative commentary about a hypothetical scenario regarding the informant’s educational development: “If I hadn’t gone to IFPA (‘) I wouldn’t have gone to another trade school (,) (-) I’d have gone to college then (,)”. The informant rationalizes that it wouldn’t provide her with any kind of distinctiveness, and that she would only have a short trade course qualification that wouldn’t help her later, as it can be seen in her rendering: “normal trade courses are not helpful (,) It wouldn’t help me with my education (,) (-) Maybe it is good for other people (,) /ehm/ I wouldn’t do it (,)”. The interviewee argues that her trade course at IFPA, office clerk, exists in other regular trade schools in Brazil as well, but they are not aimed at someone who intends to enter college. The following kernel sentence is: “being a secretary (-) /ehm/ it never was my dream (-) the dream of my life (,)”. Jessica explicates that she only underwent the office clerk apprenticeship at IFPA because she didn’t have another option to focus on the German language.
- 45. Self-theoretical commentary regarding VET in Brazil:** Kernel sentence is: “the :normal: trade course here (-) lasts two years too (,) /ehm/ it takes the half of (-)

the=the time a college degree takes (,) (-) :But: /ehm/ in my opinion (‘) it is not recognized (,) There is this barrier here in Brazil (,) In Germany there is no problem (,)”. Jessica believes regular trade courses have a negative reputation in Brazil and it justifies the reason she didn’t even consider this educational possibility.

46. Confrontation with social world regarding IFPA: Kernel sentence in this textual section is: “but /ehm/ people asked me sometimes (‘) why did you go to a trade school and not to college (?) (-) It would take only two more years (,) Why (?)”. The informant presents the rationalization she used to confront her social world and any enquiries regarding her educational pathway choice. Jessica argues that IFPA is special for the reason that she could enter a company and the apprenticeship was in German. She states “these are the arguments you can use to justify why you did it”. The informant also mentions another important commentary reflecting on this confrontational matter, as it can be observed in: “In Germany nobody asked me about my trade course (‘) but to other people here in Brazil (‘) I had to explain what it was /ehm/ what I did (,) IFPA isn’t very popular here (,)” It can be observed that individuals that belonged to her social frame were surprised with her choice regarding an educational pathway post-high school. She is trying to imply that it wasn’t expected. In addition, it can be observed that the perception of a duality structure within the Brazilian educational system is perceived by different individuals, regardless of their socioeconomic background.

47. Perception of IFPA and a comparison to other secondary level VET schools: The informant firstly begins stating that “I don’t want to have any prejudice against anybody (‘) but /ehm/ people who go to IFPA (-) are people who can speak German (,) And they come from middle and upper class (‘) except for us (-) who come from German colonies (,) (-) But regular trade courses are for people from lower classes”. Jessica further justifies her self-theoretical commentary and says that these socioeconomically underprivileged individuals don’t have a high income and seek this type of secondary level VET to be able to enter the labor market and provide for their families. She also assumes it is aimed at individuals who already have a family and didn’t have the opportunity to attend college. In a last evaluation, Jessica mentions another higher predicates: “IFPA is not only a trade course. She claims that it can offer you another language, an apprentice’s salary, and the possibility to enter the labor market.

- 48. The daily routine at IFPA:** Kernel sentence is: “there (-) we stayed only in our group of people from the German colonies (,) We didn’t mingle with the folks from Sao Paolo (,) (-) :They:=they were different”. Jessica provides as reason for her higher predicate and says that they were from a higher class and they also didn’t want to mingle. Social segregation within the school can be observed in the rendering of the informant, and helps understating her utterance: “I felt like a fish out of water there”.
- 49. Leaving significant others to live in Sao Paolo:** Kernel sentence is: “I missed home and the boyfriend”. The incumbent had to leave significant others behind to be able to go to IFPA in Sao Paolo. Jessica argues the beginning was very overwhelming, as it can be seen in: “sometimes I felt like giving up (-) and drop out”. The informant points out that the lack of financial resources helped deteriorating her situation, given that she couldn’t go back to visit due to a very tight budget and the absence of parental financial help. She states that her parents couldn’t help her financially, and it left her essentially isolated in Sao Paolo.
- 50. The relationship to the teachers at IFPA:** The informant evaluates it positively and negatively, demonstrating mixed feelings about the matter. The kernel sentence used by the informant in this textual section is: “with some it was good (‘) but with others complicated (,)”. She justifies it based on the example of the teacher she had most of her classes with. Jessica complains about her lack of cultural awareness and an apparent self-imposed barrier that inhibited her from learning about the Brazilian culture. Jessica evaluates: “she was really German and it was (-) oh my (-) it was very difficult very her”. The interviewee explains that this clash of cultures was enormous and the teacher even ended up returning to Germany later.
- 51. Motives explaining the office clerk apprenticeship choice:** Kernel sentence is: “I wanted to focus more on the language (,) (-) And at the time /ehm/ I remember they said they wanted people to do this apprenticeship specifically (‘) because /ehm/ only a few people were interested (-) and there were open vacancies (,)”. Two reasons can be observed in the informant’s rendering, namely, a more subjective one focused on the desire to improve her German language command, which she identified with, was part of her identity development, and would be used in her vocation later. Another motive is related to a fear of not being admitted at IFPA, which would then leave have with a very restricted educational pathway margin.

52. Motives to access higher education: Kernel sentence is: “I didn’t go to college after that because :I: needed more knowledge (,) I needed a college degree (,)”. The informant rationalizes that it is needed in case one wishes to grow professionally in a company in Brazil. Jessica also makes reference to a fear regarding future employability. She says “if I decided to change the company (‘) I would need a college degree (,) (-). The influence of other actors within her social arenas at the time can also be clearly observed in her rendering: “the majority of my colleagues at work had a college degree too”.

(4) Structural description of non-intensive case (4): John Taylor

1. Family milieu in a descriptive narrative detailing: The informant opens his interview preamble providing a description of an important social frame, namely, his family milieu. John opens with the need to clarify a clash of socioeconomic classes within his family, which essentially constituted two distinct social arenas in the biography of the incumbent. The informant uses the following kernel sentence to address to topic: “the origin of my mother’s family is very different from my=my father’s family”. It is followed by a descriptive narrative detailing about both families. His father is from Sao Paolo and is a descendant of Italian immigrants. John describes his father’s family as middle class, conservative, and traditional. His mother’s family is portrayed as the opposite of his father’s. The informant’s mother is from the northeast part of Bahia, one of the poorest regions of Brazil, and she has nine siblings. John descriptively narrates about the event that led his mother’s family to emigrate to Sao Paolo. He explicates that it occurred due to a trajectory of illness, and that the family never returned home, in an attempt to achieve upward mobility in a huge metropolis. The informant makes a biographically evaluative commentary regarding the description of these social arenas: “These two contexts /ehm/ they had an impact on my life (-) you will see”. The following is a continuation of the description of this important social world. John provides a narrative about his mother, who is a clear life-counseling role-model. His father, on the other hand, is depicted as more distant and not open to discussing determined issues. The informant’s mother worked for a popular airline in Brazil for 28 years, and his father has worked for a chemical company for 32 years; where he is cur-

rently a consultant. John also descriptively narrates about how his parents met, more specifically, during the preparatory course for the higher education entrance examination.

- 2. The incumbent's first elementary school:** The kernel sentence in this textual passage is: "I attended a small private school (-) where I lived in Sao Paolo". It is attached to a narrative detailing used by the informant to explicate that he left this school after the 4th grade of elementary school. The following is a description of this social arena. John depicts it as an unknown, unpopular school. In fact it serves as a background construction to explicate a constant occurrence that served as a source of irritation for the incumbent. John states: "I remember :that: when I saw my father's family (') at that time (-) I had uncles who were millionaires (-) very rich and so on". It is told by the informant in order to explain how he had to confront and deal with two social worlds in his biographical development, respectively, a more socioeconomically underprivileged context related to his mother's family and a more privileged one to his father's. John reveals the reason for the background construction by arguing his wealthy cousins always asked him about his school, as it can be observed in his rendering "oh my God (-) which school is it (?)". It can be noticed that there is an apparent social segregation within the family and the informant felt awkward and ashamed when confronting other actors of this privileged socioeconomic background. The informant's next kernel sentence is rather evaluative: "when I was with my mother's family (') it was/it was different". It is a clear indication of the difficulty the incumbent had circulating between these two social arenas. It might also have been challenging for the identity development of the incumbent, who seemed to be confused and irritated about an apparent segregation within the family. This led to a sense of unfairness and frustration because he had to constantly explain an educational decision he didn't necessarily make. In addition, the informant might also have questioned himself about the need for his rationalizations. This narrative unit ends with an evaluative statement indicating a shift in his orientation within these two social arenas, namely: "when I was younger (') I felt better with my father's family (') but now I identify more with my mother's family (,) This is kind of funny (,)". However, the informant does not further justify the reason leading to this change, which is indicated in the

higher predicate used in his statement. The informant's rendering becomes laconic after this evaluation.

- 3. The informant's family's educational scheme:** The kernel sentence in this textual passage is: "My parents /ehm/ knew :that: my first small private school would be only until the end of elementary school (,)" . It is attached to an argumentative narrative detailing elucidating the motives for this action scheme. John argues that they wished to search for another educational establishment where he could attend a high-quality high school that could offer a better preparation to follow a more propaedeutic educational pathway by passing the higher education entrance examination and, as a result, begin attending tertiary education. It is a clear reoccurrence of his parent's educational pathway development, who attended high school, did a preparatory course and then accessed higher education. The following kernel sentence is: "My parents decided to send me to Humboldt". It is followed by an argumentative detailing stating this decision was made on a purchase opportunity, given that the educational institution was located near the informant's residence. The last passage is a background construction: "My parents made efforts to afford this expensive private school". The informant argues that his parents insisted on him attending this school that would certainly prepare him for the entrance examination of a public university.
- 4. Description of another important social arena:** This narrative unit is used by the informant to describe and assesses the expensive private German school in which his parents decided to enroll him, where John attended the rest of his elementary school and high school. The first kernel sentence is related to the school location: "it used to be located in Largo do Treze (-) a poorer neighborhood (') and my classmates and me too (-) we were afraid of the neighborhood". It was another social frame where the informant could observe a clash of socioeconomic classes. The informant also demonstrates a determined anxiety regarding the matter. The following kernel sentence in this textual section is: "I didn't make friends there who became life-long friends". It is attached to an argumentative narrative detailing. John explains that they appeared to belong to a different world, a higher predicate referring to a clear socioeconomic difference between the incumbent and the other actors of his social world.
- 5. Childhood and the informant's social loneliness:** The kernel sentence in this textual passage is: "My friends are from the=the countryside of Sao Paulo". It is followed by

the explication that the informant's parents have always gone to a little town in the countryside of Sao Paolo on weekends, town where the informant met his girlfriend who later became his wife. This is used as a background construction to elucidate a social isolation experienced by the informant during his childhood in Sao Paolo, as it can be observed in his rendering: "my childhood in Sao Paolo (-) it was /ehm/ I was locked the whole time". John explains that the family lived in a small residence in a district where he didn't know anyone and didn't have any friends. It demonstrates a social isolation during this period of the informant's biography, which inhibited socialization and the construction of relationships with significant others such as friends and peers. The last evaluative statement justifies the background construction: "what saved my childhood (-) was going to the countryside on weekend (,) There :I:=I had friends and could stay/play outside".

- 6. Confrontation of the informant with social actors in school:** The kernel sentence in this textual passage is: "I suffered from prejudice in school (') because of my mum's origin". The next descriptive narrative detailing mentions that John's classmates questioned and commented on the origins of a significant other of very close proximity and importance for the informant, who might have become very defensive and confused whenever having to deal with it. John felt guilty because he couldn't defend his counselor. The next kernel sentence deals with the perception of a social class contrast within school and its influence on the informant's identity development: "I was inserted in a context :that: /ehm/ I couldn't keep pace with". The next argumentative section provides an example of such an influence. John reveals he began caring about branded goods and expensive clothing. Yet, his family couldn't afford them, even though they belonged to middle class. This appears to be a typical development in a teenager's biography, in which the identification with the group is vital. Moreover, the informant was still seeking resolution to his social isolation for the reason that he didn't have friends where he resided and also wasn't yet integrated and accepted in school. It was, conceivably, a mechanism used by the informant in an attempt to remediate a social loneliness. The informant also associates this change in behavior to the influence of members of his father's family. It can be argued that this was a mechanism to avoid having to perceive a difference between him and his cousins, and also a way to estab-

lish a balance that could avoid the need for rationalizations regarding his family's socioeconomic status.

- 7. Motives for attending the private German School:** The kernel sentence in this textual passage is: “my mother sent me to this German school thinking about IFPA”. The informant mentions that there were three possibilities regarding his post-high school educational pathway. He could either attend the German school only in German and do his Abitur, which would allow him to attend university in Germany, or he could undergo IFPA's apprenticeship, or even try to pass the higher education entrance examination at a public university in Brazil. It was part of the parent's educational action scheme regarding the incumbent's development and was evidently aimed at expanding the margin of educational possibilities, which could be hindered by super-imposed structural impediments or even self-imposed ones.
- 8. An important event carrier in the biography of the incumbent:** The kernel sentence in this textual passage is: “before the end of high school (-) I began looking at things differently: (,) I woke up”. It is immediately related to an event carrier in his biographical development, as it can be observed in his rendering: “Max marked my history (,) He was :very: nice (‘) but he had depression :and: /ehm/ he was expelled from school (-) he was punk (,) (-) But he was a very nice person (,)”. The following is a narrative detailing elucidating Max entered the private German school and couldn't integrate in school and the informant was the one who decided to help and become friends with him. This individual appears to have mirrored the development of the informant in his life history, which could help in determining the motive John felt he should help solving this individual's social segregation problem. It can be seen that John might have borrowed self-theoretical approaches from Max and also sympathized with the exclusion he was undergoing at school, which the informant also experienced.
- 9. A narrative and evaluative description of social actors within school:** The informant demonstrates these actors didn't relate to his expectations or ideals. The kernel sentence in this textual passage is: “many used drugs and were playboys”. John argues it only helped not to have any friends in school. This evaluative statement is followed by a biographical assessment made by the informant: “I think that at that time the little seed was planted (,) it is difficult to say :socialism: (-) but in a more human kind of

mindset”. It was during this period of time that the informant began getting closer to his mother’s family. John became more aware of the social segregation in different social arenas, including school and also at his home and family.

10. Social segregation within the family: The kernel sentence in this textual passage is:

“my mother had many problems with my father’s family (-) with not being accepted /ehm/ by them (,) (-) My father didn’t really accept my mother’s family”. It can be observed that there was prejudice against the informant’s mother’s family, and it was during this period of time that the informant began noticing its existence, which began developing a sense of unfairness and irritation in the incumbent.

11. Educational transition post-high school: The kernel sentence in this textual passage is:

“everything was blurry at this time (,) I didn’t know what I wanted to do”. It is attached to an argumentative narrative detailing used by the informant to elucidate that it constituted a period of indecision. However, majoring in journalism was an option, but not a certainty. John began considering the extension of his educational pathway margin. The informant provides a narrative regarding these options. He claims that, as he hadn’t attended high school in German, he couldn’t think about studying in Germany. Hence his mother encouraged him to look for more information about IFPA School, as can be seen in his rendering: “my mother talked to me and suggested I should go to IFPA”. The informant was influenced by his parents from the time he changed his elementary school. His parents decided to enroll him in this private German school because it could offer a wider range of educational possibilities after high school. The next is a background construction, which begins with the following justification: “I already wanted to work at this time”. It is explained by the informant that he had already given guitar lessons to children in his neighborhood by that time, and had used the money to pay for a gym membership for himself and his brother. John began enjoying some form of financial independence and being able to invest in desired objectives without depending on any parental support. The informant continues his background construction stating: “I worked as a volunteer in an association as well”. John explicates that a friend of the family offered him the opportunity to do volunteer work at an NGO. These two experiences, still vivid in the memory of the informant, have helped foster work orientation and provided the incumbent with a taste of financial independence. Thus, John uses these arguments to rationalize his decision to look for IFPA’s

apprenticeship, which would offer him the possibility to continue earning and also acquiring qualification concomitantly.

12. Embarking on an institutional expectation pattern: The kernel sentence in this textual passage is: “I signed up for=for the admission test (-) at IFPA then”. It is followed by a brief narrative stating that the decision was made very quickly. The next is an evaluative statement regarding this post-high school educational decision: “I am even proud of some decisions I made”. The following kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: “during IFPA’s interviews /ehm/ I tried positions at three different companies [...] and I passed at the one that was everybody’s dream (-) at IFPA (,) They only offer one vacancy (,) And there were :forty: candidates”. It is attached to a brief narrative detailing mentioning that the apprentice’s salary paid by this company was the double that offered by other companies. The informant reveals that he passed for this company where competition was fierce and also at another company for which he would like to work.

13. Influence of another significant other in the informant’s biography: The kernel sentence in this textual passage is: “Rob was a very decisive person in my life”. It is followed by a brief narrative description about this individual. The informant makes known that he was the president of the association where the informant had volunteered. Rob appears to have assumed the role of a second counselor and also that of a sort of parent, as it can be observed in his rendering: “Rob came to talk to me as if he were my father”. The following is an explanation of Rob’s influence on his decision concerning IFPA. John reveals that Rob suggested he should accept the offer of the company with a lower income due to the fact that he would almost certainly be offered permanent employment after his dual system apprenticeship, given that the other company didn’t always hire apprentices after the end of the VET program. The next is an argumentative narrative detailing, in which the informant also argues that the first company didn’t offer the job rotation principle of the dual system, in which the informant was interested.

14. Evaluation of practical part of the apprenticeship: The kernel sentence in this textual passage is: “Hamburg Süd /ehm/ it was a school to me”. The informant explicates this higher predicate by stating that in the five years he worked there, he felt accepted and integrated in every department he could work. In addition, he gained work orienta-

tion and experience, which culminated in permanent employment and, subsequently, considerable professional development in the company.

15. The preoccupation regarding the dominant biographical process: This segment begins with the following kernel sentence: “then :I: /ehm/ began worrying about college (,) I thought I’d finish IFPA (‘) and I’d have to go to college then”. John argues that he always wanted to attend college and tries to justify his higher education major choice in the next. The informant affirms that he was keen on studying geography in school and that he used to excel in this subject. The following is a second order background construction used by the informant to state that his geography teacher in school was very strict and demanding, but that he excelled in his classes anyway. It seems that through good grades, the incumbent became an example to be followed as in contrast to what he experienced in his biography during school, namely, being the exception among a specific social arena.

16. Preparing to overcome a super-imposed structural impediment: This segment begins with the following kernel sentence: “then I did :one: year of preparatory courses for the higher education entrance examination”. It is possible to see that the informant had begun repeating his parents’ educational pathway. The next kernel sentence is: “I began reading about it (‘) and I thought the international relations course (-) was a very nice course”. The following is an argumentative detailing explicating the motives that hindered him from overcoming the higher education entrance examination at a public university. John states that he had just begun dating and very often didn’t go to his classes in the preparatory course. Moreover, the informant claims he was attending IFPA and the preparatory course in the evenings, which also seriously affected his performance on the exam.

17. Second attempt to overcome a super-imposed structural impediment: This segment begins with the following kernel sentence: “in 2006 (-) after IFPA (-) I did another preparatory course (,) I signed up for business administration this time”. John justifies his option based on the fierce competition at public universities and the fear that he wouldn’t pass the entrance examination to major in international relations. Business administration required a much lower grade in the examination. The incumbent abandoned his primary subjective-oriented educational objective to follow a more attainable route leading to an undesired profession. Despite having completely

changed his option and adjusted it to a course with an inferior number of candidates, once again John couldn't overcome super-imposed structural impediments that impeded him from achieving his biographical intentions. However, he passed at a private university to major in international relations, a major he personally wished to study, but it would be very costly, given he passed at a very expensive private university in Sao Paulo.

18. Reflective evaluation of private university: This segment begins with the following kernel sentence: "I always divide it into two parts (-) to explain when somebody asks me (,) Before and after PUC". It is attached to an explanation to the vague rendering. John argues that at PUC University he was socially integrated and accepted. There, he met people from all origins and social classes. The informant felt, for the first time, not judged and accepted at an educational institution. He didn't have to deal with explanations nor with justifications about himself or his family. The next kernel sentence is: "there I really got into this social side". The informant began associating with his major and began realizing this was his occupational orientation. Yet, it can also be clearly observed that the influence to study this course evidently came from previous biographical processes lived by the informant in his biography. John had always been accompanied by a sense of social discrimination, isolation and unfairness, being it at school or within his family.

19. A brief trajectory in the informant's development: This segment begins with the following kernel sentence: "I never had prejudice against other people (-) but was afraid people would rob me". John uses this sentence as a background construction to explicate that this fear led to a panic syndrome in his childhood. The next is a narrative detailing this trajectory. The informant mentions he was afraid of being outside, feared being robbed, and constantly thought about the urban violence surrounding him. The informant also constantly watched TV and the news to see tragedy and violence as an antidote, but in actuality it was to confirm the fear observed outside, which only reinforced his perception.

20. Further reflective assessment of private university in Sao Paulo: This segment begins with the following kernel sentence: "PUC was the beginning of my golden years": The higher predicate is based on the friendships and the identification with his major. John argues he was constantly involved with people from different origins in

productive discussions, and had a fruitful relationship with the teachers. It can be observed that this educational institution didn't merely serve as an instrument in an institutional expectation pattern in the biography of the incumbent. It began playing the role of a vital non-human event carrier influencing his identity development and attitude towards conflicting issues in his life.

21. Music as a means for social integration: The following kernel sentence is: “At PUC /ehm/ I don't know :if: I discovered :or: reaffirmed one of the big passions in my :life: (‘) samba (-) samba schools and percussion”. The following is a background construction used to explicate his interest in music. John informs that as a child his mother forced him to learn how to play the keyboard, which he hated. When he turned sixteen he began playing the guitar. John rationalizes that this parental influence towards music comes from early childhood times, when his mother played classic music for him to go to bed. Moreover, the informant's mother sang in choir and his father organized singing contests in the countryside. In the next, the informant reveals that it was only in college that he discovered his true passion for music. He helped found the faculty percussion group at his university, and became the leader of this project. This percussion group also helped shape the identity of the incumbent, who began working in different social projects and began to become even more interested in issues related to social inequalities. The next is an evaluative statement about the social acceptance observed by the informant in this social arena: “I felt at home there and was popular (-) it was really good”. This is again a contrast to what the informant couldn't have in other social arenas, such as his family, neighborhood and previous schools.

22. Reconsidering current occupation: John was still working at Hamburg Süd at this time, the company where he underwent his dual system apprenticeship and was offered permanent employment upon graduation. The following kernel sentence in this textual passage is: “Another important decision came (,) (-) I wanted to leave Hamburg Süd (,) I wasn't happy there anymore”. John explicates the last higher predicate claiming he was too young, and that after six years working for the company, he began realizing this wasn't the occupation he would like to have, as can be observed in his rendering: “I wasn't doing something for society (‘) and I didn't want to work for private companies anymore”. John justifies that he only continued working for the com-

pany because he needed the money to pay the costly tuition fees of the private university he was attending.

- 23. A biographical action scheme to re-steer occupational orientation:** This segment begins with the following kernel sentence: “I saw the opportunity to participate in an exchange program in college”. It is attached to a narrative detailing about an info session the informant attended about the exchange program. John could study for one semester abroad in Germany. Yet, due to a limited offer, he was compelled to apply for political sciences. John explains it had always been a dream, given that he had only been to Germany once during high school. John decided to leave for Germany and it represented to key motive to once and for all quit his job and begin steering his professional development at a desirable occupation based on a subjective assessment of what he considered to be more biographically appropriate.
- 24. Basic biographical orientation gained during development: Kernel sentence is:** “after I began changing and not caring about :brands: and so on (‘) I began caring a lot less about material things”. This is also a probable explanation to justify leaving a company, where he was professionally developing very fast and might be used to confront his social world when enquired about his choices.
- 25. Returns to Brazil after one semester:** The incumbent returned to Brazil and finished the last semester of university and graduated in international relations. John narrates that with the little savings he had made, he could pay the tuitions fees at the private university without working during the last semester.
- 26. In search of continuation of an institutional expectation pattern:** This segment begins with the following kernel sentence: “Then I needed to find a job”. It is attached to a narrative detailing about the events that succeeded this period of time. John states that he received an offer to work for Suzanno, a private company for which the informant wouldn’t like to work. It wasn’t related to a vocational orientation he had developed and also studied for, but the salary was very good and at this point in time John had to care for his own self-existence, which impeded him from declining the offer. Once again the incumbent is trapped in an occupation and setting John no longer wished to be at and also struggled to steer away from. The next kernel sentence is: “But I again realized /ehm/ that was not what I wanted for my life”. After only one year, John left the company and decided to begin a master’s degree in Germany.

- 27. Another basic biographical orientation of the incumbent:** Kernel sentence is: “I’m more of a pragmatic person”. John is keen on solving problems or challenges in an agile way, and is always searching for alternative pathways. In addition, he appears to be an individual that is more direct in dealing with real things.
- 28. The evaluative language of the pre-coda:** John was accepted for a master’s program in Germany, where he is currently studying and living. The informant has recently gotten married and his wife accompanied him to Germany - studying in Germany is also something unfinished in his biography, given that it was one of the possibilities he had when his mother sent him to a private German high school. John assesses the current biographical situation as complicated due to a lot of stress from his university work load and also being homesick due to the distance from friends and family.
- 29. Split coda:** John utters a closing statement indicating the end of his main narration: “that’s my life essentially”. Yet, he continues his narrative with the purpose of making known another important aspect of his biographical development. John reveals that, as his mother worked for a Brazilian airline, the family travelled a lot during his childhood, which has always encouraged him to travel, visit new places and discover new cultures.
- 30. Further description of the father:** Kernel sentence is: “my father was always the teacher at home”. The informant explains that his father is a very intelligent person who he admires for a successful professional development.
- 31. Scene of biographical importance:** John’s mother talked about buying material items or saving to travel and get to know a different place. John uses direct speech to narrate about the episode: “why don’t you save the money instead of buying these tennis shoes (?)”. This is also related to the materialism aspect cited by the informant in his interview.
- 32. Consideration about John’s biographical development:** John constantly finds himself in situations of confrontation with his social world, which has lead the informant to a permanent search for post-hoc rationalizations. In addition, it also calls one’s attention that the informant has essentially lived in polarized social arenas - father’s vs. mother’s family, life in the countryside vs. life in Sao Paolo, his school vs. cousins’ schools, his mother as counselor vs. father as encourager, his expensive private school

vs. poor neighborhood surrounding it, having friends at PUC vs. not having them in school. John has a biographical development that entails permanent contrast.

Questioning phase

- 1. Parents met during preparatory course:** The informant reveals his parents met before the higher education entrance examination at a preparatory course. His father majored in economics and his mother began majoring in mathematics but dropped out. John was born eight years after his parents married and his brother two years after his birth.
- 2. First elementary school of the informant:** This school was attended by the informant from pre-school until fourth grade. John depicts it as a small school, where he had friends and positive memories. The informant argues he received a good alphabetization, but it was a small school that wouldn't provide the informant with possibilities, such as foreign languages and preparation for the university entrance examination. This is an explanation evidencing the need seen by the family to send the informant to another private school.
- 3. A battery of admission tests:** John mentions that, after leaving his first elementary school, he took several admission tests at different private schools in Sao Paulo. It would be the first time the incumbent had to face the possibility of super-imposed impediments in his biographical development. However, the informant passed and was admitted at Humboldt School, a private German elementary and high school. The informant associates the choice of this specific school to the fact that it offered three different possibilities: he could undergo IFPA's apprenticeship, he could do his Abitur and attend university in Germany or he could attend a university in Brazil after high school. The informant also rationalizes that he was against studying at this school because he was concerned with the neighborhood and the appearance of the school buildings – this could also be associated with the panic syndrome developed by the informant in his biography during this time. Yet, John claims that his parents imposed it and he had to accept it.
- 4. Experience of going to the countryside:** Kernel sentence is: “my parents got to know this little countryside town (-) /ehm/ because my father's brother is married to a wom-

an from this town”. It is attached to a brief narrative detailing explicating that his parents decided to buy a little cottage, where the family usually spent the weekend. Hence, the informant’s childhood was very connected to this countryside town.

5. **Parental support regarding IFPA:** Kernel sentence is: “my mother wanted IFPA (‘) but my father didn’t really look for possibilities (,) (-) He only evaluated the options proposed by the mother”. The informant argues that IFPA was a plan initially established by his mother and also influenced by her. It wasn’t a clear intention of the informant, who, as a matter of fact, wished to access tertiary education after graduating from high school.
6. **Martin as an event carrier during high school:** Kernel sentence is: “I met him during a transition phase”. The following is an explanation of this phase. John states that this took place after his parents talked to him about his attitude in relation to branded good and clothes. John became friends with Martin, who began playing an important role in his identity development, and also had an impact on future biographical processes in the life of the incumbent. John describes Martin as an individual that didn’t care for material things and who suffered a lot of prejudice at school, being even expelled because he didn’t want to comply with certain rules. The informant makes a clear statement indicating the importance of this event carrier in his identity development, as it can be seen in his rendering: “this guy opened my eyes (,) I sympathized with his problems”. It wasn’t only a friendship. It was also a social relationship that mirrored the biographical developments of the incumbent who felt connected and associated to Martin. .
7. **Motives leading to proximity with mother’s family:** Kernel sentence is: “we almost never visited my mother’s family (,):And: we always were in contact with father’s family”. The informant rationalizes that only after he began growing up could he notice that there was segregation in the family in relation to his mother’s family, their social class and origin. Second kernel sentence is: “my father didn’t accept it (‘) and it was something really sad that happened in our house”. The informant provides an example to justify his evaluation. John states that whenever his maternal grandmother came to visit, she had to sleep in a tiny little room that was used by their maid. The informant also feels guilty about it and believes to have treated his grandmother in the

wrong manner, being impolite at times, due to this influence coming from his father and his father's family.

- 8. Crisis in the parents' relationship:** The informant narrates about a turning point in the social segregation lived within his family, which also affected his development. John descriptively narrates about an event leading to a near divorce of his parents, in which his mother demanded better treatment of her family. This was an important episode opening the possibility for the incumbent to establish a closer relationship with his mother's family. The informant has this issue with father considering this social exclusion, but his father also likely experienced the same confrontation with his social world when he began a relationship with his wife.
- 9. The decision to major in journalism:** Kernel sentence is: "since I was a child /ehm/ I've always like writing". The following is an argumentative detailing explicating the motive which led him to opt for this major in college. John says that his mother still keeps poems and texts he has written and that teachers have always given him compliments on his writing ability. The informant also argues he always enjoyed geography, and that he was interested in international reportages. Thus, he decided to seek work orientation. John did a one week internship at a famous TV channel in Sao Paulo, which only served to confirm this was his occupational orientation. However, the informant didn't pass the entrance examination at a public university to major in journalism. John also makes a commentary about this occupational orientation development: "actually /ehm/ my dream is still to prepare academically and then write articles (-) and publish texts about topics of my area in magazines (,) (-) This is something that is still alive in me". One can observe that the informant hasn't changed his occupational orientation, but was impeded from following this pathway, which consequently led him to opt for another objective alternative pathway.
- 10. A significant other influencing educational choices:** The informant provides a descriptive detailing about Bene, an important significant other in his biographical development. Bene was the personal assistant of a very famous politician in Sao Paulo, who became close friends with the informant's family. John depicts him as a person with a lot of work experience who was involved in social projects. This individuals helped the informant during the decision making process concerning IFPA, and he was also dedicated to writing, something the informant was really fond of and which

also influenced. In addition, Bene came from the same state the informant's mother comes from, he didn't care about material things, and was as intelligent as the informant's father. John immediately identified with Bene, who began playing a sort of parental role in his life and always demonstrated interest in the informant's development.

11. Reason to access higher education: Kernel sentence is: "if I didn't do it (') I would be out of the labor market (,) In Brazil (-) it is like that (,) To be very clear (') if you don't have a college degree in Brazil (') you are a nobody (,) It never crossed my mind not to go to college after IFPA". The following is a rationalization explicating the reasons for his assessment. John argues he was aware of social pressure, and that he needed to comply with certain expectations, as can be seen in his rendering: "in a middle class family (-) the son will go to the best private schools (-) go to a university and graduate (,) Then have a good job (-) buy a car (-) get married and buy an apartment (,) And I was in this context". The informant assesses it as an act of alienation and that the decision to go to college is based on other's expectations, including his parents', his father's family and society in general.

12. The role of the father: Kernel sentence is: "he always supported me (,) He even paid for college when the budget was tight (') and supported my decisions". The informant's father also supported his decision concerning an occupational orientation. However, the father was seen by the informant negatively, to a certain extent, as well for the reason that he assisted in fostering a social segregation towards his mother's family.

13. Relationship in school with teachers and classmates: Kernel sentence is: "folks there are a little different". John clarifies his higher predicate stating that there were many different types of individuals at IFPA, younger, older, richer and poorer. Yet, the informant demonstrates that he was integrated. John also makes a biographically evaluative statement concerning IFPA: "it was the perfect transition between high school and college". He justifies that he would have entered university very early and immature, otherwise.

14. Choosing the logistics trade course: Kernel sentence is: "I chose a course that wasn't related to me at all". He justifies it using a basic orientation: "I always approach things from a more humanistic aspect". John tends to focus on a balance during conflicts and negotiations, demonstrating to always search for fairness instead of taking advantage

of someone, and tends to enjoy humanistic rather than exact sciences. John states: “I chose the logistics trade course because it was /ehm/ at least related to the international aspects that I was interested in”. After all, there was a subjective condition in the informant’s choice, once he tried to connect his option with one of his personal interests.

15. Information about IFPA prior to decision: Kernel sentence is: “I read about the system (-) the companies and so on but superficially”. It indicates the choice was made as an alternative and under pressure. Conceivably, there wasn’t much time to consider other alternatives due to deadlines. His mother’s influence also played a fundamental role in making this process fast in an apparent attempt not to foster any indecision.

16. Considering other vocational schools: Kernel sentence is: “It never crossed my mind (,) actually not even IFPA (,) I wanted to enter university after high school”. It is attached to an argumentation. John states he would preferably continue to focus on a third preparatory course for the examination and would enter college.

17. The perception of general secondary level VET: Kernel sentence is: “there is no culture of doing trade courses here”. John justifies his self-theoretical commentary by arguing that it is related to our society and what others expect of you. The informant assumes regular secondary level VET in Brazil is aimed at lower class individuals that don’t have direct access to university after high school and want to acquire a qualification to enter the labor market. In a second evaluative statement in form of a self-theoretical commentary, John says: “we are in this box (-) only the choice of going to college (,) (-) In schools like the private ones in Sao Paulo (‘) people don’t even know these courses exist (,) (-) it doesn’t even cross their minds”.

18. Perception of IFPA in relation to other educational possibilities: John opens this section with an evaluative statement concerning IFPA as a secondary level vocational school: “IFPA is an exclusory school”. It is attached to a justification, in which the informant says that only those who speak German and could afford a private German school are able to be admitted. John also makes another interesting commentary regarding the less socioeconomically privileged individuals that usually come from the German colonies to undergo IFPA’s apprenticeship: “they didn’t grow professionally (-) let’s say (,) And there is a clear social class difference too”. John mentions he didn’t have a lot of contact with these individuals, which also reinforces the assump-

tion of a social segregation within the school – the same the informant also experienced in elementary and high school.

19. Strengths and weaknesses of IFPA: John makes open statements concerning the dual system apprenticeship he underwent by saying: “strength is to access the labor market after high school”. John explains that you grow personally and professionally in a VET program containing theory and practice concomitantly. As for the negative aspects, John argues the trade course and its contents are weak and use outdated material that is not related to the Brazilian context – this is also related to a fear of future employability.

(5) Structural description of non-intensive case (5): Nicole Bush

- 1. Family milieu of the informant:** The informant opens her interview preamble providing a description of an important social frame, namely, her family milieu. Nicole opens with the kernel sentence “my father has lived in Sao Paolo since his early childhood (‘) and: he is an engineer (‘) but for a long time he has been teaching in college”. It is attached to a descriptive detailing about her father, who holds two university degrees, in engineering and business administration, respectively. The informant’s father works nowadays as a professor at a university in Sao Paolo. The following kernel sentence is: “my mother was born in the northeast of Brazil and moved to Sao Paolo to attend college there”. This first narrative unit is used by the interviewee to present these two significant others with the purpose of clarifying the origin difference between mother and father, one being academic and coming from Sao Paolo and the other one an office worker coming from the northeast part of Brazil, one of the poorest regions in the country.
- 2. The informant’s childhood development:** First kernel sentence is: “when I was born my parents lived in a condominium in Sao Paolo (,)”. The next is a descriptive narrative detailing of this social arena, which made part of her early and later childhood development. The informant lived in this location until she was fourteen years old, which is roughly until the end of elementary school. The following statement entails a higher predicate assessing her childhood as a whole: “my childhood was very good”. Nicole uses an argumentative narrative detailing to explicate she spent a great deal of

time in the recreational area of the condominium playing and socializing with other children. The informant has memories of a childhood full of contact and interaction with other individuals within this social frame, where she felt accepted and which she perceived as very harmonious. The following assessment made by the informant regarding this biographical period is: “this time is /ehm/ I don’t know (‘) it is related to who I am today”. Yet, it remains unexplained during the main narration phase.

3. **The first school in Brazil:** First kernel sentence in this textual passage is: “I started going :to: a pre-school when I was three years old”. It is followed by a narrative detailing about this first elementary school. The interviewee makes known that she attended a constructivist school, where she had to engage in several tasks and activities throughout the day. Nicole attended this school until the sixth grade of elementary school and also enjoyed the same social acceptance and intense socialization in this private educational institution.
4. **Transition to a new elementary school:** First kernel sentence in this textual passage is: “the school was of good quality (‘) but was going bankrupt”. A financial constrain undergone by the educational institution, characterizing an external event, influenced the pathway followed by the incumbent within her basic schooling in Brazil. Nicole and her family were compelled to search for an alternative. The family continued investing in private basic schooling within its educational action scheme of the incumbent. The next kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: “I started going to Porto Seguro School”. The following is an argumentative narrative detailing used by Nicole to justify the motives that led her parents to register her in this specific private German elementary school in Sao Paolo. She elucidates that she is not a descendant of Germans citizens and that her father has a Spanish offspring, whereas her mother’s family is entirely from Brazil. Further motives remained unclear and had to be inquired about in the questioning phase.
5. **The new private German elementary school:** First kernel sentence in this textual passage is: “I entered in the first group of seventh grade (‘) because it was a new unit (-) of the school”. The next passage is a reflective assessment used by the informant to argue that the changing process was rather easy due to the fact that the school and the group were new to everyone, and friendships were beginning to be made naturally, given that everyone involved in that new social frame was a newcomer. The following

is an evaluation of her social integration in school: “there :I:=I made the best friends that I have (,) until today”.

- 6. A new residence and the loss of significant others:** First kernel sentence is: “Then (‘) we moved to a new condominium (‘) and it changed my friendships”. It is followed by an argumentative detailing used by the informant to clarify that the condominium lacked a recreational area that fostered socialization between the children. During this specific period, the school of the incumbent began playing a central role in terms of socialization, whereas the condominium became a source of incongruity compared to her early childhood in the other one. The loss of significant others and irritation in the new social arena marked this process.
- 7. The second loss of significant others:** First kernel sentence is: “In my first year of high school /ehm/ the whole group was changed (‘) :and: my friends weren’t in my class anymore”. Without being asked and choosing to distance herself from significant others, the incumbent was forced to separate from her group of friends, an occurrence which is evaluated by Nicole in a higher predicate: “it was bad”. The incumbent’s social integration became endangered, and it could be characterized as a minor trajectory in her still early biographical development.
- 8. First biographical action scheme:** First kernel sentence is: “I began studying in the afternoon and it was wonderful”. Nicole actively asked for a solution to the undesired turn of events. She asked her parents to intervene and they managed to transfer her to another class, and her classmates changed to this same group as well in order to reestablish the contact with these significant others. The harmony in the socialization within the groups of peers was restored. This change would have determined side effects in the informant’s development, which will be addressed later.
- 9. First experience abroad:** First kernel sentence is: “Then I turned eighteen (‘) and I wanted to travel=to travel”. The following is a background construction. The informant explicates that in the first year of high school at Porto Seguro School, students have the opportunity to go on a trip to Germany. However, she ended up declining it, for she wanted to travel alone. It was the first clear demonstration of a search for independence. The informant went to Germany alone with the help of an external exchange program. In a descriptive narrative detailing, Nicole mentions that it was her first trip alone, without parental supervision. It is attached to an assessment of bio-

graphical importance: “after this trip (‘) I really wanted to begin travelling a lot”. The representation of travelling is being momentarily independent, dealing with the absence of parental supervision and also with a new social arena, which entails unknown aspects and potentially new experiences. Travelling alone to Germany is a clear opportunity exposing the incumbent to an opposed super-controlled social environment in which she spent her childhood and schooling. In addition, it was an opportunity to develop a sense of identification with the German culture, by experiencing it on a daily basis through socialization and language acquisition.

10. Transition from high school to subsequent educational level: First kernel sentence is: “I came back for the last year of high school (‘) :and: many things happened in this year”. It is attached to a descriptive narration of a flux of events that followed her return from Germany to Brazil. The incumbent was attending the last year of high school and was undergoing a decision making process regarding a post-high school track choice, as it can be observed in her rendering: “I had to decide what I wanted to do next year”. The next is an argumentative detailing explicating that she needed to begin thinking about the entrance examination and the access to higher education. The next kernel sentence is: “I wished to major in architecture”. It was a clear occupational orientation focused on a vertical educational advancement, which was the primary post-high school educational objective in her biography at the time. The next kernel sentence within this narrative unit is: “I wanted to study architecture in Germany (-) in Cologne”. Nicole narrates about structural impediments that impeded her from making a vertical advancement abroad. She hadn’t yet finished high school and could only apply in Germany after having received her high school diploma. The occupational orientation of majoring in architecture is related to previous biographical processes that remained unclear and needed to be questioned later in the interview. The next kernel sentence is: “Then I did the entrance examination at a private university in Sao Paolo (‘) and I didn’t pass”. The informant couldn’t overcome another structural impediment and her educational pathway margin became endangered. Nicole reveals the assessment she made concerning the outcome of the superimposed structural impediment, as can be seen in her rendering: “I would have to attend a private prep course to prepare for the entrance examination (,) I hated these courses (‘) :and: I really didn’t want to do it (,) Not at all”. It led the informant to a superimposed self-chosen impediment.

Nicole didn't want to attend a prep course and decided to avoid all the physical and emotional effort that it would be required in order to access higher education, especially in a public university. The next kernel sentence is: "many of my classmates were attending a preparatory course". The informant elucidates that this was the normal pathway followed by the individuals who belonged to her social arena, which she would like to follow as well, but which was impeded through structural barriers and its accumulation with a self-chosen impediment. The informant assesses the outcomes of this accumulation and the confrontation with her parents as difficult, as can be observed in: "I didn't know what to do (') (-) :and: my parents were putting me under a lot of pressure (-) saying I needed to enroll in a prep course to prepare for the entrance examination". It can be observed that the incumbent's parents clearly influenced her to follow a propaedeutic educational pathway leading to a non-manual occupational orientation. In actuality, their entire educational action scheme was aimed at accessing higher education. However, a concatenation of impediments prevented them from seeing Nicole accomplish their expectations, despite all the investment they had previously made.

- 11. A horizontal second order educational advancement:** First kernel sentence is: "after my German class one weekend at Goethe (') /ehm/ they always had these fairs there (') and one day one of the stands was used by IFPA School". The next is a descriptive narrative detailing elucidating how the informant became acquainted with the vocational school and its apprenticeship modality. Nicole claims she didn't know IFPA School existed. Yet, it demonstrates that access to information was vital in the process of finding an alternative to her not-achieved primary post-high school educational aspiration of accessing tertiary education. The next kernel sentence is: "I saw it (') and the trade courses had absolutely nothing to do with architecture (,) nothing". The following is an explanation justifying her choice to try to access the logistics apprenticeship at IFPA. The informant argues that the logistics course called her attention, although she didn't even know what logistics meant. In all probability it was likened to the possibility of working internationally and dealing with international transportation of goods, an aspect that could be associated with the fruitful experience the informant underwent during her first trip abroad to Germany. This would also be the first time that her school change during high school would affect her biographical in-

tentions. She would have to pass the admission test at IFPA first, which demanded a certain level of language command. It can be observed that the decision to undergo IFPA's apprenticeship came from the incumbent, who only later looked for parental approval. It was an alternative educational pathway, which enabled Nicole to continue studying after high school, circumvented her self-chosen impediment, and helped alleviate the pressure imposed on her by her parents. However, she would need to persuade them about this horizontal educational advancement.

12. An institutional expectation pattern: First kernel sentence is: "I passed the test and began my interviews". The next is a narrative detailing about the flux of events during this biographical period. Nicole was accepted at Hamburg Süd and she began her dual system apprenticeship in the cluster modality. She was one of the last one to be selected for the course, and demonstrated to have been rather apprehensive. IFPA had become a potential resolution to the problems she was undergoing at the time concerning a possible school track choice. Not passing the admission phase would mean being compelled to accept her parents' pressure and begin a prep course to prepare to attend a public university, a process which the informant wanted to steer away from at all costs.

13. The beginning of IFPA's apprenticeship: Kernel sentence "I began at HS and I was seventeen at the time". The next is a descriptive narrative detailing about the first weeks at the company, which is expressed by the informant in a higher predicate, as can be observed in: "it was very nice". Nicole justifies it by stating that her new colleagues were very helpful and made the apprentices feel accepted and supported, thereby making integration easier. The incumbent felt connected and accepted from the very beginning. Moreover, even though she had no experience, her new colleagues were very understanding and engaging.

14. Assessment of IFPA as a horizontal educational alternative: First kernel sentence is: "at the beginning I didn't :really: know what logistics was about (') and what IFPA was really about (,) (-) But I forgot about majoring in architecture". The following is used by the informant to justify that this choice was optimal, which is a clear attempt to provide a post-hoc rationalization. Nicole states she wasn't unwillingly attending a prep course to enter a public college and was undergoing VET at IFPA, which was free of charge and also provided her with an apprentice's salary, enabling the incum-

bent to achieve her first steps towards financial independence. Nicole also assesses the situation in: “I went from not knowing what to do to working a few months later (,) even though my parents didn’t expect this turn of events”. The incumbent could also perceive that her parents didn’t approve of a horizontal advancement and had invested in an entire basic schooling aimed at higher education access. Nicole explicates that her parents were against IFPA at first, and said she should focus on a prep course that could establish an educational pathway leading to higher education. The informant’s parents were very skeptical and could only some time later comprehend and accept the educational advancement.

15. The incumbent’s experience at IFPA School: First kernel sentence is: “At school it was very different”. Nicole explains the higher predicate in the following. Firstly, she provides a background construction explaining the difficulties she had to face while attending the vocational school. This was the second time the change in high school, in which she decided to study in the afternoon with the aim of restoring her relationship with significant others, that she had difficulties due to her German language command which was heavily influenced by this change. Nicole felt overwhelmed at the beginning of her apprenticeship due to the fact that classes were taught in German. The complexity of the specific language in the course of logistics became a temporary language barrier for the incumbent. The next kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: “I didn’t have to be afraid (‘) because everyone was in the same boat”. The interviewee argues that other individuals undergoing the apprenticeship also shared the same difficulty. The next kernel sentence is: “I liked the classes and I was getting interested in logistics”. The informant was gaining work and a potential occupational orientation. She was also, concomitantly, going through a process of abandoning her primary orientation, and also underwent a loss of occupational orientation after a concatenation of super-imposed impediments.

16. Contrasting educational arenas: First kernel sentence is: “At Porto Seguro you didn’t have to wipe the board before the teacher entered the classroom (,) At IFPA you had to do it”. It can be observed that, through this comparative assessment of these two social arenas, the incumbent was accustomed to performing such tasks. Discipline and involvement began developing a sense of responsibility which didn’t occur in school; details of a new social arena that contributed to traits of a creative metamor-

phosis of biographical identity. The informant began noticing that she would have to adjust to certain aspects of this new working, adult life to which she had never before been exposed in her biographical development. Nicole continues with another example, as can be observed in: “you couldn’t be late or they threatened to tell the company”. These new responsibilities and involvement have seriously contributed to shape and strengthen one of the informant’s most relevant basic biographical orientations; more specifically, to be correct, orderly, systematic and responsible. However, this was also a condition for internal conflict. The incumbent has always had problems with authority and compliance due to her mother.

17. Perception of the incumbent regarding her peer’s school track choice: First kernel sentence is: “It was also kind of different for me (‘) because all my friends didn’t work”. It is attached to an argumentative narrative detailing used by the informant to explicate that her peers and friends were attending prep courses or already attending college, whereas she was undergoing an apprenticeship that also had a practical part which demanded the apprentice work at a company. This was a source of bother for the informant, who realized this wasn’t a “normal” pathway followed by the other actors of her social world. Nicole suddenly saw her pathway detached from what was expected and perceived as normal by her peers. She couldn’t keep pace with social activities planned by these individuals and socialization decreased. In addition, she had to constantly rationalize her option and also struggle to comprehend and convince herself that it was an appropriate educational advancement. It all can be observed in the informant’s rendering: “I lost a lot of social contact during this time”. Other social actors of her social world also felt confused because they didn’t see the need for entering the labor market at such an early age.

18. Adjusting social relationships and new peers: First kernel sentence is: “It was during this time that I began to date a guy (‘) :that: I dated for four years (,)”. It is attached to a brief descriptive detailing explicating that this individual enjoyed some special parties, where the informant met a classmate from IFPA once. Nicole began developing new friendships and social contacts at IFPA. It was certainly useful and alleviating during this time, given that her high school peers were living a different rhythm and following a different educational pathway.

- 19. Planning post-IFPA developments:** First kernel sentence is: “in the second year of IFPA /ehm/ I did the DSD test”. The following is an argumentative narrative detailing elucidating the motives to do this language proficiency test in Sao Paolo. Nicole argues that this was done with the intention of studying in Germany in the future. Yet she didn’t know concretely when or what. There was a desire to, perhaps, go to Germany after high school in order to attend a university there. However, it was a very vague aspiration. The next kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: “I didn’t pass the language test”. The informant once again restricted her vertical educational advancement intentions, for she didn’t pass the test that would allow her to study in German.
- 20. Parental pressure regarding a vertical educational advancement:** First kernel sentence is: “then in the second year of IFPA pressure came back (,) I had in mind I needed to go to college (‘) so I began choosing one (,)”. It is attached to a background construction, used by the informant that towards the end of her apprenticeship she couldn’t identify with her trade course anymore and wasn’t enjoying working in the field. A new loss of occupational orientation initiated. However, Nicole wanted to obtain permanent employment in the area in order to be able to finance higher educational and continue the process of becoming financially independent, which she had already embarked on.
- 21. Following an institutional expectation pattern:** First kernel sentence is: “then I was hired (,) in the department where I spent a lot of time during my apprenticeship”. The following is a descriptive detailing of this position, which the informant received after graduating from IFPA. Nicole claims that as a permanent employee stress and pressure coming from management increased considerably, as did the workload. The following is a background construction explicating the motives that led her to leave this new job after only three months. The informant claims she was still very young, she also had an unorganized boss, had to work at night due to emergency calls and on weekends as well. Nicole evaluates this process in the following passage: “It started to perturb me a lot”. A trajectory began in relation to work. The informant was very dissatisfied with developments within her still early professional career.
- 22. Vertical educational advancement:** First kernel sentence is: “then I did the entrance examination at a private university”. The next is a narrative argumentative detailing elucidating that two of her best friends went to the same college. The reason for a pri-

vate university came from an already recurrent self-chosen impediment of not having to go through the physical and emotional efforts that would be demanded in a prep course prior to the higher educational entrance examination in a public university. It can also be clearly observed in the informant's rendering: "I didn't want to study like crazy (-) to pass the entrance examination at a public university". The following kernel sentence is: "due to the fact that I had done a course in logistics at IFPA (‘) I saw I didn't really like international trade or logistics and then I found the course of international relations". There is a lack of an argumentative narrative detailing in this textual passage, which needed to be inquired in the questioning phase.

23. Higher education and a new occupational orientation: First kernel sentence is: "I passed the exam and began studying international relations". The following is a continuation of the background construction started in a previous narrative unit, used by the informant to justify the motives that led her to quit her new post-IFPA permanent employment. Nicole claims that she had to work all day long and attend university in the evenings, which she assesses as: "It was killing me (,) This routine (-) I began hating my job". In search of relief considering this trajectory and an apparently inadequate occupational orientation, the informant left her first permanent employment. In all probability, the influence of friends was equally relevant. The informant was undergoing a trajectory for the reason that she couldn't identify with her occupation. Essentially, she had a very stressful routine, she couldn't commit in college, and at the same time she had to deal with her friends and peers who couldn't comprehend the need to enter the labor market before graduating from university. Nicole presents the outcomes of this concatenation of issues in this period of her biographical development in: "I couldn't sleep well (‘) and there was a lot of pressure".

24. A biographical action scheme: First kernel sentence is: "this is not necessary now (‘) and it is not what I want for my life (‘) so I quit my job". The next is a narrative detailing about the reaction of the parents. The informant mentions a scene of biographical importance, in which her mother questioned her decision, as can be observed in: "what do you mean you are going to quit your job? This is outrageous (,) what will you do then?" It is attached to an argumentative narrative detailing used by the biography incumbent to explicate her mother's attitude. Nicole argues that her mother always worked for the same office, where she has been working for thirty years, and that she

values developing a career and committing to work. The informant criticizes her mother's attitude because she couldn't understand her trajectory. Moreover, Nicole assumed that her mother's biographical and career development were also preventing her mother from clearly perceiving the trajectory she was undergoing. The next kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: "after sometime (‘) my mother realized that I was really going crazy (‘) and she accepted". The following is a narrative detailing elucidating the contrast of perception and attitude between her mother and father. The informant states that father was always more understanding of her decisions. Nicole describes her father as someone who values a vocational identity and an occupational orientation development based on the assessment of the subjectivity aspects regarding one's interests. Her mother, on the other hand, is rather focused on the objective assessment of an occupational orientation based on a fear of recurrence of a financial difficulty, which could be related to her own biographical developments in her place of origin, one of the poorest regions in Brazil. The informant clearly identified more with her father than with her mother. It was a very polarized relationship between an understanding party that valued personal cultivation, and another party that, based on a determined sense of fear, valued any sort of commitment that could promote financial independence, upward mobility and the avoidance of any financial constrain. The next kernel sentence is: "I left my job and my life changed (,) it was :wonderful." The higher predicate is explained by the informant on the grounds that she could finally dedicate to college. In addition, she learned how to enjoy reading, and began reading a lot. A cultural capital influence was also present in the home of the informant, especially, through her father.

- 25. Routine during higher education:** First kernel sentence is: "I stayed daytime at home and attended college in the evening". The next is a narrative detailing used by the informant to state that she dedicated a lot in college. It is related to two different aspects: (a) the pressure of parents: she was showing results to her father and especially to her mother, who couldn't fully comprehend her decision to quit her job. (b) a basic biographical orientation of the incumbent: Nicole is correct, committed and above all does not want to disappoint her father.
- 26. Assessing her vertical advancement:** First kernel sentence is: "I was :loving: college". The incumbent felt socially accepted, even though she also possesses the orien-

tation of being rather reserved and shy. She was finally out of the trajectory caused during the first months of concomitant labor and higher education attendance. She had found a new hobby of reading and dedicating, committing to her goals. Nicole could finally apply her biographical orientation of being a dedicated and committed person to a systematic objective within an organized environment over which she had full control. This was the opposite environment to what she had in her first permanent employment, where she had a sloppy boss and a chaotic department with a huge workload.

27. An occupational orientation from a vertical advancement: First kernel sentence is: “I dedicated a lot (-) because I wanted to be a diplomat”. It remains unexplained though, and also needed to be inquired about in the questioning phase of the autobiographical interview.

28. Losing financial independence as a mechanism ending a trajectory: First kernel sentence is: “I wanted to travel but I didn’t have any money (‘) I didn’t have a job”. It is attached to a narrative detailing and assessment of how her parents promoted financial responsibility at home. Nicole argues that her parents always gave her what she wished for, but within certain limits. She states: “they gave me only the necessary”. As Nicole still wanted to travel, but didn’t have sufficient capital to accomplish her intentions, she decided to embark on a biographical action scheme that could help promote these aspirations. The following kernel sentence is: “then I found a job as a receptionist at a bank (-) in a newspaper ad”. It is attached to a descriptive detailing stating that it was a part time, temporary job, which wouldn’t interfere with college and that had as a goal to provide the biography incumbent with enough financial means that could enable her to travel to a different country and explore the local culture. The informant assesses this process as: “it was a nice experience (‘) but I don’t know /ehm/ I didn’t learn anything “. Nicole argues that people were difficult to work with, and they treated her “as a receptionist”. The following is a scene of biographical importance that marked this biographical process and the assessment of the incumbent regarding this temporary employment. Her boss treated her badly, or as the informant describes “as a nobody”. It was a wake-up call for the incumbent, who decided she would never experience this again. This episode also helped her establish she would

dedicate and commit to higher education in order to avoid any situation like that in her professional development later.

- 29. Orientation of the incumbent regarding social contacts:** First kernel sentence is: “I met this other receptionist (‘) :and: /ehm/ we became close friends”. The following is a description of this individual, who the informant portrays as intelligent and organized. The incumbent has an orientation of seeking out other individuals who share a similar biographical orientation, with whom she can identify and also share self-theoretical commentaries and experiences within biographical processes.
- 30. Travelling as a biographical intention:** First kernel sentence is: “I left the job at the bank to go travelling”. The next is a narrative detailing. Nicole went on a one month trip in South America with her, at the time, boyfriend. She evaluates it with the help of a higher predicate: “it was wonderful”. The informant left Brazil to travel a continent she didn’t know well and saw several locations she had never visited before. This trip also helped the informant shape an occupational orientation focused on developing studies regarding Latin America. It was the first trip financed with her own effort. Nicole had to work and plan it essentially alone, thereby discovering this independence that she no longer wanted to abandon.
- 31. Returning to Brazil:** First kernel sentence is: “I came back and continued with college”. The following is a narrative detailing of the events she followed the end of her trip in South America. The next kernel sentence is: “then my boyfriend went to Australia to study there (‘) and we broke up”. Nicole rationalizes that the relationship was already going badly and it was the point culminating in its termination.
- 32. A new job within an institutional expectation pattern:** First kernel sentence is: “then (‘) in the middle of college /ehm/ I wanted to find a job in my area”. This would be the first time the informant would gain work orientation within the area of her vertical educational advancement. Nicole began working at FIESP in the area of international relations. She describes this period of time and experience as fruitful, even though she had difficulties adjusting with her new supervisor, as it can be observed in: “My boss was crazy”. It was the third one she had problems with.
- 33. A new relationship:** First kernel sentence is: “I met a guy at work and we began going out”. The following is an argumentative narrative detailing rationalizing the motives that led to end of the relationship with her ex-boyfriend. The informant argues

that her boss at FIESP had begun an important event carrier in her development at work and her boyfriend constantly spoke ill of her, which began causing distress in the relationship. Hence, the informant found it easier to begin a new relationship after her first boyfriend left for Australia. Nicole began sharing the same friends with her new boyfriend, within a single social arena, which made the relationship easier.

34. Contrastive evaluation of work orientation: In this brief narrative unit Nicole make an assessment comparing her apprenticeship at the company and working in the area of international relations later. She gained work orientation and began realizing that the area of her vertical educational advancement truly constituted a potential for an occupational orientation. The incumbent's experience at HS working in the area of logistics didn't contribute to an occupational orientation, mainly due to a lack of organization and inflexibility, which were conflicting aspects regarding basic biographical orientations of the incumbent, who didn't like imposed rules with aspects of irrationality – also seen in her mother. Nicole had difficulties dealing with intolerance coming from the company.

35. Travelling alone for the first time: First kernel sentence is: “During vacation from the new job I decided to travel again (‘) but alone”. The informant explains that she had never before had the opportunity to travel alone, an experience which would enable her to decide without interference about the plans concerning this experience. This was a crucial event in the process of independence the informant was undergoing. It was a considerable transition, from a protective atmosphere in condominiums where she was raised and the private school where she felt protected and safe. The next kernel sentence is: “I decided to go to India”. The next is a narrative detailing about her mother's reaction. Nicole mentions that her mother strongly disapproved of her intention. This authoritarian attitude against her desires had also helped the informant to develop an image of a lack of support coming from her mother, who couldn't understand her point of view. This trip to India served as an event carrier that helped shape the identity as well as the affirmation of the informant's independence.

36. Next trip within South America: First kernel sentence is: “then in 2008 I went to Peru”. The next is an argumentative narrative detailing used by Nicole to explicate that she was interested in countries with peculiar cultures. She was still discovering “the new” in different social arenas, as opposed to the obvious she had always been ex-

posed to during her childhood, when she lived in more limited social arenas controlled by the parents.

- 37. The orientation based on trips within South America:** First kernel sentence is: “then in 2009 (‘) I was :really: studying about Latin America (‘) and I entered a study group”. It is attached to narrative detailing containing information about the foundation of the group that was composed by individuals from two different colleges who met on a regular basis to discuss topics related to Latin America. This group became a vital event carrier in the informant’s occupational orientation as well as identity development.
- 38. Following trip within an occupational orientation:** First kernel sentence is: “then we went to Bolivia”. In the following the informant describes that this trip was aimed at doing research in this country. It would be the first direct trip aimed at the area which would later become her main occupational orientation...becoming a professor and working in the field of research.
- 39. A human event carrier during higher education:** First kernel sentence is: “in college /ehm/ I met a professor that made me /ehm/ fall in love with economics”. Nicole explains that this individual triggered her interest in economics and above all becoming a professor one day. This professor played two crucial roles in her biographical development, namely, a father figure role and a vocational-identity model. The informant mentions in a descriptive narrative detailing that this professor also studied Latin America and was passionate about his job. This is also the profession of the informant’s father. Nicole suddenly lost the orientation and intention of becoming a diplomat and began developing a pathway leading to a teaching career, which was heavily influenced by this professor and her father as well. The process experienced by the informant helps determining the influence of significant others and human event carriers in her life history. They had a tremendous influence on her occupational orientation and it, as a result, had an impact on the school track, educational choices made by the informant. Firstly, she aimed at making a vertical educational advancement with the intention of becoming an architect, later she wished to become a diplomat, and after that a professor. Being exposed to socializations processes, different social arenas, and individuals’ self-theoretical commentaries have impinged her occupational orientation.

- 40. The occupational orientation development:** First kernel sentence is: “then I began liking academic research”. It motivated the informant to actively look for a research program in college, in an attempt to gain work orientation and a better clarity of a vocational identity. The following is an argumentative narrative detailing used by Nicole to explicate that at FIESP she disliked all the organizational aspects that being a diplomat involved. She made a change in her occupational orientation based on the influence of significant others. Yet, it is also plausible that she created another self-chosen impediment to avoid the very difficult exam to access the diplomat school.
- 41. Occupational orientation post work orientation experience:** First kernel sentence is: “then I decided I want to be academic (‘) (-) and wanted to do a master’s degree (‘) /ehm/ I wanted to be just like my professor”. The following is a rationalization explicating this choice. Nicole argues that she would follow an academic pathway and would then teach in the college where she studied and met her professor due to the fact that she also wished to inspire the biographical development of others, the way that professor did hers. This has become an important part of her identity development, which began being developed during her trips. In India she also had a moment of metamorphosis, in which she began noticing how the perception of others may color your own attitude. The following kernel sentence is: “I began thinking /ehm/ what can I do to change society around me (?)”. Nicole argues that teaching would be a feasible way to accomplish her biographical intentions of becoming an influential person to others. She defines and associates teaching with social work, based on the aspect that one is helping others to develop personally and in terms of occupational orientation.
- 42. Abandoning an old orientation and quitting her job:** First kernel sentence is: “I decided to quit my job at FIESP”. The next is a narrative detailing about her mother’s reaction. Nicole states that she once again disapproved of the idea in general, but accepted the decision given that the incumbent was earning very little in her job at the time.
- 43. Continuing to follow an institutional expectation pattern:** First kernel sentence is: “then I began looking at several master’s programs (-) that I could try to enroll in”. It is followed by a descriptive narrative detailing, in which the informant reveals she applied at three different universities and would have to go through a selection processes. The informant applied for a master’s program focused on integration within Latin

America and another one related to energy production at the public university of Sao Paolo. Once again her father played the role of significant other and also of a vocational-identity model. He was the person who influenced the incumbent to follow an academic pathway in the area of energy production, which involved a completely different field of study than the one in the area of human sciences Nicole had already developed.

- 44. The master's degree in energy production:** First kernel sentence is: Then I passed to do a master's in the area of energy". The following is an explication that her father is an engineer and understands the area of energy. In addition, he is equally an academic. The next is a descriptive detailing of two different educational fields she was aiming at, namely the human sciences and the exact sciences. The informant criticizes the energy sector and the lack of human contact in this faculty. It was associated to previous biographical process. Nicole had already gone through a trajectory in her life before during school when she lost significant others. The influence of her father was very courageous for it completely changed an orientation Nicole had so far developed. It was heavily driven by the fact that she does not want to disappoint her father. However, it cost her the abandonment of an orientation that had been carefully developed though previous biographical processes, which included the heavy influence of her trips in South America and the study group she belonged to. In the next narrative passage, Nicole continues describing the strangeness it was to be in contact with a completely new area within the exact sciences and how irritating it was to deal with a new social arena and its actors. She described the interviewer as a very boring, dull individual, in her own words "an engineer". Once again she tried to justify a change of orientation – that had already been developed in her identity. It was a difficult yet intriguing beginning, in which the informant struggled to change her identity development alongside a new occupational orientation. Her father simply couldn't perceive, or ignored, what had been so far developed and the influence of FIESP also equally contributed. The next kernel sentence is: "my father had already done the selection process to do his PhD there (') in the same area of energy (') many years ago". It can be observed that this parental influence was heavily influenced by her father's previous biographical processes and the impediments that inhibited him from making this advancement within the academic area of research. The informant's father convinced her

to follow his previous biographical intentions, and Nicole abandoned an identity development that was constructed on a human science orientation.

- 45. Belatedly vertical educational advancement:** First kernel sentence is: “I liked it so much that I decided to major again in physics”. The informant did the entrance examination and passed at a public university, where she studied for one semester. She once again describes the strangeness she had to face to adapt in a completely different area than that she had already previously developed an affinity within a previous biographical process. Nicole says: “people were really different (,) They looked at me and said oh my you came from the human sciences faculty (?) Get out of here”. Nicole explains they didn’t understand what she was doing there, and she had to convince other actors of this new social arena that she had changed her occupational orientation. This process demanded internal and external adjustment. The following kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: “but I drop out physics then (,) I was really enjoying my master’s and wanted to do a PhD”. It is followed by a brief justification that both courses demanded a considerable amount of time because the workload was heavy. Hence, the informant opted to focus on a master’s program only.
- 46. Establishing new relationships in a new social arena:** First kernel sentence is: “this development was important to me”. Nicole assesses the situation reflectively and states that it was a very weird atmosphere at first, but she eventually began making friends and they began helping one another.
- 47. A new human event carrier:** First kernel sentence is: “then the boring professor that interviewed me /ehm/ became my supervisor (-) for the master thesis”. It is attached to a brief argumentative detailing. Nicole explains that this professor knew the topic she was writing about. This cooperation led to the development of a friendship, and this professor also became an event carrier in her biographical development playing a parental role and a vocational identity model. Nicole elucidates that this professor is a descendant of Germans and it enabled both to establish a connection through the German language, which both could speak. This was the third professor influencing the informant’s development, namely, her father, Hugo and Nilson.
- 48. Loss of another significant other:** First kernel sentence is: “then last year (‘) my boyfriend decided to do a master’s degree in Germany”. Nicole uses it as a background construction explaining the motives that led the end of this relationship. The informant

narrates that they got engaged and they intended to remain together. The next kernel sentence is: “then he left and six months later I had vacation and went to Germany”. Nicole explains in an argumentative narrative detailing that she stayed one a half month there and evaluates the period as: “it was wonderful”. She explicates the higher predicate by stating they did many activities during this one month and it was an opportunity to speak German again.

49. Following a vertical educational advancement: First kernel sentence is: “I came back and finished my master’s program”. The following is a brief narrative detailing of the events that followed this process. Nicole presented her master thesis and passed the selection process to begin a PhD at the same university. The next kernel sentence is: “I started looking for options to go to Germany for one semester”. The following is a descriptive detailing in which Nicole makes known she received the opportunity to study for one semester in Frankfurt. She would resolve the distance from a significant other and would at the same time continue following an already dominant institutional expectation pattern. In the next she continues the background construction started in the last unit and argues that she no longer desired to marry. She states: “I was really liking my life in Brazil”. The incumbent was developing educationally and professionally and was no longer sure about this decision.

50. A biographical moratorium: First kernel sentence is: “this semester abroad was difficult”. She explains the higher predicate by stating that it was a moratorium in her biographical development. She had to rethink her relationship, her educational development in Brazil. The decision to end this relationship was difficult for the incumbent for she lost a significant other, disappointed other individuals in Brazil and even her family. The following is a descriptive detailing and rationalization explicating the difficulties of this semester. She argues that her fiancée didn’t have many friends in Germany and life was rather monotonous, for they lived in a city far from Frankfurt.

51. A new, current relationship: First kernel sentence is: “now I have a new boyfriend who is also my classmate”. The next is a descriptive detailing regarding the young man and the affinity they have. Nicole argues they work on the same projects and have the same biographical intentions. Once again Nicole looked for someone who she could identify with in terms of basic biographical orientation.

- 52. The evaluative language of the pre-coda:** the informant begins a pre-coda making an overall assessment of her entire biographical development. She once again narrates about the three most influential significant others in her biography; namely, professor Nilson, professor Ildo and her father. Lastly, she once again evaluates her mother and states they are very different. She also makes a final assessment of her father's influence on her occupational orientation. She states: "it's not like I do what my father tells me to do (´) but everything he suggests fits my needs (,) (-) I don't want to disappoint my father". In the second part of the coda, the informant refocuses on the "here and now" time. She is currently following an institutional expectation pattern. She has just bought an apartment, and she states that: "a cycle closed". She is highly motivated to become a teacher and still is under the influence of the aforementioned three most important significant others in her biographical development. The informant wishes to continue studying after her PhD and does not intend to go back to the industry. The last statement of her rendering is: "my mother asks me sometimes when I will work". There is a clear conflict regarding her mother and a constant comparison between her parents.
- 53. Coda:** The informant utters her final statement saying: "I don't know if I gave many important details – let me think /hum/ (3) That's it".

Questioning phase

- 1. Childhood in the condominium and its relation to identity development:** First kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: "there were a lot of kids there". The next is an argumentative detailing, in which the informant argues there was a lot of socialization with friends in this social arena, and a very heterogenic group, from all ages. It was the first experience with the "different". The informant has a tendency to enjoy new experiences and establish new social contacts.
- 2. The choice of entering Porto Seguro School:** First kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: "this choice was more mine than my parents". The next is an argumentation of her desire to enter this German private school in Sao Paulo and the motives that led her to persuade her parents. Background construction "my friends had already (´) :or: were leaving this school (,) And I wanted to leave too". The next is the continuation of

the argumentative detailing. Nicole states it had to be a school near her parents' home, which also indicates a purchase/offer opportunity. The informant also argues "I wanted to go to Porto Seguro (-) because they had German classes (') :and: I wanted to learn it". The following is a narrative on the two arguments she used to convince her parents, namely, the school proximity to their home, and the German language. The next kernel sentence is: "then I did the admission test (') and I passed". The informant began attending Porto Seguro School near her parents' home and it also marked her first contact with the German language and culture.

3. **The "interest" in the German culture and language:** The interviewer perceives that there is a rather laconic rendering linking the German culture and the informant and is compelled to ask the informant about this matter. The informant's first kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: "actually /ehm/ I wasn't interested :specifically: in the German language". In the next the informant rationalizes she wished to attend Porto Seguro due to the fact that it was different from the other private schools near her residence, given it was the only one that offered English and German.
4. **The transition between residential places during childhood:** First kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: "it was very easy-going". The informant justifies the higher predicate by arguing that the family was building a new house in a different condominium, and her parents had already planned on moving to a new house. The construction took a few years. The next kernel sentence is: "I wanted to go live in the new house too". It is attached to an argumentation used by the informant to reveal that at this time most of her friends were from school and Porto Seguro was located closer to the new condominium where her parents were building a house. Hence, she wished to stay closer to her new friends and also make transportation to school easier.
5. **The interest in travelling at age fifteen:** First kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: "I didn't want to travel to just any destination (,) [...] I wanted to go to Egypt". It is attached to an explication, in which Nicole mentions that it was a present given by her parents because of her sweet fifteen celebrations (is a coming of age party celebrating a girl's fifteenth birthday in Brazil). Nicole argues that she could either go to a traditional debutante ball or opt to travel somewhere she would like to. She also states "it was what everybody did (,) These two options (,) And I thought that travelling was cooler (,)" It shows that the informant was already thinking of experiencing new pro-

cesses outside the comfort zone and parental protection she had always experienced. The informant has lived in very protective arenas in school, in the condominium and within her home. Travelling alone somewhere for the first time was the representation of experiencing the unknown, the possibility to steer events, which she had never had before. Then the informant says: “my parents said ok (‘) but find a friend to go with you (,) Of course :nobody’s: parents let them go to Egypt with me”. The informant explains that her parents allowed her to go to Germany as part of a private exchange program, as an alternative to going to Egypt.

- 6. Motives leading to majoring in architecture in college:** First kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: “my father never told me anything (‘) but I liked to do manual things”. It is attached to other arguments leading to this occupational orientation. Nicole argues she has always liked to make scale models, and the influence of her father as a vocational-identity model. Nicole says: “my father is an engineer (‘) :and: he always took me to construction sites (‘) and always talked to me about construction (,) And I thought it was nice”. The informant also reveals that she made scale models in her childhood, which was also heavily influenced by her father’s occupation. It can be observed that the informant had already biographically developed an occupational orientation that had the support and approval of a very important significant other, her father. In addition, it would be the extension of her father’s occupation of civil engineer.
- 7. Further narrative about a human event carrier:** First kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: “Chris is a great friend of mine”. The informant’s close friend seems to have had an impact on her during IFPA’s apprenticeship. Nicole argues they were different in the vocational school. She argues “I was a lot more strict (‘) I did everything”. This is also a clear basic biographical orientation of the informant; more specifically, to be dedicated, committed and comply with rules and expectations. Nicole says: “she was a person I identified myself with”. It is rather interesting, given that they seemed to have very distinct basic biographical orientations.
- 8. Desire to access higher education in Germany:** First kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: “yes (,) there was a desire to enter college in Germany after high school (,) As a matter of fact (‘) this is what led me to IFPA”. It is attached to an argumentative narrative detailing explicating that she had already gone to Germany during high school within a private exchange program, which was her sweet fifteen present. It was

an experience she wanted to repeat, and the desire to study in Germany began to develop. It became the informant's primary post-high school educational aspiration, namely, to access higher education in Germany and major in architecture, an occupational orientation she had already carefully biographically developed. The following is a background construction explicating one of the barriers that impeded her from accomplishing her primary aspiration. Nicole argues that a teacher who had just arrived from Germany at the time told her "you could try to change to the high school group that has classes only in German (‘) I can do it (‘) but I would recommend that because maybe you won't adapt there". This is a scene of biographical importance for the incumbent, who was verbally discouraged by a human event carrier from accomplishing her primary educational aspiration. The next kernel sentence is: "I didn't want to do a prep course (‘) I wanted to study in Germany". It was a self-chosen impediment by the incumbent, who perceived it would be easier to access a public university in Germany, a country she would like to go back to anyway. Nicole also argues that she still didn't have the high school diploma to enclose with her application, which wasn't accepted by the universities in Germany, given that they needed all the complete documentation. In other words, she was also impeded from accomplishing her primary educational aspiration due to a structural impediment. The next kernel sentence is: "then: (‘) there was this trade fair and I got to know IFPA School there". The next is a narrative detailing in which Nicole argues she would undergo IFPA's apprenticeship and would then go to Germany to study there. And then the informant says: "but my mindset began changing (,) I was :working: here because of IFPA (‘) and I wanted to study here". It is followed by an argumentative detailing, in which the informant argues it would be more difficult to study in Germany due to the costs it would generate and her parents couldn't sponsor it at the time. There was also a financial constraint related to her desire to access higher education in Germany. Nicole's desire to study in Germany came only years later during her PhD program.

- 9. The motives leading to studying international relations:** First kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: "I have always liked many things (,) But not everything was cool (,) I liked the human sciences". The informant argues that going to IFPA, before she started majoring in international relations, wasn't aimed at developing an occupational orientation in any specific area. She firstly passed the admission test and only after

that did she choose a course she could still undergo, where there were still companies she could apply for. It serves demonstrating that this horizontal advancement was a second order choice, and the incumbent simply couldn't overcome a concatenation of impediments, a self-imposed, a structural and a determined financial constrain. As for the international relations course, Nicole says: "I accessed the university website (') :and: saw the courses I'd have to take (-) and I liked international relations more and foreign trade". The next is an evaluative textual section regarding her VET course and the choice made regarding a vertical educational advancement. Nicole argues that after having started college she perceived she absolutely didn't like what she had done at IFPA in the area of foreign trade, and that she would like to develop more in the area of becoming a diplomat. Yet, Nicole saw a determined connection between foreign trade and international relations, for both dealt with foreign aspects. The next kernel sentence is: "but as for the college I chose (') I didn't want to go to a public college (,) Because /ehm/ I'd have to do a prep course". It is a very clear evidence of a self-chosen barrier that has also restricted the informant's educational pathway margin concerning a vertical post-high school educational advancement. Moreover, the informant argues that two of her best friends attended the private university she decided to go to.

- 10. The occupational orientation of becoming a diplomat:** First kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: "when I began studying international relations (') I became super interested in all the courses I had". The following is an argumentative detailing in which Nicole states that she only began thinking about becoming a diplomat after entering college. It came through the influence of the courses and the human event carriers involved in that social frame. The next statement is: "I thought it was a very good profession". Nicole argues the profession represented distinctiveness, high income, and financial stability, and she would be able to travel the world. However, she knew she would have to face another structural impediment of passing the admission test to enter diplomat school, which she wasn't prone to do. In addition, Nicole argues that at FIESP she had gained enough work orientation and began realizing she didn't like the bureaucracy the profession involved. The combination of these two factors led the incumbent to steer her occupational orientation away from becoming a diplomat. The

following is a rationalization used by the biography incumbent to explicate the bureaucracy of the profession and the informant's loss of interest in the occupation.

- 11. The contrast regarding a self-imposed barrier and vertical advancements:** First kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: "I think this is about maturity (,) I think". The next is an argumentative detailing and followed by the provision of another crucial event in her biographical development. Nicole says: "my father forced me to do a prep course (‘) when :I: was going to the last year of elementary school (‘) it was for me :to: prepare to enter a vocational school in high school (‘) which is public". Nicole still vividly remembers that her father defended the idea she should undergo secondary level VET in the integrated modality, in which she would acquire a profession while attending high school, at a public school which was free of charge. In the following kernel sentence, the informant reveals the following: "I was attending the last year of elementary school at Porto Seguro in the :morning: (‘) and the prep course in the :afternoon: (,) :And: I didn't want to go to this vocational school". The next is an argumentative detailing, in which Nicole argues that she didn't want to lose her friends and peers from school for the reason that she would have to begin studying in a completely different school, where she would have to create an entirely new social world. In other words, she wanted to avoid the loss of significant others and the emotional and physical burden of attending a school located far from her parents' home, where she would have to begin developing new social contacts from scratch. She was essentially thrown by her father into a prep course without her consent. Nicole simply had to comply with her father action scheme, which became a source of botheration and inner conflict for the incumbent. In the following Nicole mentions "everybody was going to finish high school and enter college (,) Why did I have to go to a trade school (?)". The incumbent couldn't comprehend the reason for following another "unusual" educational pathway, whereas she realized that other actors of her social world usually followed a vertical educational advancement right after high school graduation. She also reveals she didn't pass the test, which indicates she had already faced superimposed structural impediments in her biographical development. Her argumentative detailing also entails the following statement: "I was always a good student and had good grades (‘) but I didn't want to be the :nerd: that studies a :lot: (-) at that time (,) I wanted to be like my friends (,) Then /ehm/ I passed the entrance examination at a pri-

vate university (‘) and it was super easy (-) I didn’t have to study or prepare for it (,) Nobody does”. In the following, Nicole argues that her professors used to incentivize the students to do research and that was when she began being in contact with the study group in college. The next kernel sentence is: “I wanted to follow the academic area”. She justifies it on the grounds that she no longer wanted to work for a company like she did during IFPA and she no longer wished to become a diplomat. The following is an explanation of the beginning of her occupational orientation aimed at becoming a professor. A human event carrier, professor Nilson, stimulated and influenced her a lot. He was also the adviser in her final paper about energy production, area she continued to follow in her PhD. The next kernel sentence is: “I wanted to do a high quality master’s and PhD program (‘) so I went to USP”. The following is a narrative detailing in which Nicole states she was very concerned about not passing the admission exams, which would again impede her from advancing educationally.

12. The father’s educational pathway: First kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: “my father went to a trade school before going to college”. The next is a narrative descriptive detailing about her father’s education. She reveals that he attended SENAI (a very popular private trade school in Brazil). She also argues he was always very “nerd and strict”, which are, interestingly, also basic biographical positions of the informant nowadays. She also associates her father’s experience of undergoing VET with his influence on her school track choice. The informant didn’t comply with her father’s desire at this point, but later on she changed her occupational orientation to his professional area, after all, the informant’s actions are also based on the orientation that she doesn’t want to “disappoint her father”.

13. The daily routine at IFPA: Kernel sentence is: “:Today: /ehm/ I have a different perception of the school (-) than I had at that time”. She justifies that at the time she was undergoing the dual system apprenticeship it was very tiring, given that it was the first time she had to attend school in the morning and in the afternoon. It was a clear contrast to elementary and high school which takes place in only one shift. Nicole also comments on the strangeness of the new social arena that demanded commitment and responsibility, it can be observed in “I couldn’t be late [...] I had to wipe the board for the teachers (‘) and be on time in the afternoon (‘) (-) it was very strict (,) You couldn’t skip class and so on (,)”.

- 14. Relationship in school with teachers and classmates:** Kernel sentence is: “with the teachers it was great (,)”. The following is an argumentative detailing explicating that she never had problems with the teachers, despite the fact that they were very strict. As for colleagues, Nicole argues that there were different groups in school and describes it as harmonious. The next kernel sentence about this matter is: “there was a girl from a German colony in the south of Brazil (‘) she had more problems integrating (,) She was very shy”. It demonstrates it is not very simple for these individuals to integrate in school, which can result in hybridity and cultural marginality.
- 15. The motives leading to higher education:** “I went to college because here (-) you must have a college degree (-) unfortunately (,). She justifies it on the basis of a fear of future employability, given that Brazilian companies don’t know about the existence of IFPA’s dual system apprenticeship. She continues her rendering stating: “you need a college degree (‘) it doesn’t matter the course (‘) you must have one (,) :And: for me it was natural to go to college (,) It was a natural pathway (-) to go enter a university and have a college degree”.
- 16. The perception of general secondary level VET:** Kernel sentence is: “I think they are great (‘) because you can specialize in one area”. Nicole justifies that these courses are shorter and give you a specialization, which college won’t give you because it is very general. The next kernel sentence is: “I’m glad I did a trade course before college (‘) because I made a better choice of what I wanted to study in college”. It shows that IFPA assisted the incumbent in establishing an occupational orientation. Yet, she argues that she didn’t consider undergoing any other secondary level VET in the subsequent modality, and didn’t even search for information about it. She states: “honestly (‘) I never even considered trade courses (‘) it wasn’t an option”. Yet, she argues that nowadays she has a different perception of IFPA and would recommend it to others.
- 17. Strengths and weaknesses of IFPA:** Kernel sentence is: “strengths are easier (,)”. Nicole argues that it offers you work orientation, specific qualification in a determined area and permanent employment at an early age, and it don’t have to pay for it. She also justifies that it is a dual system trade course in German and it makes it distinct from other regular VET courses. As for weaknesses, the informant argues that there is a lack of offer regarding different courses, which restricts one’s choice at IFPA. In addi-

tion, she argues “people don’t know IFPA (,) That’s also a weakness (,) There is a need for more advertisement”.

(6) Structural description of non-intensive case (6): Christopher Hoffmann

- 1. Family milieu:** Christopher opens her interview preamble providing a description of an important social frame, namely, his family milieu. He comes from a more socioeconomically underprivileged family from the countryside of the state of Goias. The informant was born in the countryside where he had a childhood of constant labor and financial difficulties. At age nine, the incumbent moved to the capital with his family in search of better chances that could provide the family with an enhanced source of income leading to a more solid self-existence. In the capital, Christopher attended the same public school until he graduated from high school. The school of the informant played a crucial role in his biographical development for this educational institution began receiving international students who came to this Brazilian capital to work in Au Pair⁹² exchange programs.
- 2. First contact with a foreign culture:** Kernel sentence in this passage is: “in this school (-) I had contact with a :first: person from an exchange program”. The following is a narrative detailing explicating it was the first time the informant came in contact with a German student who was working as an Au Pair in the city where the informant resided. Christopher explains that a friendship was established and this person began playing the important role of an event carrier. The informant began to develop an interest in the culture, history, and German language. The next kernel sentence is “I became interested (‘) :and: wanted to go abroad too”. The following is an argumentative narrative detailing used by the informant to justify why he became fond of the culture through the contact with this human event carrier. Yet, he couldn’t go abroad because his parents didn’t have the minimum financial condition to assist him.
- 3. Finished high school:** This unit begins with the following kernel sentence: “now I’m more prepared :financially: and :emotionally: (‘) :and: I wanted to go to an European country (,) Not necessarily Germany”. The next is an argumentative detailing elucidat-

⁹² A domestic assistant from a foreign country working for, and living as part of, a host family.

ing the motives that led the informant to choose Germany as a destination. Christopher explains that he would like to learn the language and that he wasn't interested in a country where German or English is spoken.

4. **First experience abroad:** The outcomes of the interaction and influence of the aforementioned event carrier had an outcome on the informant's biographical development. The kernel sentence in this narrative passage is: "I went to Germany to be an Au Pair". Christopher was embarking on this biographical process that in fact was intermingled with other processes at this time of his biography. This was an action scheme developed by the informant to escape from a line of poverty and intensive work he had to perform to help his parents with their small business. This represented an opportunity to begin steering his biographical development away from the process he had experienced with his parents during his childhood in the countryside and later in the capital.
5. **Returned to Brazil and embark on new biographical action scheme:** The kernel sentence in this narrative passage is "I had to go back to Brazil". It is followed by an evaluative statement about his experience in Germany. Christopher explains he enjoyed the experience and wanted to return as soon as possible. Returning to Brazil meant returning to his parents' residence and going back to their small business, a biographical development he persistently wished to keep away from. Thus, Christopher applied for a second Au Pair program in Austria, a country where he could enhance his German language skills. It would be the second biographical action scheme in his biography as an attempt to avoid any contour of events related to labor and financial difficulties in Brazil where his family resided. These two Au Pair programs have certainly played an important role in his biographical and identity development. The informant began relating a lot to the German culture and wished to continue a development that could align with this interest and identification.
6. **A third biographical actions scheme:** Kernel sentence in this passage is: "I wanted to stay a lot (') so I applied for a place at a university of applied sciences". The next is a narrative detailing explicating that he didn't overcome a super-imposed structural impediment and couldn't carry on with educational intention. The next kernel sentence is rather evaluative and represents the failure to set in motion an action scheme: "I was very disappointed (-) and had to go back to Brazil". Nonetheless, Christopher was very strong-minded about not returning to where his parents resided. So he began

searching for alternatives to avoid returning to all the suffering of his parents' lives and all the financial difficulties under which they lived. The next kernel sentence is: "I started to surf the web (,) And I saw IFPA's website (') and they hired interns" Christopher explains that he read about it and saw he could apply for it, and depended exclusively on his own effort. The next is an argumentative narrative detailing explicating the motives that led him to consider IFPA as a possible educational pathway: (a) as an alternative option to not being able to stay in Austria and attend college there (b) It is a German school, which is related to a culture the informant is fond of and feels associated with due to the previous biographical process. (c) IFPA represented a potential educational pathway through its dual system aspect, which offered the incumbent the possibility for employment and an apprentice's salary that would enable him to have a financial source for his self-existence in Sao Paulo.

7. **Signed up for the admission test:** Kernel sentence in this passage is: "I did the admission test and the interview at the company (-) and I passed". Christopher began working at BASF and, as a result, managed to find an alternative pathway leading him to steer his biographical development from a very limited range of possibilities he would have where his parents live and also keep away from a trajectory of poverty which he was exposed to for several years of his biography.
8. **Assessment of social arena:** Kernel sentence in this passage is: "I was different than the others there". Christopher explains the higher predicate by stating that half of them were wealthy individuals from private German schools in Sao Paulo and the other half from German colonies in the south of Brazil. He was none of them, an individual whose parents' didn't have the same educational action scheme of enrolling him in German private schools. The informant was an apprentice from a completely different state and wasn't from to a German school. The aim of accessing IFPA was established and incorporated into a biographical action scheme overlapping with an institutional expectation pattern by the informant himself. The next kernel sentence in this segment is "I was older and I had already lived abroad (,) I had more experience (,)". It is attached to an argumentative narrative detailing in which the informant argues that this was a source of conflict at times for the reason that other apprentices weren't committed and interested in acquiring a profession for the self-existence and, therefore, per-

ceived and underwent the apprenticeship with a different intensity and with another purpose than him.

- 9. Evaluation of IFPA as an educational institution:** Kernel sentence in this passage is: “Not all teachers could speak Portuguese”. The following is a narrative detailing stating that some teachers didn’t treat students appropriately. Christopher argues: “Teachers that came from Germany were the rest (-) that nobody wanted there”. He explains the higher predicate by defining these individuals as arrogant because they lived a luxurious life in Brazil, despite the fact they were teaching at a vocational school.
- 10. Moving to Sao Paolo:** Kernel sentence in this passage is: “I arrived in Sao Paolo :and: everything was new (,) (-) And it was overwhelming at the beginning too”. It was very difficult for the informant to adjust to a huge metropolis; especially given he was born and lived for many years in the countryside. This made the beginning arduous. Christopher assesses this period in: “Sometimes I thought /ehm/ why didn’t I go straight to college after high school (?)”. It indicates that the informant attended IFPA as a second order option, given that a primary wish was to access higher education that for certain reasons wasn’t possible. It remains, however, unclear.
- 11. Post IFPA developments:** IFPA provided Christopher with the opportunity to obtain work orientation and could assist in identifying a more appropriate occupational orientation. Upon graduation he was offered a permanent position at the company where he underwent his apprenticeship.
- 12. Attended university:** Kernel sentence in this passage is: “then I entered university to study business administration”. The following is a brief narrative detailing elucidating the motives that led the incumbent to seek this specific major. Christopher explains that many contents were a repetition of IFPA and that it is somehow connected to what he had previously studied and learned at IFPA.
- 13. Coda of the main narrative phase:** In a much precipitated manner, the informant comes to an end in his main narration and utters a sentence indicating the marker of a coda, namely: “I think that’s it”. Thus, the interviewer has to intervene given that the modus operandi didn’t seem to have been clearly understood by the informant. The interviewee tended to produce a resume-like rendering, and the interviewer had to stop and explain the modus operandi once again, a necessary measure to establish a valid

narrative, especially considering key aspects involving text sort differentiation. The main narration is extremely laconic and the interviewer is unable to comprehend the entire life history, given that there is a clear lack of narrative and argumentative textual sections that could provide a plausible concatenation of biographical processes within his biographical development. Hence, the informant essentially restarts his rendering and refocuses on a more comprehensive narrative.

- 14. Childhood developments:** Christopher reinitiates his main narration with a descriptive narrative detailing of his family. The informant makes known that he has a brother and they had always lived with their parents in the countryside. The following kernel sentence is: “I always had this interest :of: travelling to Rio de Janeiro or Sao Paolo”. Leaving the countryside to work in this huge metropolis had a special representation and potential for the informant. It represented the end of a trajectory of financial constrain and intensive labor to provide for the family’s self-existence. Christopher also mentions that in his childhood in the countryside the family didn’t have TV, radio or internet, and their life was essentially attending a public school and helping their father with intensive labor in the family’s small business. The informant utters an evaluative sentence regarding this period of his biographical development: “these years were very difficult”. Christopher tends to fade out his rendering regarding this matter.
- 15. A preparatory course to access higher education:** Kernel sentence in this passage is: “I did a preparatory course (‘) but I didn’t pass the entrance examination”. The following is a narrative detailing explicating that only after that did he decide to go abroad as an Au Pair volunteer. It can be clearly observed that Christopher’s primary educational objective was to access higher education upon high school graduation, which couldn’t be accomplished since he didn’t overcome a super-imposed structural impediment.
- 16. The interest in languages:** Kernel sentence in this passage is: “At age fourteen I began learning English (,) It was my idea”. This interest in languages was an action scheme thinking of going abroad on a possible exchange program. It can also be inferred that this decision was heavily influenced by the event carrier role played by the German exchange student the informant met at school. The informant wished to go abroad as soon as he could. However, due to a serious financial difficulty of the family, he couldn’t accomplish this desire either.

- 17. The experience in Germany:** Kernel sentence in this passage is: “going to Germany was like vacation”. Christopher elucidate that he finally realized his dream that had begun with the event carrier in school. Yet, after one year, it was time to return and Christopher narrates about this transitional period: “I didn’t want to go back to my parents’ place (‘) to work in that little shop for the rest of my life”. That’s why the informant so fiercely looked for possible pathway alternatives that could steer his biographical development away from this outcome of returning home.
- 18. Interlink of biographical importance:** In 2008, during the financial crisis, the informant was just about the finish his dual system apprenticeship and feared not receiving any permanent employment opportunity. Christopher narrates about the sequence of events stating that he was then initially employed to replace one employee that was going on maternity leave. The informant worked in this position for six months and was afterwards hired to work permanently at the same company. There, Christopher began developing professionally, and nowadays is even leading projects within the company that inclusively demand travelling to Germany.
- 19. Currently following an institutional expectation pattern:** the informant continues to follow an institutional expectation pattern in his biographical development. Christopher bought an apartment in Sao Paolo, and keeps growing professionally in the company where he did the practical part of his dual system apprenticeship.
- 20. Coda indicating the end of the main narration:** The coda is once again clearly enunciated by the informant. His rendering is still very laconic. However, Christopher doesn’t seem to be accustomed to doing biographical work and the information provided by him during this rather short main narration is still relevant. Hence, the informant decided to proceed with the questioning phase, which could still stimulate further narrative that could provide a better comprehension of the concatenation of events in his biographical development.

Questioning phase

- 1. Childhood development in the countryside:** Kernel sentence in this passage is: “it was real countryside life”. It is attached to a narrative descriptive detailing. Christopher mentions the family resided in a small town with 30,000 inhabitants. He de-

scribes routine as monotonous, essentially attending a public school, working with his parents and visiting relatives on weekends. Kernel sentence in this passage is: “there was not a lot of contact with people from abroad (,) (-) Not even from other states (,) we lived in that little world”. The informant felt isolated and mobility was rather difficult in the location where he used to live with his family. Christopher explicates in the following that firstly his father left for the capital and later the rest of the family. The family left in search of better living conditions and a chance to obtain a higher income through a new business, which could provide for the family’s self-existence in the capital. The informant further narrates about the financial condition of the family in the countryside. He states that his father earned a minimal wage and his mother was a housewife. Christopher uses it as brief justification for his conclusive statement in this passage “that’s why all three children attended a public school”. It demonstrates that the family would do otherwise if they could afford it. It is a clear indication of the disbelief of parents in the public educational system in Brazil as part of their educational action scheme for their children.

2. **School in the countryside:** Kernel sentence in this passage is: “I attended public schools during my entire basic schooling”. The following is an evaluation of the languages taught in the informant’s public school. Christopher argues the quality was low and no foreign languages were taught, expect for a very basic, low level of English. This is to justify the reason he had to search for the private sector to improve his language skills. It is also a criticism of the informant regarding public schools in Brazil.
3. **School in the capital:** Kernel sentence in this passage is: “It was bad (‘) because of vandals and of the quality”. It is followed by a self-theoretical commentary “I think it’s worse today”. It is an open criticism of the informant in relation to public schools. To a certain extent, the low level of education he claims to have received there has influenced his biographical development. Christopher wasn’t sufficiently prepared to overcome super-imposed structural impediments that inhibited him from achieving his primary post-high school educational objectives. The following kernel sentence in this passage is: “the preparatory courses for the entrance examination helped me a lot (,) I did two courses”. Christopher attended these two courses for total of two years. During this time, he attended school in the morning and helped his father in the afternoon. It demonstrates the fierce competition to access public universities and also the lack of

preparation of an individual to pass the higher education entrance examination. Even though one has already attended three years of high school, it is still necessary to attend two additional years of preparatory courses where, essentially, all contents taught in high school will be reviewed in preparation for the examination.

- 4. Trajectory for the entire family:** Kernel sentence in this passage is: “It was a very difficult time”. Christopher explicates this higher predicate by stating that during high school the small business the family opened in the capital burned down and the family lost their business, which had to be started all over again. In all probability it was a difficult financial and emotional period for the family. Hence, leaving for Germany was also the representation of leaving behind these constrains. The informant could steer his biographical development in a direction that didn’t involve intensive labor and emotional suffering at home due to constant distress and lack of financial means for the family’s self-existence.
- 5. Getting acquainted with the Au Pair program:** Kernel sentence in this passage is: “I met this German exchange student who was attending my school”. The informant got closer and got to know this individual who became a crucial event carrier in his biographical development. Christopher evaluates this human event carrier as: “it was a rarity (-) the first time I met someone from another country”. It is attached to a narrative detailing elucidating that they became friends. The informant explains that it was the genesis of his interest in travelling abroad. As the family couldn’t afford it, Christopher convinced them to host an exchange student from Germany. This individual stayed at the informant’s parents’ house for one year, which helped to reinforce his desire to have the same experience abroad. This desire was also, of course, a contrast to the social arenas where the informant lived in his childhood. He lived in a very small, isolated town with his parents and had the desire to leave for other bigger cities where he could free himself from that “little world” as he describes in his rendering.
- 6. Motives leading to Au Pair program:** These are the motives that can be inferred from the informant’s rendering: (a) the influence of two event carriers, namely, the first German exchange student in his school and later the one who stayed at his parents’ residence. (b) The informant’s interest in freeing himself from that “little world” he lived with his family, where his social arena didn’t entail any foreigners or individuals from different origins (c) interest in visiting other countries and learning about

their cultures (d) the absence of any costly financial disbursement (e) the possibility to stay at a family's house and take care of their children in exchange for shelter and pocket money that could help him to provide for his self-existence abroad.

- 7. The grandparents' background narrative:** The informant provides a narrative detailing describing his family's background and origin to better depict this important social arena. His grandfather is the son of Portuguese immigrants who married an Indian from a tribe in one of the Brazilian states. The informant's mother had many siblings and they lived from agriculture in the countryside. Christopher's mother was raised by an adoptive family, given that her own family was extremely poor, had too many children and could not afford raising one more child. Christopher's parents met because his father served in the army and was transferred to the state where his mother was born and raised. They married after one year, the informant was born a year later, and his two brothers in the subsequent years.
- 8. Transition between high school and higher education:** Kernel sentence in this passage is: "I always wanted to go abroad (‘) but I needed to finish high school and go to college too". It is attached to a narrative detailing, in which the informant reveals that his father did some repair work for a higher education preparatory course institution and in exchange he could attend the course free of charge. It becomes clear that Christopher's primary post-high school educational objective was to attend university. This intention could be, however, replaced with travelling to another country to explore the culture and experiencing living abroad. The informant wished to enter higher education to major in tourism and the motive which can be inferred from his rendering is its relation to travelling and language, subjective aspects considered by the informant. This primary educational objective as well as the informant's occupational orientation clearly arose from a socialization process with the event carriers that changed the course of his biographical development. The informant embarked on an institutional expectation pattern as can be observed in typical formulaic verbal expression: "I signed up for the entrance examination to major in tourism". The informant couldn't overcome this super-imposed structural impediment, though, which ended up inhibiting him from accomplishing his primary educational objective. Attending a private university couldn't even be considered because his parents couldn't afford it and he didn't have any qualification to enter the labor market in order to provide for his self-

existence. It led the informant to a biographical action scheme, which culminated with two important biographical processes, the difficulties his family was undergoing after a trajectory and also the structural impediments Christopher couldn't overcome that restricted his biographical development pathway margin. Another typical formulaic verbal expression indicates the beginning of a new process: "A year later I was boarding to go to Germany". It is attached to a narrative detailing elucidating that he worked with his parents in the small business for another year and would try to pass the entrance examination again. However, he was admitted to go to Germany as an Au Pair to assist a German family with two children. The informant makes a reflective assessment of this sequence of events: "Today I see it was better not to have entered college back then". He rationalizes that he is no longer interested in the area of tourism and that he wouldn't have reached the same professional development in this area.

- 9. The transitional period between Germany and Austria:** Kernel sentence in this passage is: "I returned to Brazil and did the entrance examination to enter university again". The informant narrates that he didn't even try to access a public university again. He did the exam at a private university and kept working with his parents. With a lot of effort the family could afford a few courses and Christopher began studying after passing the higher education entrance examination. Christopher is following a dominant institutional expectation pattern at this time in his biographical development, and he decided to begin majoring in economical sciences. Nevertheless, as can be observed in his rendering, the informant evaluates this process negatively: "I wasn't very happy". He explicates the higher predicate by stating he was once again intensively laboring with his parents and economy wasn't related to a more subjective assessment of the informant based on personal cultivation, and self-realization regarding his desired occupational orientation. It led the informant to a new biographical action scheme, despite his parents' constant request for him to remain living with them. Christopher once again changed the course of his biographical development, as can be seen in: "then at some point I thought am I going after what I really want for my life". He decided to find one more opportunity to do another Au Pair program in Europe, preferably where he could enhance his German language command.
- 10. Motives leading to economical sciences:** Kernel sentence in this passage is: "I was too young (') I didn't :really: know what it was". It is attached to a justification, in

which the informant argues that he enjoyed facts about the economy of other countries as well as their political system. It can be associated with his interest in international affairs and international cultures, aspects which were intensively strengthened by the two event carriers in school, more specifically, the German exchange students.

- 11. Considering other possibilities post-Austria:** Kernel sentence in this passage is: “I didn’t have :many: possibilities”. The informant explicates that he could essentially only go back home to his parents, where he once again tried to pass the entrance examination to major in tourism. Another typical formulaic expression indicating an institutional expectation pattern can be observed in his rendering in this passage: “I applied for a job at a hotel to gain some :experience: (‘ I did it before the entrance examination”. Christopher looked for work orientation with the intention of using it to make a more biographically appropriate occupational choice orientation. However, it was also during this period of time that he encountered some information online about IFPA School in Sao Paolo. Christopher did the higher education entrance examination once again and this time he overcame this structural impediment and could begin majoring in tourism. However, he also passed the admission test at IFPA. The following kernel sentence in this passage is: “I saw more chances in Sao Paolo”. The interviewee justifies his perception by saying that there were more employment possibilities in Sao Paolo, and that this huge metropolis could offer him more opportunities than only majoring in tourism. Christopher ends this narrative textual section making a statement regarding his evaluation of these two alternatives at the time of decision: “I had no doubt (-) after I passed the test at IFPA”.
- 12. Motives leading to IFPA:** The following motives could be inferred from the informant’s rendering about the matter: (a) The perspective of future employment and professional growth was higher than staying where his parents resided. (b) It represented financial independence through an apprentice’s salary. (c) It offered the possibility to study elsewhere, far from the difficult life of his parents and a place with fewer professional possibilities (d) It was a financial relief for the parents who wouldn’t need to further disburse any help to keep the informant living with them at their home.
- 13. Choosing the trade course at IFPA:** Kernel sentence in this passage is: “I wanted to do the international trade course”. The informant justifies it was related to international matters and he was fond of other countries and their culture and economy. Howev-

er, the company where he was admitted for the dual system apprenticeship could only offer him a vacancy to undergo the industrial clerk course. The informant was practically compelled to accept this trade course.

14. Experience at the company: Kernel sentence in this passage is: “I was very motivated and I liked a lot”. Christopher explains the higher predicate saying that he wanted to work a lot and demonstrate dedication, once he depended on that dual system to obtain future employment that would serve as a financial source for his self-existence and also as a mechanism to continue following his primary educational objective of accessing tertiary education. The informant also makes an evaluative commentary stating that the job rotation could provide him with work orientation, given that he had the opportunity to work in different departments, and after all identify with the ones he had most affinity with.

15. Explaining higher predicate about perception of teachers: Kernel sentence in this passage is: “teachers were not up-to-date”. It is attached to an argumentative narrative detailing used by the informant to explain the higher predicate, which he does in a self-theoretical commentary: “They have a lot more status here than a regular trade school teacher in Germany”.

16. Motives higher education major administration: Kernel sentence in this passage is: “the most similar course to the curriculum of industrial clerk was business administration”. The following is a justification of his motives. The informant mentions that as he was working at BASF, he needed to continue working at this company in order to grow professionally and also to afford the tuition fees of his higher education course. Christopher argues he chose a course that was related to his IFPA apprenticeship contents, for it would ease the learning process. He rationalizes that working and studying concomitantly would demand a high amount of energy and dedication and, therefore, studying a course that entailed subjects that were know to him would make it easier to power through university. The following is a self-theoretical commentary about IFPA and its meaning: “only with my IFPA course I would be :a: nobody in this life (,) I needed to go to college (,)”. This is the basis for another reason presented by the informant to why he decided to major in business administration. Christopher argues it was the easiest strategy to obtain a higher education degree. A third motive presented by the informant related to a fear regarding future employability, as it can be observed

in his rendering in: “Imagine if I wanted to work for another company (‘) that had never heard of IFPA (?)”. It created a sense of insecurity in the apprentice regarding future employability. Christopher feared other companies, especially Brazilians, wouldn’t know or recognize her IFPA certificate. One last motive leading the informant to look for this specific major was that the company also helped paying the tuition fee by providing a partial scholarship to Christopher. It can be seen that the company continued to invest in the informant’s qualification, but demanded a specific major from him.

- 17. Meaning of IFPA: Kernel sentence in this passage is:** “just with my IFPA certificate I wouldn’t reach anything”. The informant explains that it was an entry to the labor market, an useful access, but that it didn’t eliminate the need for a higher education degree. Christopher utters another self-theoretical commentary: “if IFPA were a higher education course (‘) then it would be a completely different thing (,) (-) There is an extremely high prejudice against trade courses (-) here in Brazil”. This is of course, another motive that led the informant to access higher education upon graduation from IFPA, and it also helps comprehending the establishment of his primary post-high school educational objectives and why they didn’t entail the alternative of other vocational schools.
- 18. Considering other vocational schools:** Kernel sentence in this passage is: “only IFPA because of this dual system (,) I never thought of going to any trade schools (-) in Sao Paolo or /ehm/ where my parents live”. He justifies it on the grounds that IFPA’s apprenticeship had a structure that enabled him to successfully undergo it for the reason that there was an apprentice’s salary and the company paid the school, which allowed the informant to have enough for his self-existence and for his financial independence, once his parents couldn’t assist him financially.
- 19. Perception of secondary level VET in Brazil:** Kernel sentence in this passage is: “it is not well seen by the companies (-) [...] only a trade course you won’t have many chances”. It is followed by a rationalization that intermingles with the informant’s self-theoretical commentaries about higher education in Brazil. Christopher argues that there are many small private colleges in Brazil offering low quality courses at a questionable price, and that everybody wants to attend college, given that it became affordable through very low-quality private colleges. The next kernel sentence in this

passage is: “nobody wants to do trade courses”. The informant justifies that these courses should have a better reputation before companies can start hiring individuals that don’t have a higher education degree.

20. Exemplifying through a representation of the company: Kernel sentence in this passage is: “the company a work for /ehm/ used to provide trade courses for people with very low income”. The informant elucidates that for many years the company tried to offer these courses as a social action and a probability of hiring these individuals later. But even these individuals that needed to obtain qualification in order to immediately access to the labor market to provide for their family’s self-existence didn’t approve of the program, reveals the informant, who ends this narrative unit with another self-theoretical commentary: “IFPA will have to become a college too (‘) otherwise they won’t survive”.

21. Routine at IFPA School: The informant begins with a basic biographical orientation: “I am a person :that: integrates (-) and likes to integrate”. Christopher states that he can easily adapt to different groups which made it easy to circulate in different groups within the school, given that there were two distinct groups; more specifically, the wealthy one composed of individuals from Sao Paulo, and the ones coming from the German colonies who were more socioeconomically underprivileged.

(7) Structural description of non-intensive case (7): Lauren Klein

1. Family milieu in a descriptive narrative detailing: The informant opens her interview preamble by providing a description of an important social frame, namely, her family milieu. Lauren opens with a commentary about the main narration. She states: “I think I will have to come :back: and :forth: in my history (-) sometimes (‘) because I have never done this before”. The informant demonstrates that she is not used to doing biographical work and had never told her entire life history to someone else before. She demonstrated to understand the modus operandi, but it was already expectable that she would have difficulties presenting all gestalts adequately with comprehensive textual sections of narrative and descriptive detailing. The first kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: “I’ll start with my grandparents”. The next is a descriptive narrative detailing making known this social arena and its social actors; namely, her family mi-

lieu. Lauren explicates that her grandparents come from the countryside around Sao Paolo, where they lived in the smallest town of Brazil. They moved to Sao Paolo after a few years of being married. Lauren reveals that her mother was then born in Sao Paolo, after her grandparents moved to the capital, also where Eva's mother's younger sister was born. The next kernel sentence in this textual passage is: "as for my paternal grandparents (' I didn't get to know them". It is attached to another narrative detailing, used by the informant to state that they also came from the countryside of Sao Paolo, and had five children in Sao Paolo, Eva's father being one of them. The third kernel sentence is: "but: I am very close to my father's family". In the next she provides a brief detailing on these significant others. She explains that she is in constant contact with the aunts, uncles and cousins of her father's side of the family. The following kernel sentence is: "my parents met here in Sao Paolo". The next is descriptive detailing about her parents. She begins with her father, who is an engineer and still works in the area, whereas her mother has a degree in biology and has worked as a school teacher, having become a principal later in her professional career within the school. In the following Lauren says: "they have been married :for: /ehm/ I believe thirty seven years". This is an interesting example coming from significant others for the development of relationships within her own biographical development. Lauren also reveals she has two siblings, one being older than she, while the other is younger.

2. **The incumbent's childhood developments:** The first kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: "I spent my entire childhood in Sao Paolo". The informant reveals that she was born and raised in a very prestigious neighborhood of Sao Paolo, which indicates she comes from a more socioeconomically privileged family. In the next, Lauren makes a descriptive detailing of the location where she used to reside with her parents and also an assessment of her childhood developments. She states: "It was a nice place and I made great friends there". In the next she provides a rendering about two significant others and also the loss of one of them. The informant mentions that these two individuals were close friends, but that one of them died at an early age. In the following Lauren says: "I'm friends with her sister until nowadays". Yet she does not provide any clearer narrative detailing about this individual who might also have influence certain self-theoretical commentaries or even pathway decision of the incumbent. There

is still a need to further inquire the informant about this individual and other childhood developments in the questioning phase.

- 3. The incumbent's first elementary school:** The kernel sentence in this textual passage is: "I attended a smaller private school (-) near my=my house". It is attached to a narrative detailing used by the informant to explicate she attended the same school her cousins, of her father's family, also used to go to. The next kernel sentence is: "then I entered Porto Seguro School (-) when I was six or seven years old /ehm/ (-) six years (-) exactly". Lauren states that she attended this school until she graduated from high school. It is a prestigious private German school located in Sao Paulo, where tuition fees are rather costly. The informant makes the following commentary about this process: "that's where I began having :contact: with the German language". This commentary was already an anticipation of the pathway that led the incumbent to IFPA School and its dual VET system. In the following narrative detailing, the informant mentions that her friends are the same ones that she made within the educational institution, which is also an important indicator, especially considering school track choice. However, she does not provide further information on the matter.
- 4. Occupational orientation within post-high school pathways:** The first kernel sentence is: "still regarding education (') /ehm/ I always like human sciences (,) I always wanted to stay in this area". The informant does not provide any argumentative narrative detailing, and this kernel sentence still demands further inquiries in the questioning phase of the interview. The following kernel sentence is "firstly I wanted to go to medical school (') and then I began doing a course /ehm/ an orientation course". In the following the informant reveals that this non-human event carrier was the instrument that led her to conclude she didn't want to study medicine and it led her to focus on the area of law. The following kernel sentence is: "then: /ehm/ I finished high school (') passed the entrance examination (') and began majoring in law". In the next the informant provides a narrative detailing in which she states that there was doubt about whether to attend a prep course to access a public university or to go straight to a private college that wouldn't require any preparation for the entrance examination. It can be observed that the informant decided to go to a private university to circumvent superimposed structural impediments that could hinder her from making a vertical educational advancement. The financial condition of the family was certainly crucial in

this action scheme. The next kernel sentence is: “I decided to go to a private college (‘) because Mackenzie is a :good: college (‘) so I took this pathway”. The higher predicate lacks explanation and also needs further inquiry in the questioning phase.

- 5. Higher education and occupational orientation:** In this narrative unit the informant makes known that she opted for making a vertical educational advancement upon high school graduation. The first kernel sentence in this textual section is: “I entered college and graduated in law (‘) and I loved college”. In the next the informant begins a rendering about a search for work orientation. Lauren began doing apprenticeships in the area of law from her first term of college, with the purpose of gaining work and possibly a clearer perception that pursuing a career in the area of law was an occupational orientation based on personal cultivation and self-realization. It can be observed that the informant did not have a clear vocational orientation when she made a vertical educational advancement after high school. In other words, she accessed university within an indecision process; which was not related to the type of post-high school educational advancement, but rather to a more appropriate course choice within tertiary education. She states that her first apprenticeship was on a voluntary basis working for the public legal bureau of Sao Paulo. The next is a descriptive detailing of this first work orientation experience. She argues that it was an opportunity to work in public law and deal with low-income individuals who needed an attorney or legal advising. In the next Lauren says that she looked for work orientation in various areas including family, civil, and business law. The next kernel sentence is: “:then: /ehm/ in the last year :of: college (‘) I decided I wanted to work in the intellectual property rights area”. It is attached to an evaluative statement regarding all the work experience she had gathered so far through the help of various internships in several different areas of law. Lauren states: “I couldn’t find something I identified with”. The informant argues that it became a preoccupation for she couldn’t perceive that any of those areas triggered her interest. She began worrying about these developments due to the fact that she would graduate in one semester and still needed to find an occupational orientation to initiate her career in law.
- 6. Embarking on an eclipse of biographical processes:** The kernel sentence in this textual passage is: “:then: my younger sister [...] one day /ehm/ she talked about IFPA School at home”. In the next the informant also mentions she could still recall that

some of her classmates had decided to access this school upon high school graduation. It can be observed that intrapersonal information was important in her pathway leading to IFPA and also the perception that it was an acceptable educational pathway within her social world, given that other actors have also followed this pathway, which would mean acceptance and comprehension. The next kernel sentence is: “:so: :I: became interested and decided to try (to pass the admission test and begin IFPA’s dual system apprenticeship”. In the next she provides a narrative detailing of the flux of events during this period of her biography. Lauren implicitly conveys it was a difficult moment of transition and decision, given that she was attending the last semester of college and writing her final paper. In the next, the informant reveals she was about to face the second set of superimposed structural impediments in her biography, as can be observed in: “Then (‘) I decided to begin the admission process”. It is a typical formulaic expression indicating a new biographical process. It was an eclipse of processes in her biographical development, because she decided to intentionally change the course of her professional development with the purpose of encountering a more personal-cultivation appropriate occupational orientation, and she was also concomitantly following an institutional expectation pattern. Lauren affirms that she graduated from college and also passed the final state exam to become an attorney. The next is an evaluation of the incumbent at the time of the process: “I entered IFPA thinking that it didn’t make any sense”. It is attached to an argumentative detailing used by the informant to rationalized she had already graduated from university and had a profession; there was no need to undergo secondary level VET at this time in her biography anymore.

- 7. The initial experience at IFPA and a new occupational orientation:** this narrative unit begins with the following kernel sentence: “I began passing through various departments in the company (‘) :and: I began liking it”. The informant argues it was extremely important to continue this work orientation that had already begun during college. It was a new opportunity to identify a more adequate occupational orientation. The next kernel sentence is: “then I finished IFPA and ended up in the commercial department”. In the following she states that she was offered permanent employment after the apprenticeship and began working in the sales department. She assesses it in: “I began linking it (‘) I identifying with it”. It is a clear indication of occupational orien-

tation and identification with the company as well. Interestingly, the dual system apprenticeship is able to establish a strong connection between company and apprenticeship, despite the fact that one has already made and finished a considered “normal” vertical educational pathway.

- 8. Further post-IFPA professional development:** the first kernel sentence in this unit is: “:then: I began climbing the career ladder (‘) at this department”. The following is a narrative detailing on the flux of events that followed. Lauren argues that her supervisor resigned after some time and she was hired to replace her, thus becoming a supervisor in the area of sales. The informant says: “nowadays I’m a sales manager in the company (‘) in Sao Paolo”. She also reveals that her team currently has thirteen employees who are all under her supervision. It is remarkable how rapidly the incumbent developed professionally after her dual system apprenticeship in the company, in an area absolutely unrelated to her higher education degree. Lauren gained occupational orientation and is nowadays very satisfied with her development, especially through the opportunity to become a team leader.
- 9. Re-focusing on childhood development:** after realizing that the entire autobiography had been told in a rather condensed form, Lauren decides to refocus on certain aspects that remained laconic in her rendering, and without any influence from the interviewer she begins to provide further detailing concerning her childhood developments. The first kernel sentence is: “like I said before (‘) I was always very close to my cousins”. In the next she explicates that they all belong to her father’s family. In the following she mentions that she used to spend a great deal of time with one of her cousins with whom she spent a number of vacations. Yet, she does not provide any solid narrative detailing about this event carrier.
- 10. A first relationship in her biographical development:** “I met my first boyfriend where I lived with my parents”. It is attached to a commentary of the informant’s mother about her basic orientation regarding relationships, as can be observed in: “My mother always said :that: /ehm/ I always dated (,) So I dated Mark for seven years (‘) (-) and we had friends in common (,)”. In the following textual section the informant reveals she got married in 2011, but does not disclose any further narrative on the matter.

- 11. Assuming a new role at a new home:** the first kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: “Then (‘) my sister got married in 2006 (,)”. In the next Lauren explains that she gained a new role after her sister left home, she became the oldest daughter at home, gaining responsibility and becoming a role model for the youngest. The informant also mentions that it was during this period of time that the family decided to move to a new bigger home because her grandparents were becoming senile and needed to move in with them, as can be seen in her rendering in: “We moved to a bigger house in Morumbi (,)”. It is another very prestigious district of Sao Paulo. The family was then able to accommodate the grandparents under the same shelter.
- 12. A trajectory in the family:** the first kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: “when I was fifteen my grandfather died [...] he got hit by a car”. The following narrative detailing is about the outcomes for the family, who had to comfort the grandmother and also deal with their own emotions at the same time. It was a difficult period for the entire family. Then, Lauren explains that her parents’ house has changed since then, as it can be seen in: “my parents’ house has this characteristic that impacts everyone”. She justifies that it is because her grandmother needs a lot of medical care and the house turned into a sort of hospital.
- 13. Further rendering on higher education and major in law:** the first kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: “I’m still interested in things related to law”. The informant reveals that she still reads about the area and demonstrates interest in it. It seems to be a contradiction to what she has already explicated in her main narration concerning her lack of interest in pursuing this occupational orientation. This part demands further argumentative detailing.
- 14. IFPA and its representation as a horizontal educational advancement:** the first kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: “I was older when I entered the trade school”. It is a demonstration of a social acceptance within the incumbent’s self-theoretical assumptions. Lauren believes it is not acceptable and at her age she should be living a different process in her biography. It is a clear demonstration of a problem she had to face, regarding her own assumptions in relation to herself and her social world. In the next she provides a narrative detailing on the social arena and how she became part of this context. Lauren explains that she “had followed a different pathway than the others”. It helps comprehending that it is in fact an exception to access tertiary education

and then undergo secondary level VET. Yet, in the next the informant reveals that there were two classmates in the same situation in her class, even though they dropped out later, and she was the only one that remained in the school and followed the occupational orientation the VET course led her to. The next kernel sentence is: “IFPA was the opportunity to be in contact with the German language again”. It is attached to an argumentative detailing used by the informant to state that she did an exchange program in Germany, which she hadn’t mentioned before in her narrative, and that it presented itself as an opportunity to keep this second language alive. The following kernel sentence is: “despite the age difference (‘) I got along with everyone :and: made great friends at IFPA”. In the next she explains that she met her husband at IFPA. After having broken up with her previous boyfriend, she engaged in this new relationship and wound up marrying this new individual.

- 15. The new relationship and a new home:** the first kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: “I met Frank (‘) and we dated for four years (‘) and :then: moved in together”. The informant continues to follow an already dominant institutional expectation pattern in her biographical development. In 2011 she got married and that was when they moved in together. Frank’s father is a physician and lives in Germany, whereas his brother lives in the USA. Lauren argues that it led them to be a lot closer to her family.
- 16. The transitional period between the private university and IFPA:** the first kernel sentence in this narrative unit is: “I decided to take a step backwards and enter IFPA”. It is very interesting that she already regarded it as negative from the very beginning. In her case it wasn’t a horizontal educational advancement anymore, it was a negative vertical rewarding movement. In other words, after having finished higher education, she decided to enroll secondary level VET, which is an educational level below tertiary education. She assesses this decision as: “it was very difficult and very important”. In the next she rationalizes that her parents were very courageous to have allowed her to do it. It demonstrates that her parents didn’t expect her to undergo secondary level VET at any given time of her biography, especially after already holding a higher education degree. It simply wasn’t part of the educational action scheme established by the parents for the incumbent. Not only was she deciding to make an “atypical” educational choice, but she was in her and her parents’ perception taking a step back in terms of education. In the next she rationalizes how she perceived other

social actors' pathways and her own development: "my friends were already developing professionally (') and I was going backwards". Lauren rationalizes that it was difficult to deal with this contrast and she certainly underwent cognitive dissonance as well, especially because she had to convince herself, parents and other social actors that she was following the right pathway, and it can also be observed in her rendering: "I questioned myself the entire time (-) about my decision (,) during the two years of IFPA (-) the whole time". Lauren argues that she even received job opportunities in the area of law and she turned them down, which led her to constant inner conflicts regarding her decision. In the following she reinforces that it took time until she accepted the idea that she had finally found her occupational orientation in the area of sales and shipping.

- 17. The evaluative language of the pre-coda:** Lauren argues that IFPA changed her biographical development, especially professionally. She claims that she found the occupational orientation she could not find during college and that she does not intend to go back to the area of law. She refocuses her narrative on IFPA and states: "What I didn't like was the change in my routine". Lauren explicates that she began having more free time than during college and her higher education internships. This change certainly helped to accumulate in the pile of doubts the informant had regarding her decision to undergo secondary level VET. The informant argues that she felt she should have more responsibility at that time, and a more flexible routine gave her the impression she shouldn't be doing that, she should actually be working in the area of law. Lauren also reveals that she asked to work at the legal department at the company where she did the practical part of her dual system apprenticeship, and it eventually showed her, once again, that this wasn't the area in which she would like to pursue a career. She argues that they made this exception, which served to prove that she was right in her decision, given that she couldn't see herself working in the area of law. The coda indicating the end of the main narration is characterized by "I think that's it (,) (3).

Questioning phase

- 1. Significant others during childhood developments:** The informant was always close to three of her cousins, who are the children of her father's sister, the incumbent's godmother. The first kernel sentence in this response is: "we were always together (‘) and we lived near one another (,)". The following is a descriptive narrative detailing of these individuals. Lauren mentions they all are the same age and attended the same constructivist school, and also attended piano lessons together. The last assessment is related to the proximity they had and the current state of affairs regarding this relationship. Lauren says: "my childhood was always close to them (‘) /ehm/ :we: spent the :whole: day outside (-) playing together". In the next she argues that they are all married and have many work commitments, which impedes them from maintaining a close relationship.
- 2. Two additional significant others and a loss:** Lauren had, in addition to her cousins, to close friends during her childhood. She provides a further narrative detailing about these two individuals, which begins with the following kernel sentence: "they were also part of the group :that: (-) of friends (-) the same group of my cousins". It is attached to a narrative detailing about both peers. Lauren says she always spent time together with both, but that she identified more with Pamela, due to the reason that Mary was older and also more responsible. She probably played a more caring and conscious role among the three of them. Mary represented more the role of an authority, whereas Pamela was more supportive and outgoing. The informant argues she had a close an intense relationship to these two girls until they all accessed college. That was when the incumbent went through a loss of a significant other. Lauren states that the youngest passed away. The informant narrates that Mary had a heart condition and she died during a heart surgery, after spending one year in a persistent vegetative state. Lauren states that it brought her closer to Mary and the family. She could support and console these significant others. This was a clear opportunity for the biography incumbent to set in motion one of her basic biographical orientations, which also served for the alignment of her occupational orientation, more specifically, being in contact and helping others to avoid or circumvent suffering.

- 3. The transition from the constructivist school to Porto Seguro School:** The informant begins this response arguing that her older sister, who is five years older than she, was already attending Porto Seguro School. In the next she introduces further motives that led to this choice: “to learn a third language (‘) English and German (,)”. It is attached to a brief argumentative detailing used by the informant to state her family doesn’t have any relation to Germany and nor are they descendants of German individuals. Lauren began attending this school when she was six years old, and it was clearly part of her parents’ educational action scheme leading to a more propaedeutic educational pathway that would result in higher education access, which in turn could enable the incumbent to develop an occupational orientation related to non-manual work. Lauren appears to have integrated easily and rapidly, and still has friends from this school.
- 4. The first occupational orientation based on personal cultivation:** Lauren begins her response referring to a previous higher predicate, namely, the one she argues she has always been prone to follow a professional development in the area of human sciences. The informant states: “I :always: wanted to stay in this area (‘) I never liked exact sciences (,) (-) I always wanted to be a physician”. It is attached to a justification reasoning her interest in the area. It can be observed that there are different motives that led to this orientation: (a) her basic schooling: Lauren was always intrinsically motivated to learn more about biology and chemistry. (b) The influence of her mother as a vocational identity model. Lauren explicates in her rendering that her mother, who is a biologist, has always had a strong tendency to care for people and help them. It appears that her mother was always interested in the medical area, and would also like to be a doctor. (c) A basic orientation of the incumbent, who enjoys helping and is dedicated to solving or assisting others to circumvent problems. She enjoys playing a positive influential role and seeing the outcomes of this personal investment.
- 5. Superimposed impediments hindering primary occupational orientation:** In the end the incumbent didn’t follow through with her occupational orientation of becoming a doctor and didn’t go to medical school. She rationalizes it in: “if I had done one year of pre course for the entrance examination (‘) perhaps I’d have done it”. Lauren also rationalizes that she perceived she didn’t like seeing wounds and blood, which made her feel sick and scared. Another hindrance came through a human event carrier

within a non-human one. Lauren explains that her high school provided the students with the opportunity of doing a one year long vocational orientation test, which she did. During the tests she had talks with a psychologist, and she still remembers in a scene of biographical importance one of the questions posed by this individual during a vocational orientation session. Lauren claims that she asked the following question: “are you sure you want to :treat: and take :care: of someone who needs treatment (‘) or do you want to simply :understand: the problem (-) and try to solve it?”. The informant mentions it was the point when she noticed she didn’t need to become a physician to help others. Then, she began considering either psychology or law. That was when another significant other also began playing the role of a vocational-identity role model, more specifically, her older sister, who was attending law school. Lauren still recalls that her sister began taking her to college and started explaining and talking about the area with her. It didn’t take a long time for Lauren to realize this profession could be very profitable and she was convinced of her sister’s arguments. She decided she wanted to become a lawyer, influenced by her sister and also based on her basic biographical orientation of assisting others, which she could accomplish within this occupation.

6. **Facing superimposed structural impediments:** The first kernel sentence is: “I did the entrance examination and passed at Mackenzie University (,)”. It is a private college located in Sao Paulo. In the next Lauren argues she began liking the course and decided to keep studying law. The following textual section is a background construction elucidating the motives that prevented her from majoring in business administration at the time, as can be observed in: “when I did the entrance examination (‘) people thought that someone who studied business administration was not well seen”. It is followed by an argumentative detailing in which Lauren utters that there was a general societal perception that this major was superficial and there were many individuals opting for this area. In order to comply with societal expectations and probably the discouragement coming from significant others, probably parents and her sister, regarding this specific area, the incumbent decided to forget about studying business administration. She ended up borrowing self-theoretical commentaries from significant others that prevented her from following this area. The next kernel sentence is: “:then: I decided to go to law school”. It is also a clear marker of a dominant institu-

tional expectation pattern in the biography of the incumbent. The coda of this response is an evaluative passage regarding her choice to go to law school, as it can be seen in: “Law helps me at work today (‘) (-) but I still lack a degree in business administration (,) If I had understood it is something I would identify with (-) I’d have studied that (-) instead of going to law school (,)”. There is a clear regret regarding a wrong occupational orientation choice. The informant is still fighting against this internal conflict and also the external need she has regarding her current employment. Lauren still wishes and probably needs to obtain further qualification in the area of business administration, especially due to the fact that she occupies a managerial position nowadays at the same company where she did the practical part of her dual system apprenticeship.

7. **Further narrative on transitional period before vertical advancement:** the first kernel sentence in the informant’s response is: “I didn’t attend a prep course for the higher education entrance examination”. It is attached to the argumentation that she wanted to finish high school and attempt to attend college without having to do any additional preparation for the examination. The next is an evaluative passage regarding her decision to circumvent the emotional and physical stress of doing a prep course and preparing to attend a public university: “I think I should have done it (,) (-) I think I would have made a different decision (-) at the time”. The next kernel sentence in this response is “after high school graduation (‘) I did the entrance examination at three different universities (‘) (-) Mackenzie (‘) at PUC University :and: USP University”. Lauren couldn’t overcome superimposed structural impediments and only passed at Mackenzie, a private law school located in Sao Paulo. Lauren argues she avoided the pre course and was then nearly forced to begin attending a private university. She wasn’t sufficiently prepared to overcome fierce competition at a public university. Hence, it was easier to access a private university, which her parents were able to afford, and this mechanism also circumvented the physical and emotional efforts that would be needed for a pre course to pass the higher education entrance examination granting the biography incumbent access to a public university.
8. **Intrapersonal information about IFPA School:** the first kernel sentence within this response is: “I had a conversation with my sister about IFPA (‘) :and: it was funny (-) and it confused me (-) a little bit (,)”. Lauren argues she was already writing her final

paper and preparing for the state examination, given she was attending the last semester of law school. The informant reveals that she was also doing an apprenticeship in the area of property rights, a specific area of law in which she would like to professionally develop a career. In the next section, the informant reveals that her sister had attended a presentation of IFPA School at her private high school. Lauren makes known she had also attended the same presentation during high school which she evaluates in: “IFPA does it every year (‘) and I saw it too (-) during my high school (,) But at the time /ehm/ I didn’t care much about it (,) (-) I wanted to go to college (-) not to a trade school (,). It can be observed that she perceived IFPA as an inferior educational modality and that her primary post-high school educational intention was to access higher education. The following kernel sentence is: “then (-) my sister gave me this flier of IFPA (‘) she didn’t want to do it (‘) she wanted to go to college (,)”. The incumbent began considering IFPA as a possibility, despite being involved in several activities and being just a few months away from graduating and becoming a lawyer. In the next textual passage the informant makes reference to other former classmates who had decided to make a post-high school horizontal educational advancement by accessing IFPA and had developed well professionally, as can be observed in: “I could remember :that: /ehm/ some of my classmates from high school had done IFPA’s apprenticeship and were well-off professionally”. It was a demonstration of a twofold possibility. The incumbent could perceive that this decision had a determined acceptance within her social world, and it could lead to a more appropriate occupational orientation that one day could also lead to the financial success she aspired to in the area of law. Hence, she decided to go to IFPA to gather more information in a second presentation. The incumbent looked for parental approval, especially because they would have to continue assisting her financially during IFPA’s apprenticeship, and they also had to agree to this educational decision which would essentially override their entire investment made in the private law school. In the next Lauren says: “my parents even came along to the presentation (,) I asked them to do it”. The informant argues that after the presentation she realized the industrial clerk trade course appeared to be the most appropriate one. She rationalizes that it was closely related to business administration, which she had once considered studying in college. Lauren also argues that the fact it was paid by the company was decisive, given that it would represent a

financial relief for her parents who had already paid her entire basic schooling and the private law school for five years. The next is a kernel sentence: "I decide to do it". The incumbent would try to attend the apprenticeship in an area she had already demonstrated interest but had been discouraged from pursuing. The next is an argumentative narrative detailing used by the informant to justify the motive that led her to opt for the logistics trade course and give up the idea of attending the industrial clerk course. Lauren argues that during the selection process there were very few vacancies in the industrial clerk course and it was difficult to get a position at a company. It was a clear fear of a recurrent superimposed structural impediment she had already experienced before, which essentially altered her risk taking attitude. Once again she made a more objective assessment of what was easier, rather than what was more appropriate; just like when she decided not to attend the prep course that could enhance her chances of attending a public university. In the following, Lauren states that she was accepted by a company where she had previously applied for an apprenticeship position during college. She was particularly interested in this company because it was a German multinational that would enable her to continue using the language she had learned for many years in school, and also due to the fact that they also had a legal department, which could be used to her benefit. The following is an evaluative passage regarding the beginning of her dual system apprenticeship, as it can be observed in: "I felt like I was starting college again (‘ (-) I learned everything from zero /ehm/ through :the: job rotation concept they have (,)". The incumbent began developing a sense of identification with the company, which came from both aspects: (a) the occupational orientation per se, which was related to the dual system apprenticeship and (b) the fact that she was working for a German company she already wanted to work for. It was a representation of a continuation of the identity development she had constructed on the basis of the German culture through its language in school. The following kernel sentence in this response is: "there were many moments of crisis". Lauren argues that she could see friends that had finished college with her growing professionally in the labor market, passing exams to become judges or prosecutors. She also refers to a scene of biographical importance, in which one day she was contacted by a famous law office in Sao Paolo. They offered her a position with a very attractive compensation. The informant argues it was a temptation because it is an excellent and well-known law of-

fice. Nonetheless, she ended up not accepting the job offer, due to the fact that she'd have to work in an area of law that she disliked. Lauren also argues that her parents could still help her financially and she decided to continue doing her dual system apprenticeship with the purpose of steering her professional development away from law. The following textual section is a comparative evaluative commentary regarding IFPA and law school: "in law school (‘) I never had anything like that (‘) like the job rotation during my apprenticeship (‘) :and: the possibility to see the entire company". It is attached to a negative commentary regarding the fact that the dual system course lacked routine and consistency at time, as it can be seen in: "sometimes it was difficult too [...] you felt you got the ball rolling at one department (‘) :then: you had to change or got back to school (,)".

9. Law was not an appropriate occupational orientation: In this response the informant makes an argumentative narrative detailing in order to evidence conditions that led her to realize working in the area of law wasn't an occupational orientation based on personal cultivation and self-realization. She begins with the following kernel sentence: "there are many things that marked this realization". In the following Lauren argues that firstly she noticed, through the work orientation she was acquiring in her last apprenticeship during college in the area of property rights, that she couldn't identify with this specific area and couldn't see herself developing professionally in this field. There was also the influence of a significant other during this period, as can be observed in: "at the time (‘) I was dating (-) and my boyfriend was majoring in business administration (,) He always told me about his internship (‘) he told me about :college: and his :routine: (‘) and I thought this is what I should be doing too (,) And not law (,)". She also refers to the realization that the routine in a company and having a systemic view of its operation was very interesting and it assisted her developing an occupational orientation, which was confirmed when she began working in the sales department during her apprenticeship, when she truly realized this was the adequate orientation she would like to follow.

10. The interest in the area of law: the first kernel sentence is: "I still like the area of law (,) I like to read about it (,)". Lauren reveals that she still keeps in touch with a study group that she was in during college. It serves to demonstrate that this group was also an event carrier where she developed socialization processes. She still misses its repre-

sentation. In addition, there is the influence of her sister as a significant other, who at times discusses with her topics related to the area of law. The informant also mentions that she needs to be in contact with the legal department at work sometimes, and that it also demands being up-to-date on certain issues. Moreover, it might be a need of the incumbent to maintain an already developed vocational identity, to which some social actors associated her. There is an intrinsic interest, but that didn't suffice to become an occupational orientation.

11. The assessment of a post-vertical secondary level VET: The informant begins her response with the following higher predicate: “It didn't make any sense”. In the next she makes an extensive argumentation to rationalize her higher predicate. Lauren argues that she had obtained a college degree from an expensive law school and had already passed the state examination. She could begin working as a lawyer. She also perceived that it was difficult to pass the state examination, and that many of her classmates struggled and couldn't pass. She makes the following evaluation: “I thought /ehm/ I spent five years studying (‘) to work in the area of law (-) :and: then (‘) I gave up everything and decided that this was not what I wanted [...] and I began IFPA (-) I began going to a trade school (-) with a lot of younger people who hadn't done what I did (,) (-) It marked me a lot (,)”. Lauren justifies that she was very critical of her own decision, and that she felt she shouldn't be there, as it was a place her younger sister should be; she already had a profession. In the following she refers to aspects that served as a relief to her decision: (a) she was in fact enjoying the course, identifying with the company and wished to follow a career in the area; (b) She had two classmates that were in a very similar situation. They had also begun college, but dropped out to and began attending IFPA. It was a way to distribute all the inquiries coming towards her regarding her school track decision. It certainly diminished rationalization processes and also served to identify that not encountering an occupational orientation in higher education my also happen to others; she wasn't the only exception. (c) It was very positive to be in contact with the German language that she had acquired during school and was getting rusty. She could reactivate the German language, which was also a representation of the identity development she had established during her basic schooling and also later through her exchange program to Germany. In the next she makes a commentary of how difficult it was to deal with

processes of rationalization whenever she was confronted by other social actors with her educational choice: “people here at work asked me /ehm/ what are you doing here (?) (-) You are a lawyer (,) I hated hearing that (‘) because I wasn’t sure about my decision (,) And then people kept telling me that”. In the next, Lauren argues that she was preoccupied that the area of her VET would not bring the aspired financial development within that occupational orientation. She also makes reference to her sister, who had made a lot of money in the area of law. There was also a doubt and regret in relation to this aspect. Lauren states that she could only begin realizing that she could have the same financial success in this area of sales when she became a manager, as can be observed in: “I realized that I had made the right decision (,) I noticed I had achieved what my classmates had (-) in the area of law”. It was a relief and could also be used in further post-hoc rationalizations justifying her decision to abandon the area of law with the intention of undergoing a lower level educational modality and pursuing a career in the area of sales.

12. The transition from higher education to secondary level VET: The first kernel sentence in this response is: “I did the reverse pathway by going to IFPA (‘) because I already had a college degree (,)”. Lauren makes a recurrent reference to the fact that obtaining a higher education degree in law was extremely costly for her parents. She perceived that undergoing secondary level VET was making a step backwards in two areas, educationally in term of secondary and tertiary level and also within her parents’ educational action scheme. She would go down a level lower in the educational system and it would mean the great amount of financial disbursement made by her parents was in vain. The following kernel sentence is: “There is a :huge: difference between having a college degree and having certificate from a trade school”. The next is a justification of the higher predicate. Lauren argues it doesn’t matter how good IFPA School is, at some point one will have to have a college degree. She regards it as a compulsory educational level that is taken for granted, one simply must obtain a higher education degree.

13. Exchange program to Germany: The first kernel sentence in the response regarding this process of the incumbent’s biographical process is: “during the second year of high school (-) two positive things happened”. She justifies and elucidates her higher predicate by saying that she firstly received the opportunity to go to curriculum B in

high school, which meant she would have classes entirely in German which would lead her to *Abitur* level. As a result, she would be able to access university in Germany; an option that she considered during a certain time. The next justification of her higher predicate is related to the exchange program to Germany she did, an option that is offered by Porto Seguro School to all high school students who have the language proficiency to do so. Lauren assesses the situation in the following narrative detailing: “I was interested in going to Germany (‘) even though I never thought of studying abroad (,) I wanted :to: (-) get to know the country where they speak the language I had learned since I as a child (-) in school (,). The incumbent was in a search of identity development confirmation. She assesses this process very positively and she had the opportunity to see and experience the culture as well as improve her language skills by living with a host family. It was the incumbent’s first trip abroad and also served as an important determiner in her biographical development. Despite enjoying the trip and feeling she identified with the culture, she realized she didn’t want to attend college in Germany. Her intention was to stay in Brazil and pass the entrance examination there.

14. Considering other vocational schools: This question was posed to comprehend whether the biography incumbent considered undergoing secondary level VET in the subsequent modality in any other regular vocational school. Lauren is very clear in her response: “no (,) I didn’t even look for information about any other school or anything (,) I didn’t even consider this option”. In the next she rationalizes that she only decided in favor of IFPA because of the language in which it was taught and the cooperation with multinational companies.

15. The perception of general secondary level VET: Kernel sentence is: “it is difficult to talk about other trade schools and their courses (‘) because I don’t know it”. The next is an argumentative narrative detailing, in which it becomes evident that the informant attributed little value to these courses, as can be observed in: “where I work (-) for instance (‘) I don’t see anyone who attended these trade schools (,) (-) Only IFPA”. It is attached to the aspect of distinction related to IFPA and other general secondary level vocational schools and their respective courses. In all probability these were also arguments used by the incumbent in post-hoc rationalization processes. Lauren argues that IFPA offers trade courses in German, which makes it exclusory, and it also enables one to access the labor market immediately.

16. The motives for a subsequent vertical educational advancement: In this response the informant deals with the need of holding a higher education degree in addition to IFPA's apprenticeship. Lauren says: "here in Brazil (‘) you will have to have a college degree (,) If you don't have a college degree (‘) you can't do any specialization (‘) or grow professionally (,)". It can be clearly seen that the incumbent perceives higher education as an alternative-less educational pathway that needs to be followed, regardless of the vocational course one had done before, or of the VET modality and structure. Despite the fact that IFPA offers the advantages named by the incumbent, she still perceives it as insufficient, especially due to the discernment that the labor market, as a vital event carrier, demands such a vertical educational advancement, in addition to being a compliance with societal expectations. The following is used by the informant to make a further comparison between IFPA's apprenticeship and the "compulsory" higher education degree: "IFPA gives you something colleges don't (‘) you can see theory and practice together (‘) at the same time (,) It is very interesting (,) And also the job rotation (-) is very positive". Lauren argues that it can give one the possibility to obtain a systemic view of the entire production process and of the company as a whole, which a college course cannot. She states that one can learn the entire process. It is a clear strength named by the informant which has led her to identify with the company and also triggered the desire to follow the occupational orientation the trade course was leading her toward. The last section of this response is a self-theoretical commentary uttered by the informant. She says that IFPA's apprentices finish the dual system at a very early age and sometimes still lack enough maturity to remain in the labor market and, therefore, need to access higher education.