



Vrije Universiteit Brussel

Chances for life changes

A qualitative study of low-educated women of Moroccan origin participating in formal adult education



Master thesis to obtain the degree of Master in Educational Sciences

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Summary:

Recent research and statistics give evidence on a growing interest and participation of Moroccan women in adult education. In the light of the lifelong learning goals and the idea to engage those who missed access initially, this study focuses on women without a degree of higher secondary education and part of the second-generation Moroccans. This group in particular faces social barriers due to its ethnicity, gender and educational level.

Respondents for this study were selected in the childcare training program of second chance education in Brussels. The key focus of this study is on the question, which chances formal adult education offers to low-educated women of Moroccan origin. Interviews were conducted with 17 women. An exploration of the motives, experiences and objectives provides an insight in these chances offered and the (internal and external) factors involved.

In conclusion, this study reinforces the view that a holistic approach on learning is important. Adult education should offer opportunities to improve all life spheres, including professional, educational, personal and social aspects. Moreover, equal and full participation are only possible if (individual and social) factors that stimulate participation are encouraged and barriers removed. Support of partner and/or family, positive self-perception and inner strengths are important personal elements for successful participation. Professional counseling focusing on personal talents and also integrated learning opportunities (such as workplace learning) are successful factors for the learning environment. Lastly, this study points great differences between organizations in educational and professional spheres concerning cultural elements. Prohibition of the headscarf and other cultural elements has a negative effect on the participation in adult education and social inclusion of women with a migration background.

Key words: formal adult education, women of Moroccan origin, equal chances, participation

Let us think of education
as the means of developing our greatest abilities,
because in each of us there is a private hope and dream
which, fulfilled, can be translated into benefit for everyone
and greater strength for our society as a whole.
(John F. Kennedy)

Preface

Seventeen stories of low-educated women of Moroccan origin participating in formal adult education are at the core of this study. In all of these women interviewed there is a personal hope and dream: to catch up with chances they missed in the past, to do something they really love, to feel respected by others, to improve chances for their own children, ... I would like to thank these women for sharing their dreams and hopes, their concerns and happiness. Their stories and the insights literature offered made it possible to create a coherent story on their participation in formal adult education and allowed identifying chances for change.

Adult education should offer full and equal chances to all in order to change and improve the personal, educational, professional and social self. These changes in life can on their turn be translated into benefit for everyone and build a strength for the society as a whole. In that context, the low-educated women of Moroccan origin interviewed for the purpose of this study are progressive forces within their community and pave the path for others.

The topic was suggested by both the Minority Forum (Minderhedenforum) and the Federation Second Chance Education Flanders (Federatie Tweedekansonderwijs Vlaanderen). Both organizations notice an increasing demand for and interest in adult education among low-educated women with a migration background. Therefore the Minority Forum suggested research to get an insight in the participation patterns of this group. On the other hand the choice for this topic is the result of my own work experience and personal interest. Six years ago I started teaching in a secondary school in Brussels with a high amount of children with a migration background. This experience developed a special interest in education and groups with a migration background and was the incentive to start a master program in educational sciences. The idea that I could link my personal interest to an existing need for research made this topic even more fascinating.

Few works can be done without the help of others. Therefore, I would like to express my special thanks to professor Ignace Glorieux. His professional advice and readiness to help, but also his understanding and motivating attitude made it possible to realize this study. Furthermore, I would also like to thank Sanghmitra Bhutani, staff officer at the Minority Forum, for the support during the research process. I send a big thanks to my pupils, friends and family for their interest in the progress of my study and their encouraging words. They were a source of inspiration and energy, even when they were not always aware of it. I am very grateful to them. Last but not least a wholehearted thanks to Jozefien De Marrée of the Science Shop (Wetenschapswinkel) for her encouragements and practical support.

Index

Introduction	7
Theoretical framework.....	9
1 Conceptual base	9
1.1 Low-educated women with a Moroccan background.....	9
1.2 Lifelong learning and adult education	10
2 Theoretical base	11
2.1 The broader context of lifelong learning.....	11
2.1.1 Unequal participation.....	11
2.1.2 Position of the target group in education and in the labor market	12
2.2 Participation patterns in formal adult education	13
2.2.1 General ideas	13
2.2.2 Motives	13
2.2.3 Stimulating and obstructing factors	14
2.3 The pathway to equality	16
3 Objectives and research questions	17
Research methodology	18
1 Research procedure and analysis	18
2 Instruments	19
2.1 Survey.....	19
2.2 Interviews	19
3 Target population and research sample.....	20
4 Reliability and validity	21
Results.....	23
1 The value of learning.....	23
1.1 Upgrading competencies for work	23
1.2 Educational dreams	25
1.3 Empowering the (current or future) mother role	26
1.4 Key to social integration	27
1.5 Personal emancipation	29
2 Influencing factors: levers and barriers.....	30
2.1 Micro-level: learner	30
2.1.1 Psychological elements	30
2.1.2 Situational and relational elements.....	31
2.2 Meso-level: learning environment.....	33
2.2.1 Information and support	33
2.2.2 Reputation of educational institutes.....	36
2.2.3 Social activity.....	36
2.3 Macro-level: social context	37
2.3.1 Respect for cultural identity.....	37
2.3.2 Offering chances.....	39

Conclusion	41
1 Discussion	41
2 Limitations.....	43
3 Recommendations	43
1.3.1 For further research	43
1.3.2 For lifelong learning policy.....	43
References.....	45
Appendices	49
Appendix 1: survey.....	49
Appendix 2: interview guide.....	53
Appendix 3: characteristics of the respondents	57
Appendix 4: original quotes of interviewees	59

Introduction

Lifelong learning is an engine in order to create a competitive and knowledge-based economy (Boeren, Nicaise & Baert, 2010). Central policy theme in this economical perspective on lifelong learning, which frequently dominates in research and political debates, is the increase of employability by participation in education and training. However, a strong policy to encourage adults in education should not only focus on increasing participation but will also have to invest in personal development and fulfilment and social inclusion (Aspin & Chapman, 2001). Focusing mainly on these underlying lifelong learning goals this study pays specific attention to women of Moroccan origin without formal qualification, a group that faces structural inequality in education and in the labour market due to its ethnicity, gender and educational level.

Recent research gives evidence on a growing interest and participation of this group in adult education. Women with a migration background often regret their unsuccessful school career, a deficit they try to compensate by participating in courses as part of lifelong learning (Glorieux, Koelet & Laurijssen, 2011). Especially opportunities to upgrade the educational attainment, such as second chance programs, gain in popularity among women and individuals with diverse cultural backgrounds (Glorieux, Heyman, Jegers, Taelman & Van Dorsselaer, 2009). Also statistics of Brucovo, the Brussels consortium of adult education, seem to support some of these findings for the Brussels region on which this study will focus. Between 2009 and 2011 Brucovo notes a great increase of participants with an educational attainment lower than higher secondary school (+36,12%) and an increase of the overall enrolments (with 14,5%) (Brucovo, 2012). The idea of lifelong learning seems to grow more among groups with a migrant background than among individuals with a Belgian background (Pels & de Gruijter, 2006).

In the light of the lifelong learning goals and the idea to engage those who missed access initially, this study discusses the participation attitudes of low-educated women of Moroccan origin in formal adult education. Since there are some significant differences in the life path between Turkish and Moroccans special attention goes to this particular group. The general key question in this context is: which chances does formal adult education offer to low-educated women of Moroccan origin? This entails an exploration of the experiences, expectations and perceptions of this target group as current and future learners.

A closer look on the participation patterns of the target group is not only fundamental for a coherent policy to stimulate educational participation by adults, but also needed in the context of a growing focus on the responsibility of the (un)employed individual and cultural aspects seen as being problematic for social integration. By this special focus and in the wider context of adult education this research aims to contribute to research on adult education and more specific relating to groups with a migration background. In throwing a light on this issue this research contributes as well to the fight against social exclusion and duality and aims to increase opportunities for women of Moroccan background without formal qualifications to develop themselves on personal, social, educational and economical level.

This report starts of with a theoretical background of the topic and an operationalization of the major concepts that frame the problem statement. As a conclusion to that chapter the research questions are presented. The following chapter gives information on the data collection by means of qualitative interviews conducted, points out the methodological issues and contains a description of the characteristics of the sample population. Next, an analytical chapter explores the experiences and perspectives of the target group participating in formal adult education. The main conclusions, limitations and recommendations are a last part in the report.

Theoretical framework

Policy documents and empirical research on adult education and the life path of women with a migration background offer interesting insights in order to further outline the research setting and to clear the background of the topic. Starting point of the story presented in this chapter is the problem statement. From the perspective of the growing interest and participation of groups with a migration background in adult education this chapter is structured along two main ideas.

In order to gain a better insight in the context of unequal participation this chapter discusses in first instance the broader context of lifelong learning and uncovers the (social) structures that pave the path to (unequal) participation. The participation attitudes of the target population are central to the second part. Although there is little empirical research that put a light on women with a migration background in the context of lifelong learning, research on other vulnerable groups and adults in general offer an interesting framework for the results of this study.

Before proceeding with the theoretical exploration of the topic and problem statement, this chapter starts of with the definition and conceptualization of the major concepts of the problem statement.

1 Conceptual base

1.1 Low-educated women with a Moroccan background

Central to this research are women with a Moroccan background. They are a subgroup of the ethnic non-Europeans, whose origins are situated outside of the present EU28. Within the population group with a Moroccan migration background several subgroups can be distinguished by cultural, geographical, religious characteristics, generation, ... In particular this study is interested in women with a Moroccan background of the so-called second generation. These individuals are children of first generation Moroccans, born and raised in Belgium or arrived in Belgium as a minor in terms of family reunification.

Research shows that the second generation usually has lower educational levels than their native counterparts, although both groups attended the same Belgian school system (Danhier, Jacobs, Devleeshouwer, Martin & Alarcon, 2014). According to the same study, based on PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) data, school performance and levels strongly depend on the family socio-economic levels and the language spoken at home (Danhier et al., 2014). Moreover, women of Turkish and Moroccan origin tend to face larger problems than men to find access in education and in the labour market (Glorieux et al., 2011). These gaps show that education is failing in its social function to bring up individuals from migrant backgrounds in society, but instead reproduces present social structures.

In this study, low qualified women are targeted, referring to women who do not possess a degree of higher secondary education. The educational attainment is important in the context of this study since it is a strong indicator to predict participation in adult education (Boeren, 2011). As research

reveals, those with low educational levels tend to participate less than those with at least a degree of higher secondary education, although they are the main target group in lifelong learning policy (Boeren, Roosmaa, Saar & Nicaise, 2011b). A degree of secondary education is considered as a minimum in order to fully participate in society. This highlights the social function of lifelong learning and the importance of a specific compensating policy for low-educated individuals who want to participate in adult education activities.

Since second-generation Moroccans mostly have a Belgian nationality they rarely appear in statistics. This makes it a lot more difficult to visualize groups that are discriminated or disadvantaged due to their ethnicity. This study makes use of the indicators for ethnicity suggested by the Minority Forum, based on the nationality history of the individual and his (grand)parents (Minderhedenforum, 2012). In correspondence with the body of thought of the Minority Forum the target group is referred to with terms such as 'Moroccan origin' or 'origin' or '((im)migration) background'.

1.2 Lifelong learning and adult education

Consistent with the Eurostat Adult Education Survey (2007) this study defines lifelong learning as intentional and meaningful learning activities undertaken by adults in order to improve competencies and knowledge useful for all aspects in daily life, both inside and outside the labor market (Eurostat, 2007).

For the purpose of this study one type of lifelong learning, formal adult education is addressed. After a successful learning process a certificate or degree (of secondary education) can be obtained. This type of education generally dominates in the light of the economical objectives of the lifelong learning policy. As an answer to continuous technological developments, globalization and economical pressure lifelong learning activities pursue employability and economic competitiveness. Moreover, this focus on formal adult education has also to be linked to research evidence for the growing interest in and popularity of formal types of adult education resulting in a certificate or degree (Glorieux et al., 2009; Raes, 2008; De Baere, 2007). Nevertheless, this study takes up an emancipatory approach concerning lifelong learning and focuses as such on the expanded scope of the lifelong learning policy in view of fostering equal participation for all. Consequently, lifelong learning activities aim to improve "knowledge, skills and competences within a personal, civic, social and/or employment-related perspective" (European Commission, 2001, p9). In other words, the emancipatory approach on lifelong learning highlights the importance of empowerment in the policy and the contribution to further emancipation of an individual in several life atmospheres. Moreover, this perspective also supports sociological and psychological models pointing on the interplay of both personal as well as contextual elements when it comes to participation in adult education (Boeren, 2011b).

2 Theoretical base

2.1 The broader context of lifelong learning

2.1.1 Unequal participation

Despite several policy actions and measures taken in order to stimulate educational participation for all, inequality characterizes participation in adult education across Europe (Nicaise, 2003). Few European countries reached the EU average level of at least 12,5% of educational participation by adults (between 24 and 65 years old), a target set for 2010. Participation rates in Belgium nearly reached 9,1% in 2010. In the UK and Scandinavian countries the highest participation rates were noted and in Eastern-European and South-European countries the lowest. In 2009 the European Member States agreed to even raise the average to 15% by 2020.

Participation not only varies considerably across countries, but it is also highly unequal among specific population subgroups (Nicaise, 2003). In 2010 only 3,8% of low-educated adults in Europe participated in lifelong learning. The Belgian number of participating adults with low educational levels stagnated at 3,1% (CEDEFOP, 2012). In conclusion, lifelong learning doesn't offer (equal) chances and opportunities to all.

Research often refers to the Matthew principle in order to explain the unequal participation among population groups. Generally, those with the highest need to increase skills, participate less. Low-educated, elderly people, long-term unemployed, those with a low socio-economical or a migration background, ... are at risk in the context of lifelong learning (Desjardins, Rubenson & Milana, 2006). Moreover, several groups cumulate risk factors, which increases their vulnerability (Boeren, 2009).

In the current lifelong learning policy aspects such as low educational attainment or unemployment are often reduced or simplified as an individual problem of schooling that can be resolved when one is willing to and decides to participate in adult education (Vandenbroeck & Bouverne - De Bie, 2006). Individuals are encouraged to lifelong learning activities in order to 'adapt' to the social and economic changes (Davey & Jamieson, 2003). Financial support and other measures to 'take time off' should enable adults to participate without much trouble. The whole range of schooling possibilities within adult education is in that context considered as the ultimate solution against social exclusion and a method for the individual to improve its position in the labor market and in society. In other words, learning is interpreted as a condition in order to participate in social life and to 'integrate' in the continuous evolving knowledge society.

Literature gives insight in pitfalls of the current lifelong learning discourse in order to pursue equal and full chances for all. Firstly, proper needs and aims of individuals are not taken into account in the above described discourse. Individuals seem to be only evaluated on their deficits and retards regarding the standards and are less appreciated for their competencies or talents (Sierens, 2007). Also, cultural elements and identity of individuals with a migration background are in that context often perceived as a stumbling block in order to integrate or adapt to the standards. The specific cultural background of the studied target group must however be seen not in the light of a

problematizing view on cultural elements but should rather be considered in the context of social inequality. Finally, the impacts of social structuring marginalization processes that are also responsible for non-participation are not (sufficiently) questioned (Vandenbroeck & Bouverne – De Bie, 2006). Heyndrickx and Vansenant (2005) point that the present strategy against social inequality of vulnerable groups risks to shape new forms of inequality.

2.1.2 Position of the target group in education and in the labor market

One's position in society is often measured to the degree one obtained and the job one practices. Consequently, educational attainments have a strong impact on further life and further participation in education. But research also points ethnicity and gender as social structuring principles influencing significantly one's chances and choices (Gehre, 2005; Glorieux et al., 2011).

As mentioned above, women of Turkish and Moroccan origin are facing most problems in order to find access in education and in the labor market (Glorieux et al., 2011). Moreover, in diverse categories they are overrepresented in the most vulnerable positions (Pels & de Gruijter, 2006). 70% of the Turkish and almost 60% of the Nord-African girls are found in lower segments of education (vocational secondary education) and in mainly 'female' educational programs (such as care and office management). Moreover, they leave secondary education five times as much as girls with a Belgian origin (Duquet, Glorieux, Laurijssen & Van Dorselaer, 2006).

The inequality present in education persists in the labor market, especially because educational attainment is an important determinant of employment prospects (OECD, 2007). Several studies show that women with a migration background are searching longer for a job, work more often in less favorable employment situations (lower wages, short-term contracts, ...) and are more often (longer) unemployed. They have more often jobs with a lower status or more traditional female jobs than native women with the same educational level. Moreover, women wearing a headscarf face discrimination at the workplace. (Glorieux et al, 2011; Fleischman & Dronkers, 2006)

Disadvantaged positions in education and in the labor market are leading to less opportunity to participate in adult education (Kyndt, Govaerts, Dochy & Baert, 2011). According to the Human Capital Theory vulnerable groups (such as women, elderly people, low-educated) are risk investments in economic perspective (Nicaise, 2003). Women are less employed, have lower wages, are often employed in less demanding jobs with less economic value and receive as such less job-related adult learning opportunities (Boeren, 2011a). Cognitive jobs however are more connected to adult education and training (Desjardins et al., 2006). Boeren (2011a) also indicates the negative school experiences as predictor in limited participation to adult education. Negative school experiences lead to lower self-confidence and rather negative attitudes towards learning, which doesn't foster participation in adult education (Boeren, 2009).

2.2 Participation patterns in formal adult education

Prior (inter)national research discusses several aspects in regard to the participation of (vulnerable) adults in lifelong learning activities. However, literature is less focused when it comes to participation of low-educated women with a migration background in formal adult education.

2.2.1 General ideas

Generally, two main ideas are present in all studies and frame the findings of several empirical studies. Firstly, the importance of the shared responsibilities regarding (participation in) adult education explicitly highlighted and explained by Boeren et al. (2010). In contrast with a narrow focus on individual responsibilities (shaped by the neo-liberal perspective on lifelong learning) they indicate, "a decision to participate is the result of a matching process between the individual, the educational provisions and the regulating government" (Boeren, 2011a). The components of several models trying to structure (non) participation refer to these shared responsibilities. De Baeres (2007) overview of leading models includes socio-demographic, dispositional, situational, relational, institutional and social factors in relation to the decision-making process and participation in adult education courses.

Secondly, participation is related with other life spheres, such as family life, work and leisure time. This explains not only differences of preferences between individuals at the level of the learning type (referring to formal, non-formal and informal education) (Boeren, 2011a), but also opportunities and barriers with regard to participation in adult learning.

2.2.2 Motives

Reasons for participation in adult education are as diverse as their participants are and highly depend on the type of learning. Baert et al. (2002) distinguish personal, economical, social and educational motives for participation in adult learning.

Adults participating in formal education generally mention professional and/or educational reasons. Especially participants in second chance programs mention both reasons for participation (Glorieux et al., 2009). Remarkable as well is that these learners often experienced a difficult initial school career (Glorieux et al., 2009; Raes, 2008). A study on the effects of second chance education shows that especially men have rather educational reasons, while women are more focused on employability (Raes, 2008). This seems to be similar for groups with a migration background. Glorieux et al. (2011) indicate that women of Turkish and Moroccan origin value the degree of secondary education for reasons of employability. Individuals with a low socio-economic status are, according to Sierens (2007), generally more attracted by adult learning resulting in more employment certainty and higher financial rewards.

Social and personal reasons are less mentioned, although this can differ depending on the learning type. Landuyt (2010) for example discovers that the social aspect is more important to Moroccan

women experiencing poverty and participating in non-formal learning. Moreover, personal motives can be linked to the finding that the degree on itself is often perceived as a whole achievement for women of Turkish and Moroccan origin (Glorieux et al., 2011). In this recent study women showed regret concerning their school career. The impression of not having had enough chances leads them in some cases to adult learning (Glorieux et al., 2011). Moss (1988) mentioned in that context the strong interest in studying and the need to take a new direction in life, motives she discovered during her interviews with women returning to a formal educational setting. Furst-Bowe (2002) adds personal motivations such as self-development and the desire to develop new knowledge and skills. Participation in adult learning is in that sense rather intrinsic (Vansteenkiste, Simons, Lens, Sheldon & Deci, 2004), a factor that is especially characteristic for women (Lacante, Almaci, Van Esbroeck, Lens & De Metsenaere, 2007).

2.2.3 Stimulating and obstructing factors

Several factors play a role in the decision making process, may block or stimulate participation in adult learning, and persist during participation in the course. Although these influencing factors are connected, in what follows they will be presented separately to show that the position of adults in adult education is affected in many ways. Therefore, this section will be divided into four categories: psychological elements of the learner (dispositional), elements concerning the life situation of the learner and its relation with the direct environment (situational and relational), aspects of educational institutes (institutional) and economic, social, cultural influences (social).

Dispositional factors

Second-generation Moroccan women perceive psychological factors such as the 'own strength' or personal motivation and persistence as crucial for their choices and chances (Pels & de Gruijter, 2006). Further, the Chain-of-Response Model of Cross (1981) and several other participation models point on the relation between self-perception and self-evaluation with the development of attitudes towards learning. Those with negative school experiences are less confident, enjoy learning less, have less self-esteem and develop rather negative attitudes towards learning, which doesn't foster participation in adult learning (Boeren, 2009). The same is noticed when adults feel too old or not welcome (Landuyt, 2010) or when they feel insecure about their language proficiency (De Baere, 2007). According to Kyndt et al. (2011) a low belief in the own abilities, a general characteristic for low-qualified individuals, is accountable for weak learning intentions. However, learning intention and self-confidence increase after participation in adult learning (Kyndt et al., 2011; Raes, 2008; Landuyt, 2010).

Situational and relational factors

Previous research has investigated the life situation and the role of relations with the direct environment. Although family and partner are mostly a support and lever to overcome barriers (Pels & de Gruijter, 2006), they can also obstruct participation in adult education. According to research of De Baere (2007) and Landuyt (2010) some women can't participate in adult education because they aren't allowed to. On the other hand, research of Glorieux et al. (2011) indicate

general acceptance of men concerning women's participation in education and in the labor market. However, participating women will have to combine their participation with family responsibilities and taking care of the children. Several studies emphasize the difficulties in combining family responsibilities and other household tasks with adult learning as the main concern in their participation and moreover the main difference between men and women (Boeren, 2011a; Glorieux et al., 2011; Papageorgiou, 2008; Desjardins et al., 2006).

Traditional, fixed role patterns and the female care function aren't totally culturally determined. However, research of Pels and de Gruijter (2006) revealed that these elements are stronger amongst (low-educated and rather traditional thinking) families with a migration background. Indeed, traditionally the Turkish and Moroccan woman acquires her identity via the mother role (Pels & de Gruijter, 2006). Within these paradigms education and work are (only) useful in order to financially support the family if needed, although (female) family responsibilities are prioritized (Glorieux et al., 2011). Remarkable, a lack of success in the labor market can lead young (low-educated) women to the traditional Moroccan ideal of the dedicated mother (Glorieux et al., 2011; Bouw, Merens, Ronkens & Stercks, 2003). Bouw et al. (2003) refer to success in the context of the own community as a way for personal fulfillment if success in society seems to be far away.

Institutional factors

High costs, long course duration, far distances to educational institutes, inconvenient course hours, obligatory attendance, too high-required start level ... are barriers mentioned in research with regard to successful participation in adult education. Adults with a migration background also perceived a lack of information (concerning possible courses, financial support, ...) (De Baere, 2007).

Motivating elements mentioned on institutional level are the adult approach of the courses, the flexibility, modular system, and atmosphere of the class group. Glorieux et al. (2009) presume the institutional guidance of second chance education essential for individuals with language problems.

Findings on the impact of cultural elements vary and seem to depend strongly on the study sample chosen. The composition of the group, adapted teaching and learning methods and respect for the headscarf were for example especially important for the Moroccan women in poverty, but less for others (Landuyt, 2010; De Baere, 2007).

Social factors

Social factors, such as economical, social and cultural structures, can influence all above-mentioned dispositional, situational and relational elements (Boeren et al., 2011b). According to Boeren et al. (2011b) it is in that context essential that the broader contextual environment stimulates positive attitudes towards and participation in lifelong learning activities.

Negative image building and 'Western' interpretations of emancipation and integration often deepen barriers for women of Turkish and Moroccan origin (Glorieux et al., 2011; Pels & de

Gruijter, 2006). Society seems to reject a combination of participation (in education and in the labor market) with development of a personal cultural or religious identity (Pels & de Gruijter, 2006). In the present discourse women with a migration background seem to be forced to choose between cultural identity and emancipation and face difficulties when they want to emancipate maintaining their cultural identity (Pels & de Gruijter, 2006). In contrast with what one might think Pels and de Gruijter (2006) show that for a lot of women, Moroccans more than Turkish, religion is a source of inspiration and legitimation for participation, instead of a barrier.

2.3 The pathway to equality

The theories and empirical studies discussed above clarify the position of the target group in the broader context of lifelong learning and its behavior in adult education. Although some empirical research can't be disconnected from its specific study sample and scope, the findings of prior studies offer some indications to further outline the research objectives and research questions of this study.

Educational level, gender and ethnicity appear to be important in relation to participation in adult education. As a consequence of their Moroccan background, low educational level and gender stereotypes the target group faces social barriers and has a disadvantaged position in society. Based on the literature reviewed this study hypothesizes that low-educated women of Moroccan origin therefore have less chances to participate in adult education in order to become an active citizen, to improve their social position and to increase their chances in the labor market (H1).

Moreover, the literature reviewed uncovers some weaknesses of the lifelong learning policy. Chances (concerning participation) can't be reduced to individual choices, but are as well linked with structural inequality in initial education and in the labor market. This insight leads to a second hypothesis: the current discourse in lifelong learning – with amongst others an increased focus on individuality, competition and integration – reinforces inequalities and makes it even more difficult for this group to achieve equal opportunities in adult education (H2).

Thirdly, participation patterns show that several factors at micro-, meso- and macro-level influence participation. In relation to the target population this study expects that language proficiency, gender relations within the family and cultural identity will affect the chances of the target group (H3).

In conclusion, the current trend among the target population towards more interest and participation in adult education shows that the Matthew principle isn't an unfortunate destiny but can in a sense be tackled. Therefore, a closer understanding concerning the position of the target group in adult education is functional and also supported by prior research. This understanding is needed in the context of their initially underrepresentation in adult education, the underlying individual and social factors that pave the path to inequality and also in the context of the growing significance of lifelong learning and the almost forced 'adaptation' of individuals with a migration background to the standards and needs of the knowledge-based economy.

3 Objectives and research questions

This study asks how the core objectives of lifelong learning are related to the real motives, needs and objectives of the target group. In other words, since policy should meet the perceived motives, needs and objectives in order to offer equal and full chances and pave the path to equal participation, this study has the aim of examining if lifelong learning policy meets the needs of the target population and if it covers the multiple objectives that adults may have in learning, whether for professional, personal, or social reasons (Pont, 2004). This leads to the following central research question for this study: **which chances does formal adult education offer to low-educated women with a Moroccan background?** This central research question can be broken down into four sub questions that will be investigated in the empirical part of this study:

1. Why do low-educated women of Moroccan origin participate in formal adult education? (Motives, incentives)
2. How do low-educated women of Moroccan origin make their choice within adult education? (Factors, channels)
3. How do low-educated women of Moroccan origin experience formal adult education? (Factors, needs, barriers)
4. Which aims do low-educated women of Moroccan origin have by participating in formal adult education? (Objectives)

This entails an exploration of prior and current circumstances in the lives of the target group and the processes at play, both internal (personal) and external (contextual). As such, this study aims to gain a precise understanding of how the target group perceives its chances offered by formal education in order to adapt the current lifelong learning policy where needed.

Research methodology

The intention of this study is to gain insight in participation patterns of unqualified women with a Moroccan background. Prior empirical research offer essential insights concerning the educational participation of adults in different types of lifelong learning, but is limited in describing the position of unqualified groups with a migration background when it comes to opportunities to upgrade their educational attainment.

The major concern of this study is to explore and describe incentives, objectives and influencing factors concerning the return of the target population to a formal learning environment. By this focus the study aims to understand how these elements influence their attitudes on education and how they see themselves as actual and future learners. Therefore data is collected with the qualitative research technique of the in-depth interview. As such, the insights of scientific literature on the topic can be broadened and possibilities for further research aligned.

The general research design of this study is described below, including a description of the target population and the sample chosen. The research methods are explained, data collection, research procedure and analysis clarified.

1 Research procedure and analysis

For gaining access to the respondents the following approach was used. As a first approach to select the sample, the intermediary organization Brucovo (Brussels Consortium Volwassenenonderwijs) and the principals of the Basic Education Center and the CVO Brussels (Centrum voor Volwassenenonderwijs – Centre for Adult Education) were contacted. Based on detailed information offered by Brucovo and the CVO Brussels (the only provider of second chance education in the Brussels Region), the childcare program within second chance education was chosen as case of study.

Students of the childcare program can choose to combine a long (begeleider in de kinderopvang) or short term (begeleider in de buitenschoolse kinderopvang) professional course that results in a certificate in childcare (certificaat 'Begeleider in de (buitenschoolse) kinderopvang') with additional general 'courses of general formation' (aanvullende Algemene Vorming) in order to obtain a degree of secondary education.

Next, a survey was introduced and distributed in all groups of the childcare program. 78 completed surveys could be gathered in all classes of the program. 21 respondents corresponded to the research criteria (14 with a Moroccan, 7 with a Belgian background) and 17 of them left contact information in order to participate in further research. Those individuals were all contacted and received brief information on the purpose of the study and the interview. Except of one respondent who preferred to be interviewed at her work place, all interviews were conducted after classes in a quiet room in the CVO institute. The interviews were conducted between April and June 2013,

ranged from twenty minutes to one hour and were all digitally recorded. Considering the level of theoretical saturation, the data collection continued until we had 17 interviews and approached all respondents who fit the criteria and were willing to participate.

The transcriptions of the interviews were analyzed by listening several times to the interviews and then by open and axial coding. With open coding we attempted to discover patterns and meaning in the data, related to the research questions. After that the coded data was classified into a more general framework of categories, color coded and connected with theoretical explanations in order to make sense and find connections amongst the key concepts. Qualitative data software MAXQDA assisted the whole coding process. The collected stories were structured by constant comparisons, a process that is at the core of the grounded theory. This means that themes and categories that emerged through analysis of the data (an inductive process) were refined through systematic data collection and analysis (a deductive process) (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). The constant comparison permitted as well to discover the differences and comparisons between the respondents.

2 Instruments

2.1 Survey

Based on several examples in empirical research, a quantitative survey (appendix 1) was developed in order to determine the origin of the participants, since the statistics on nationality and place of birth offered by the CVO Brussels weren't sufficient in order to determine the origin of the participants. Indicators for ethnical background were the nationality and place of birth of the respondent, their parents and grandmother at mother's side.

Along with information on the origin of the learners, the survey was also designed to gather other (socio-demographic) information of the participants enrolled in the childcare program. As such, respondents for the interviews could easily be selected based on the results of the survey. In order to have a maximal response and to decrease the risk of uncompleted questionnaires questions were kept short and simple and the number of questions was reduced to 15 questions. At the end of the survey the respondents could leave email and phone number if they were interested in participating in an interview.

2.2 Interviews

The interview is a flexible method for data collection that provides a deeper understanding in the situation of the individual and generates mutual trust between the interviewer and the interviewee, a process that increases the reliability of the data (Cohen, 2007). Moreover, individual interviews have the advantage of being more flexible in time and setting, they give more privacy to the respondents and make it possible to gather detailed information, particularly because they allow the interviewer to probe and further clarify responses. In this study, individual semi-structured interviews were conducted to capture and portray the experiences, attitudes, concerns,

values, interests of the respondents and the aim was to gain insight in what participation in adult education means for the individuals. The impact of personal and social factors such as the role of gender relations, cultural identity, (lifelong) learning, ... was investigated, from their own point of view.

An interview guide (consisting of topics and open-ended questions for discussion) functioned as a framework for the interview and is based on literature review, existing interviews from similar empirical research and conversations with experts. The interview guide had eight sections:

1. Characteristics of the respondent
2. Choice for second chance education
3. Familiarity with adult education
4. Reasons for participation in adult education
5. Experiences in adult education
6. Attitude towards adult education and lifelong learning
7. Dropout in secondary school
8. Expectations of adult education and goals after finishing the program

The entire interview guide can be found in appendix 2. The sequence of the sections and questions changed depending on the story of the interviewee. As such, the interview could be controlled while there was still space for spontaneity.

Both the survey and the interview guide were adjusted, based on the experiences of two reviewers and two individuals who volunteered to test the instruments.

3 Target population and research sample

The target population of this study consists of low-skilled women of Moroccan origin as part of the second generation. All women attended primary and secondary school in Belgium but didn't obtain a degree of higher secondary education regardless the type of education they were in.

For the school year 2012-2013 the CVO noted 103 female learners enrolled. 43 women didn't obtain a degree of higher secondary education. In total, 17 individuals enrolled in the childcare program of second chance education were interviewed. Participants were invited to participate in this study based on gender, educational attainment and ethnical background as defined above. Furthermore, the sample selected shows a great variety in employment status, family status, age, ... in order to respect the heterogeneity of the total group (Cohen, 2007). Though, this doesn't make this sample a representation of the total ethnic community. Or in other words, the particular group doesn't represent the wider population, but simply represents itself.

In order to understand who they are, some characteristics of the respondents are listed in appendix 3. For reasons of confidentiality names of the respondents were changed in the table and results section of this report. Within the group of respondents 13 women have a Moroccan

background. A group of 4 women with a Belgian background and a similar position function as a category of comparison. They make the impact of cultural factors clearer. One woman with a Belgian origin is particular in that context, since she fits all the research criteria but is wearing a headscarf. Her story differs very little from those of women with a Moroccan background wearing a headscarf. We gave her the name Hana. In the result chapter she will be discussed together with the control group, except on this topic. In total 11 women (of the 17) are wearing a headscarf. Because of this particularity their names all start with the letter H. In the main group three women attended primary school and partly secondary school abroad and moved in their teens to Belgium. They continued secondary school in Belgium but didn't obtain a degree. Although their situations are particular, their cases are on most points similar to women who attended French schools in Belgium. As in the case of Hana, these women will not be discussed separately. On some points their stories clarify the processes at play for the total group.

Since the main group of the participants fitting the research criteria was aged between 20 and 25, this group was interviewed first. The majority of relatively young participants correspond with research that points a trend of younger learners in second chance education. Also, the educational level of adults minus 25 is an important predictor for future participation in lifelong learning (Glorieux et al., 2009). Although, considering the validity of the sample and in order to gain information on the total group, also older individuals with the research criteria were asked to participate for an interview. Moreover, research highlights that for older returners formal education such as second chance education is a real second chance. Teaching methods and mentality are often less suitable for adults that left regular school for several years (Berman, 2006) and chances in obtaining a degree decreases significantly after the age of 25 (Glorieux et al., 2009). In the group above 25 there was one woman younger than 30, two older than 30 and two older than 40 who fit the research criteria.

4 Reliability and validity

Considering the intensive personal involvement of both interviewer and interviewees in in-depth interviews and the confidential information of individuals 'opening up' for an interview a sufficient level of validity and reliability should be secured. In that context, several measures were taken to achieve greater reliability and to minimize threats to validity.

External validity can't be guaranteed since results of this qualitative study can't be used for quantitative representation and conclusions of frequency concerning motivations or objectives of participants in formal adult education. Though, the qualitative information obtained enables a broad view on and deeper understanding of the position of the target population in formal adult education. Moreover, considering the small sample this study could invest in a maximal reach and dropout of respondents could be reduced.

In order to increase internal validity, the survey was introduced by and completed in presence of the researcher in order to reduce non-response or incomplete surveys. As such more control was

possible by whom and in which circumstances the survey was being completed (Baarda, Goede & Teunissen, 2005).

Prior to the interviews the researcher observed and participated several times in a course. Not only offered this a view on the life of the respondents and elements that could be mentioned in the interviews, but also mutual trust increased, which simplified the search for interviewees and benefited the validity of the interviews conducted afterwards. Moreover, in an attempt to build out invalidity consent from all participants was asked prior to the interview and time and setting could be chosen in correspondence with the preferences of the interviewees. At the start of the interview, the objectives and advantages of this study were highlighted and interviewees were assured that the information shared would be confidential and secure. As such, social desirability could be reduced.

Also misunderstandings could be reduced since the interviews were conducted in a language in which the interviewees felt comfortable. Most of the respondents insisted to speak in Dutch, with some support of French whenever needed, and one interview was conducted in French. As the researcher could probe inconsistent or confusing answers, misinterpretations could be reduced. Also the auto-recording of the interviews made it possible to further reduce misinterpretations.

As a last measure, ideas, feelings and attitudes towards the situations of the target population were noted down during the whole research process and were confronted with information gathered in interviews, literature and in conversations with experts. This helped to adopt a reflective and skeptic attitude on the role of the researcher and to document perspectives, personal impressions and hypothesis throughout the research process.

Results

Relying on constant comparison, a process of categorizing and organizing data into patterns, this chapter attempts to convey largely in their own words the women's motives, objectives and experiences as they enrolled in formal adult education. The chapter is structured around the main themes identified in the data and uses illustrated examples from the interviews. The literature reviewed during the whole process of the research helps to put the examples of the interviewees into a broader context. The interviews were conducted in a language the interviewee chose. For reasons of readability the quotes used are translated into English. That includes as well a loss of some nuances. That is why the original quotes are collected in the appendix 4.

1 The value of learning

"Adults' readiness to participate in AET¹ is strongly related to the value ascribed to learning" (Desjardins et al., 2006, p.94). Participation implicates that individuals see an added value in reentering the classroom. Reasons for participation are varied, but generally the underlying reason is – in correspondence with the policy objectives of lifelong learning – to improve the personal life, including as well one's working, family and social conditions (Desjardins et al., 2006). For the respondents of this study both motives and objectives refer to that desire to improve several or all atmospheres of life. As in the literature review this section will structure the reflections of the interviewees by following the categories of Baert et al. (2002): economical, educational, social and personal aspects are discussed.

1.1 Upgrading competencies for work

I already have some experience now

HAFSA It starts to be more and more and more difficult ... they intend to ask more and more and more. Well, now I've got the chance but if I look for a job on the internet ... I always see things such as two years of experience, one year of experience ... if I don't have a degree ... how am I supposed to find a job. If they only ask for people with one year, two year, three year of experience. Then, well, now I've got the chance to do internship and to work ... I already have some experience now ... but with a degree it will be easier.

As Hafsa there are several women experiencing difficulties when they are looking for a job. Due to their early dropout in secondary education they are only asked for less valued jobs, such as cleaning, without much prospect for growth and self-development. They have no chances in the labor market, although these chances seem to play a major role in the decision to participate in formal adult education.

Seven out of the seventeen women interviewed were employed at the time of the interview. For six of them the current job was the direct incentive to enroll in formal adult education. This happened in the context of their subsidized work contract (called 'doorstromingsproject (DSP-

¹ AET = Adult Education and Training

contract)'), a policy measure for employment taken with a view to integrate individuals in the labor market, and especially low-skilled adults and under-represented groups that are unemployed for a long time. The DSP-contract permits individuals to combine study and work, as Hiyam explains:

One day a week

HIYAM Well euh, I was unemployed and looking for another job. I was for about a year at home thinking what am I going to do now. And then I finally got myself together and started looking for a job on the Internet. I wanted something in childcare, but I needed a degree for that and I don't have a degree to work as childcare nurse ... But I tried ... I've sent an email ... First, I thought I will be too old ... But I took my phone and called them ... I said I've sent you an email but I would like to ask you something. Just be honest with me ... Am I not too old for this, to work in childcare? In general, these are always younger girls. No?! Mostly. And I know they don't really like older women because euh for them as well, it is euh more expensive, I suppose. And, they said "Oh no, certainly not." And they told me: "Okay, you can start working with us, but you'll have to study instead. One day a week. Yes, that was a condition. And I immediately agreed. And it is, Elmer. That is diversity. Here I've got a chance.

The purpose is to develop competencies and gain knowledge that is required for current and future tasks at the workplace. With the opportunity to gain learning experiences they can apply for a regular employment contract, which is a primary purpose for all interviewees with a DSP-contract. Most of them wish to keep their current function, some hope to have the opportunity to grow in the future.

Generally, working seems to be the normal outcome for all interviewed women participating in formal adult education. Especially (younger) women without previous job experiences in the childcare sector have the objective to start up an own day care center. Hind, however, realizes that this project is quite ambitious.

It was difficult

HIND Friends of mine have their own shops or restaurants and they've told me that it was difficult to have your own business. Because of euh ... from the start you'll have to spend a lot of money and you don't see the money return. You also need to know all rules and stuff. But I thought I could first work normally in a day care center or kindergarten. Because in kindergarten I didn't start my internship yet. So, I don't know yet if I will like that or not ... Anyways, I will first start to work and then when I see everything is going fine, then I'll evaluate things and open up my own day care center. That would be nice as well.

They often don't know exactly if and how they are going to realize the project they have in mind. This may indicate a lack of information but can also refer to possible other activities and other life situations (for example the birth of children) that can cross their plans.

In contrast to the previous stories Rachidas road to work is tough and shows that even after several courses in adult education there is no success guaranteed in the labor market. As a minor she came to Belgium, spent a long period at home after her marriage and took care of the children. Since she divorced she is looking for a job. Her participation in formal adult education started around her thirties with a Dutch course at her children's school. Despite several (professional) courses in adult education she couldn't find work and decided to attend the childcare training in order to further increase her chances in the labor market. However, she isn't sure about the outcomes.

1.2 Educational dreams

Although literature reveals that the participation of young dropouts in second chance education is a growing trend in adult education, this group is rather a minority in this study sample. Aged between 20 and 22, Hadjar, Hind, Nabila and Nesrine started after negative experiences in secondary school and an early dropout.

My degree was important to me

HIND Because I ... euhm ... well, a whole day attending classes at school. That wasn't my cup of tea. So, I skipped classes and I almost never went to classes and so on. I had to retake my year several times because I always ended up changing school. I actually started in Molenbeek, went to Dilbeek after that and then that was a different level, so I again didn't pass. And after a couple of years I didn't like school anymore. But well, yes, my degree, that was still important to me after all.

They are all enrolled in formal adult education as full-time students and combine childcare (the professional training) with the additional general courses. Their primary focus is to obtain a 'full' degree of secondary education, as an entrance ticket for the labor market and/or higher education. None of them is working, except of Nesrine, who urgently needed to earn some money in order to pay debts she made.

As found in literature of Kyndt et al. (2011) participation in adult education increases learning intentions and interest in learning, both for the full-time students and the women employed. Most women who participate in adult education as part of their DSP-contract wish to enroll for the program with additional general courses once they successfully finish the childcare training program. Some of them never thought they would have been interested in learning again. Both programs make it possible to obtain a degree. Separately they both lead to a certificate. Age plays a major role in pursuing the degree of secondary education.

You're still young

HIYAM Some of them continue with additional general courses ... young girls ... and I encourage them. I say, go ahead! You're still young! You'll still have many years in your life to work. Do it now you're still ... And they went doing tests, and then I encourage them. There are a couple of young girls in our class. But for me that is, that is just enough my certificate.

A few women have more ambitious plans after they will have finished their current course. They would like to continue in higher education. Teacher education and nursery are jobs they attribute with a higher social status and are by far the most popular. Also here it is sometimes doubtful if they will continue. Hafsa went to school in Morocco, came to Belgium as a teenager and continued secondary school in a French school in Brussels. Her choice for the childcare program is an attempt to come closer to a dream she always has had.

More or less something like that

HAFSA I always wanted ... when I was in my country, my dream was to become a teacher and to work with children, but when I came here, it was very difficult to finish my studies, because everything was in Dutch and French ... and I've had done all my studies in Arabic. It was difficult to continue. That's why I stopped my studies. I've only done one year here. I succeeded but it was very difficult. But then I've chosen to do this. Well, my dream was to be a teacher ... and childcare is more or less something like that.

Based on her satisfaction with childcare as a choice that approaches her original dream and the way she perceives herself (as being creative, active, ...), one may think that she will never achieve her dream. The references to (language) difficulties she had in initial education (as mentioned for example in this quote), the negative feelings related to her dropout and changes in her personal life, the efforts she did later on in adult education could strengthen this idea.

1.3 Empowering the (current or future) mother role

Although economical and educational objectives are important for the women interviewed, several elements indicate as well that the value of learning should be seen in the context of the family.

For mothers, relevance for their family and especially for their children is essential in their participation. Some women interviewed participate in adult education in order to gain information and skills to improve their mother role. This ambition matches with the value assigned to the mother role in families with a migration background (Pels & de Gruijter, 2006).

How to treat your children

HESSA I enrolled because it could also help for my children. And at the same time I can work as well. I can work if I want to ... and the course also helps for your children. Information for example you didn't get. You receive information on how to treat your children and so on. At the moment I have one child. He is well educated but I think if I will have more children this will be useful to know how to deal with that. Here you receive a lot of information.

While developing herself in function of her mother role, Hessa also gains qualifications in order to increase chances in the labor market in case she would need to work. The argument 'for the sake of the children' is often used and perceived as a legitimation for their own development (Bouw et al., 2003). This counts for both Hessa and Hiba. Hiba already attended a Dutch course in the past.

So I could follow my child at school

HIBA Euh ... my child was at a Dutch school and there was euh ... homework or a letter ... or they had to hand over or to bring something to school. I didn't understand anything, so ... I took a course, Dutch ... so I could follow my child at school ...

Also her participation in the childcare program is linked with the idea of learning new things she can use in daily family situations.

Don't do anything at home

HIBA I wanted to attend a course but only for language. English or Dutch or euh ... to improve my language skills. Pff ... I don't do anything at home ... I have children, three children but euh ... whole day I'm doing nothing, except of cleaning.

Also when Nesrine mentions that it is "a good program for a woman" and Hessa tells that "she discussed her choice for childcare with her husband" who agreed with her choice, we could assume that the correspondence of the program with the gender role is relevant and the program itself in that sense more accepted by the direct environment and the cultural community. Prior research findings concerning family priority support this idea (Glorieux et al., 2006; Bouw et al., 2003).

As their own mothers did before them, they wish new and better chances for their children. And by working on their own development and schooling they try to guarantee this better future (Bouw et al., 2003).

More chances to bring your children to school

WAHIBA Also for my child ... then later I could say: "you see, I studied, I graduated and have obtained a degree. This is important for you later, so study!". This is euh ... something important I think. Also for Dutch. This is an extra advantage I think. For us later, since we aren't in our own country here I think. Well, we belong here because we're born here, but we aren't really in our country. So, if we are able to speak Dutch, then this is an advantage. You'll have more chance to find work, ... more chances to bring your children to school as well, because now they ask language skills in Dutch for at least one of both parents.

1.4 Key to social integration

While improving their (current or future) mother role, they also develop or improve competencies that may be useful to integrate and get a role in society. Without a degree or certificate, they don't get access to higher education nor the labor market, but also on personal and social level they feel rejected. Hiba expresses her disappointment.

Something I like

HIBA I would like to work in something I like, because now I'm unemployed, a job seeker and VDAB is always giving me cleaning jobs. I'm born here, I'm only 34 years old, I'm good in French, speaking, reading, and writing. And from my 34 until my retirement I don't see me cleaning all the time.

A repeatedly returning aspect is the desire to work in something they really like, something with children. Several women have the impression they never had the chance before to do something they like, due to the educational system (no choice between programs), their parents (who desired other programs or had other priorities for their daughters), their own attitudes towards school (boredom), ... The correspondence of their preference with their mother role is strengthened by prior research: they feel valorized in that role, in their knowledge and competencies as a mother. Thus, they see possibilities in improving this role and using it to participate in society.

Mother feeling

RACHIDA I'm experienced as mother, with my children ... but working is different ... Here in the program I learn several ways to deal with children, things I don't learn at home ... With my children I may have another way ... but if there is a group of toddlers or so ... It is very useful to be a mother. But you're still a mother ... these are not my children, but I euh ... since I care a lot I sometimes do more than I should do ... that's the mother feeling ...

Relevant in that context are also a positive self-perception concerning competencies linked with this role. They define themselves as creative, social, good with children, ... Aspects they perceive as useful for society.

I'm happy

HAFIDA I feel very well when I'm with the children. Now I'm working at Elmer and every day you know you are going to the day care center and the children will all be there and ... I don't know how I'll have to say that but ... I'm happy ... with the children ... I'm someone, I make contact with everyone. I don't have problems with that. So, I'm very social, so with the children that's ... I don't know. That's easy.

For Houda it is important to "teach something to children, since they are the future". But also other aspects of their own talents seem to offer possibilities to integrate. In that context Hafida is proud and sees it as an advantage to speak several languages.

You can learn more in that way

HAFIDA If we are in the day care center, well ... we are only allowed to speak in Dutch ... But I think that it is also nice that if you don't understand something, that you can say it in French and as there are lots of Arabic people there as well ... so you can say it in Arabic as well. And, well, you can learn more in that way.

Hafsa is motivated to expand this in order to be able to "deal with everyone".

To be able to deal with everyone

HAFSA I think it is very important, because now I work and I see people who speak several languages and there are also people who only speak English or only French. So as a childcare nurse we have to be able to deal with everyone. I think that is very important.

In other words, most women are enthusiastic to use their talents, improve them by learning and use them to contribute to society. In their perception of others they sometimes express the possibilities of adult education.

It only takes two years

HAFSA I think it is a pity. Well, it isn't bad but women who are for example 40 years old and they clean and those things ... because, well, it only takes two years to obtain a degree and then you can do something nice ... euh, work in something you like ... and not spending your whole life on cleaning. I mean ok two years of studying but than something nice. But yes, for someone who really needs a job ... two years is a little long.

A lack of self-confidence often linked with prior (school) experiences (Hiyam: "I thought I was nothing without a degree, so I stayed in my job") and the fact of not being informed (Hiyam: "I

didn't know ... if I would have known, I would have done that earlier") result in immobility concerning their professional and educational aspirations.

Participation in adult education is a way to boost self-confidence, a confirmation of the personal value, offered by society in the shape of a degree or certificate. This not only counts for women with a Moroccan background, but also for women of the control group. Hana explains it very clear.

More confident

HANA I feel much better as well ... more confident ... I know that now I have a fixed workplace. I know that and that gives some structure in life as well, no?! I feel valorized as well. You have more knowledge, you are more confident, that is normal. It is as if people they seem to look at you as ... you don't have a degree. Then you don't really feel ... it is important. Or maybe it's just a feeling I have myself, but I really had the impression before that people looked down on me. But now, I feel that there is more confidence ...

This points on the emancipatory effect of adult education (Pels & de Gruijter, 2006). The fact that they gain confidence and motivation, that they overcome the idea that they aren't able to do anything (except of cleaning), the idea that they also have the right to study and were able to find access, the difficulties they overcome to inform themselves and to pass the entrance test. The women mention all these elements with a lot of proud, as something they "accomplished" and "a goal that they have reached". In that sense it is not surprising that they perceive their degree as a big achievement, their "graduation". This emancipatory effect is very important and indicates an essential aspect of non-formal learning in adult education.

1.5 Personal emancipation

The women interviewed perceive the degree of secondary education especially useful "in case", "maybe for the future", because "you never know". These words indicate a focus on personal emancipation as a preparation for unexpected circumstances. The stories of Hafida and Rachida, who divorced, show how useful this personal emancipation is.

Never know what tomorrow will bring

HAFIDA I always say ... We can never know what tomorrow will bring so yes ... I always keep that in mind. So, we don't know, so better learn something ... to have something and don't wait. Why wait? I know a lot of women who have small children. They go to (secondary) school to learn ... but then, they don't want to anymore. They say, is enough for us. We've studied a bit. We can talk and we can write. That's it. Final point. Yes, but for me no, I'm always thinking about tomorrow ... always. Or maybe, or maybe that is ... because I was married once and I divorced ... So I have euh euh stopped because of my marriage ...

Conclusion

The categories used show different angles in order to discuss the value of learning for the women interviewed. Often however their motives and objectives have to be situated in a greater perspective and on several levels at the same time.

For the interviewees learning is important to improve life, personal as well as social and in the context of their job and educational ambitions, but at the same time it isn't sure if they will be able to realize their objectives. All depends on what happens in their life. Also their low self-confidence can play a role in this uncertainty. Moreover, the path to their objectives and even to a degree of secondary education is long and difficult to combine with work. Only Nesrine is taking up the full study program together with a part-time job. On these aspects there are few differences with the stories within the control group of women with a Belgian background.

The empowerment of the mother role is an important aspect in their participation. Being a model for and offering better chances to their children are pursued. At the same time the improvement and valorization of talents and roles they perceive as valuable are key elements for integration in society and increase their self-confidence. This aspect concerning the mother role and social integration from the mother role is not present in the control group. There mainly professional and educational aspects appear, together with effects of personal emancipation.

2 Influencing factors: levers and barriers

During the interviews factors were discussed that influenced their participation. Levers and barriers are situated on micro-level (the learner), meso-level (the learning environment) and macro-level (the broader social influences).

2.1 Micro-level: learner

2.1.1 Psychological elements

Prior research mentions personal characteristics such as motivation and willingness in relation to choices and chances (Pels & de Gruijter, 2006). The women interviewed give several examples to illustrate their motivation.

I started to invent homework

HOUDA Since I was little, I loved homework. I had to sit at the table and make my homework and immediately after that my mother always asked me to leave that table, but I started to invent homework "well, yes, I still have to do this as well", you know, and then I stayed at the table ... you know, I really loved that ... maybe that was kind of a problem, I don't know.

Houda and Hafida perceive themselves as good learners, they love school and homework. Even when they didn't go to school because of their marriage they continued learning at home. Especially Arabic and Dutch language courses are mentioned. Learning is "part of enjoying life" for both women and they both refer to Islam as a source for their personal strength, but as well to justify why learning is so important to them.

Learning is part of our religion

HAFIDA In our religion we also have to learn, always continue learning ... learning religion and also learning in what you do in life ... so, school, work, ... and not only sleeping ... but ... a lot of people they don't know that.

This inner motivation is lacking for women who mentioned demotivation in relation to their dropout in secondary school. Their negative school experiences were an important barrier for participation in adult education. This aspect also appeared in prior research of Boeren (2009). For these learners other things made them change their minds.

It all came back

HASSIBA Actually I had just started working. I wasn't ready and didn't want to go back to study or something to learn or maybe I was a little too young at that moment. Although, now, it all came back and I'm glad for that. It all came back. But first, I had to attend BKO. A part-time course of animator ... it was mandatory ... A short course of six months ... twice a week ... And I've done that and it went well and so ... but, I love my job and that really is my thing ... but I don't like studying so much, that course was more practical, but it all went well. And now, suddenly I was motivated to continue studying. And because I already have a certificate of BKO, I've got exemptions.

The chances offered at work, their well being at work and job satisfaction, the exemption of courses, but also other family member or friends graduating or undertaking adult education, ... are mentioned as motivational elements and levers for participation.

Furthermore, these women perceive themselves as social, active, open-minded, creative, strong, ... Personal aspects they define as valuable in their field of study and work. This positive self-perception is also useful in undertaking adult education. These elements help them to find access, to get information, to pass the entrance test, ... However, they often feel insecure about their cognitive abilities. In that context they mention their language proficiency, their earlier school experiences and their choice for childcare as an "easy" course.

2.1.2 Situational and relational elements

Family responsibilities

Women in this study support the idea that small children prevent them from pursuing their own ambitions. Participation is therefore often postponed until their children are bigger (Pels & de Gruijter, 2006).

I couldn't find childcare

HIYAM A long time ago I attended a course at VDAB. But that's really a long time ago. My children were still small. And then ... that was too complicated. It didn't work out well for me, because at that time. It would have been possible if I would have found childcare. But I couldn't find childcare for my children. The course consisted of complete days. Really complete days. Whole week, complete days. And now, really, I'm older now ... and you have a lot more freedom when you're older. You have more time ... children are older. They are almost adults as well.

For most mothers interviewed family responsibilities and work are perceived as obstacles for a full program, which is a combination of the childcare program with additional general courses. Also the idea that several women emphasize how 'strong' and 'brave' mothers are to combine the childcare

course with work and/or family responsibilities shows that this combination isn't easy. Consequently, they are planning to obtain their degree in smaller steps, sometimes after some years of working. However, they aren't alone. Also employed women without children prefer to undertake one course at the time. Since that makes the path to a degree very long, it is sometimes doubtful if they will continue studying. As mentioned above, only the youngest respondents, enrolled as full time students, are combining both programs. Without children and job the combination is easier.

In the case of Hessa, participation in combination with the family responsibilities is agreed upon together with her partner.

First my certificate

HESSA He says that I first need my certificate and only then well I can look for work because otherwise it will be too hard, if you work and study and with a family then it is too much ... now I'm only doing internship.

Although this doesn't necessarily mean that she is limited in her personal development. Pels and de Gruijter (2006) indicate that women with a Moroccan background often understand their development and autonomy in relation to the idea of taking care of and taking into account others.

Relationship with partner

Not only family responsibilities decline with age, but also the relationship with the partner can change.

You know each other very well

HIYAM You have much more freedom when you are older. You have more time ... children are older They are almost adults now. And, I think as a Moroccan woman you also gain freedom when you're getting older ... yees ... I think or maybe because, if we were younger, maybe now that changed with young girls. I can actually see that with my daughter now, that changed ... well, we had less freedom when we were young. That is a bit our culture ... the parents, you see, and even if I was happily married ... you still had less freedom. But now, if you're older, then you know each other very well or something ... I don't know why. But it is true, your husband lets you more freedom.

Houda emphasizes how difficult it can be for women to participate in (adult) education.

It is often hard for those women

HOUDA Other women don't have the same luck, you know. It is very hard if you want to study and your husband won't. What do you want? Going to school or staying at home instead of having a fight afterwards. And it is often hard for those women. You know, I can't say those women: just go for your dream ... then their husband will beat them if they do so. So, that isn't easy. She needs to be able to study.

The story of Hafida, who left school early for marriage, strengthens the reflections of Houda.

Tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow

HAFIDA He said no, don't go to school. I could only stay at home. So yes ok. Tomorrow, tomorrow, tomorrow. I was always waiting for tomorrow, for the end. And then, I said no, stop, I'm sorry. I can't do this.

Hafida perceived her divorce more as a relief and opportunity to undertake adult education and to continue her personal development. Respect of her husband was in that context lacking.

2.2 Meso-level: learning environment

2.2.1 Information and support

Direct environment

Corresponding with Bouw et al. (2003) who state that school success often is a family project in the Moroccan community, participation in adult education as well concerns in some cases the whole family. A family member, who attended the childcare program or knew someone who did, introduced them to the CVO and formal adult education. This source is valued as confidently.

A friend of my mother

HIND Actually I wanted to do Syntra. But I was hesitating; because school isn't that must my cup of tea. Secondary school and stuff, I didn't like it that much. And the friend of my mother attended classes here. Also in care. And she told that to my mother and then my mother she asked me 'Why don't you go to adult education instead of Syntra?'

Besides introducing the women to the CVO family members also often function as a model for the respondents. Her siblings who graduated and found work immediately after graduation were an example for Nabila and helped her to keep motivated. Also for Dutch courses family is a model, as this is the case for Hafsa.

I will learn

HAFSA A lot of people in my family are talking Dutch ... because my father is Dutch. He is born in Holland, but they went back to Morocco and stayed there. And I said to myself why not. At home we don't speak Dutch, not at all ... and neither French ... we speak our mother tongue. But I said, well, they know how to talk in Dutch and I don't ... I will learn!

This can be linked with the value of Dutch in order to increase chances in the labor market and with the direct presence for support in case of language problems. Respondents who feel insecure about their language level receive support from family(-in-law). Hayat shows this isn't always evident.

I am lucky

HAFIDA Maybe for people who are Dutch maybe for them it is easier but for me, no ... when I don't understand something, who is going to help me then? Now, I am lucky to have my sister-in-law who is always there to help me ... she says, I'm studying, not you anymore ... because she always helps me with a task ... yes, really.

Prior research indicated that even when education is strongly related to motivation and willingness, the lack of support of relatives and partner make these women extremely vulnerable

(Pels & de Gruijter, 2006). Without the acceptance of their family and partner, the conversations concerning the evolution they go through, the motivating words, ... several women wouldn't have been participating in formal adult education. But, support goes beyond motivating words. The women interviewed can count on practical support from their partner in taking care of the children. Houda perceives the support of the partner as the key for participation but realizes this isn't the case of everyone.

A helping husband

HOUDA If your husband is helping you, then everything goes smooth. But if your husband is leaving you alone with it, then it will be difficult ... Well, for example, this morning ... It is my husband who brought my daughter to the day care center. You know, it is all about combining. And, there are also women who aren't that lucky you know. You know those women who are just staying at home and cook dinner and just wait for their children to come home ... A woman isn't only for children ... A woman is for ... no, it isn't like that, it isn't.

In the control group family and partner are less mentioned as resource or obstacle. They perceived their participation more as an individual project, although this doesn't mean that they didn't need the support of family and/or partner. Although, prior research strengthens the importance of the direct environment for individuals with a migration background.

Indirect environment

Women employed with a DSP-contract perceive the professional support they receive at their workplace as crucial for their participation and persistence in adult education. A mentor at the workplace is taking track of their evolution, motivates them and helps them with tasks.

The CVO is especially appreciated for its practical support

We'll find a solution

HIYAM Here at the CVO ... They look at you individually and they say "you have a problem? Something isn't going well ... euh, the combination with work ... euh ... our school work, children, then come to us. We'll find a solution". Really no, they (the teachers) really believe in their students. That is ... very encouraging. For me it isn't a problem, but I know some girls of my class, they have small children, they are coming from far away ... and that is ... and they are working ... and sometimes it can't be combined and ... really euh ... if these teachers wouldn't be there to support them and say "come on, we'll find a solution". I think they would have quit.

but less for its support concerning the personal evolution of the learner.

Personalized

HANA They are guiding more in general as a group and less, how do I have to say that ... personalized, if you want. And at work that's really a person that is guiding you and if I have some questions or if I need some help for my tasks or euh, then she is helping me ... and that is motivating as well. Well, the fact that someone is behind you, then you are more euh ... you know what I mean.

Although some women took classes with the language coach it is remarkable that no one mentions the language coach as a concrete help, opposed to the language support they receive from relatives. Some only mention the language coach as an existing service for students with language problems.

Lastly, the counseling the VDAB and Actiris offer can count on mixed reactions. The women with experiences in Dutch classes are positive when it comes to the VDAB as an information channel.

I will try. And so I did

HAFIDA I've taken Dutch classes at the CVO Lethas. So, VDAB is coming and they say: "Yes, if you would like to attend a course" ... I said: "What? I don't have a degree". They say: "yes, that's not needed". I was so happy. I didn't know. Really. I didn't know, because I've said ... I had all my school career in French so I didn't know nothing for Dutch or something. So, yes, they said: "yes, no problem if you want to do nursing or secretary or something else". I say: "well yes, I will try that". And so I did.

Also the possibility to take a short internship before enrolling in a program is perceived as positive. However, several women (who didn't attend Dutch courses) are disappointed in the counseling of VDAB and other organizations. They expected more help in discovering their talents and the possibilities they have.

Courses we could attend

HIBA Although VDAB ... we're obliged to go there once a month ... and they never talked us about courses we could attend, except of courses for Dutch language with Lethas. But, except of that. That's it. They never told me, well, you could do a course to become this or that. They just give you some work offers and then you have to present yourself. Or they take a newspaper and say you have to present you there. For me, three times a month to find some work. That's all they say. They don't suggest attending a course. They don't reassure you you're not old. Or, well, you can get some information there. Even for the CVO, when I told them I was doing this childcare program here ... they told me they know the program. That's it.

Need for good counseling becomes even clearer when Hafida describes her difficulties in French institutions.

Nobody is there to help

HAFIDA I tried but no no no, it isn't the same. Really, it isn't the same. They aren't clear and you don't know what you have to do then. Nobody is there to help. Nobody. You have to search on your own. You have to do everything on your own, but sometimes. I left school, so I don't have a degree, so it was even more difficult to me.

Although policy measures are taken concerning financial support, the costs for the program remain high, especially for someone with financial difficulties. Sometimes the workplace or the VDAB carries the costs. Others however pay a small amount or the total enrollment fee.

Small unemployment compensation

HANA They pay my entire course. That is euh ... very good ... especially in the beginning. it is expensive. It all depends on the trimester and the course materials they give. It can increase till euh ... I saw some people, the bill ... it increases till 400 euros in the beginning. And for me, in the beginning that was ... I didn't have so much money. I never worked fulltime. And that gives you a small unemployment compensation. The bills, the rent, ... The money is quick gone. I think I only had almost 800 euros. That's it. I didn't have ... yes. It was very hard. Every cent euh ... Well, at the start I couldn't have started a course ... maybe not. But I heard that they often let you pay in parts if you really have no choice. That's what I heard, but well ...

Information on the possibilities and conditions are often not available and procedures are complicated. Women who had a DSP-contract or participated in Dutch courses receive more information.

2.2.2 Reputation of educational institutes

Most women admit they never heard of CVO before. Also other educational institutes remain rather unknown, except of the House of Dutch (Huis van het Nederlands) and the CVO Lethas. Both institutes are known for their guidance in Dutch courses.

Earlier experiences with adult education are mainly situated in Dutch courses or courses offered by VDAB. The VDAB courses however are perceived as difficult, especially for individuals with another mother tongue.

I didn't feel accepted

HAFSA For example a teacher here will always do its best to transmit everything to everyone, not only for the Dutch-speaking or those who understand things quicker or who understand it better ... but in VDAB it wasn't like that. It was really difficult. It was like it was only meant for Dutch-speaking people. But I don't understand why they accept people with a little bit a lower level. I didn't feel accepted. Possibly this will be different for everyone ... but for me personally, it was like that.

Some women state similar situations in French educational institutes. Two women witness:

That test is really difficult

HASSIBA After secondary school ... for example that course of childcare ... it also exists in French, but for a shorter period. It is not that long ... not two years. You neither learn so much. And, they aren't so quick offering chances to everyone. No, there is a test and that test is really difficult and then they only take a few.

Not so many chances

HAFIDA I tried to obtain my degree (in adult education) but with French institutes. But there aren't so many chances ... really ... really ... They say, no! If you don't have your degree, it is really difficult.

The learning opportunities in the childcare program of the CVO are highly valued. The respect and support of teachers, flexibility, adult treatment and interactive learning methods in particular. Weaknesses mentioned were among others the long duration of the course.

2.2.3 Social activity

Questions about the class group, their interest in distance education, their workplace, ... lead to one conclusion: learning is a social activity or in other words the presence of 'others' is essential in the learning process.

Generally, well being in the class group is crucial. Most women blossomed up in the group and were very enthusiastic about things they learned by simply listening to or discussing with other students in the class group. Also here the aspect of role models is mentioned. Especially the older

students were an example and source of information for the younger ones. The younger ones on their turn boosted the older ones with motivation, an increased feeling of self-respect and new ideas.

Since distance education and blended learning are growing trends in lifelong learning, this topic was also discussed. Their need of guidance, especially for women with low language proficiency, was a general concern. This strengthens presumptions of prior research that linked the choice for second chance education by individuals with a migration background to guidance (Glorieux et al., 2009). They also frighten isolation and a lack of concentration. Also practical barriers, such as not having a computer at home, hold some back from distance education.

Also at the workplace learning together with colleagues is appreciated, for example concerning the development of language skills.

They learn a little more every day

HIYAM We also have a few people who don't have Dutch as their mother tongue ... well, I ... I suppose I'm Dutch-speaking. Actually there are a lot, not Dutch-speaking and tough they work at Elmer ... and we are motivating them and we speak with them so they learn a little more each day. So that's important I think, someone who speaks Dutch very well.

However, also in this context guidance is important to create a learning environment where they feel comfortable and encouraged.

Something is blocking

HIBA When I started the internships I started hesitating ... because I don't speak so much with my colleagues. I have the impression that they think I'm not nice, because I don't say so much. And I was thinking, when this would have been in French I would have talked more, about my life, ... And with the children as well. When this would have been in French, I would have been more open with them, because in Dutch it is blocking a little. That's why I started hesitating a little, but I think I will continue the course in Dutch. There is something that blocks sometimes ... even a small sentence. I don't get there. Something is blocking, I don't know why.

2.3 Macro-level: social context

2.3.1 Respect for cultural identity

The current discourses concerning prohibition or acceptance of the headscarf in educational institutes and the labor market also have an impact on the participation of women in adult education. Ideas about the headscarf vary among respondents, which underlines the idea that wearing a headscarf is a personal decision. However, they all agree on the idea that the acceptance of the headscarf is a sign of respect for the whole community. Therefore, they strongly appreciate that the CVO keeps doors open for women with a headscarf. Hiyam, wearing a headscarf herself:

They have to undress

HIYAM A lot of these women who come here, that is ... well, how do I have to say that ... that motivates you ... saying I can go there as who I am. Then they feel better as well, than somewhere where they have to undress. Then they don't feel, a little less in the right place. Here you have the feeling you're accepted as who you are.

Pels and de Gruijter (2006) refer in that context to Ghorashi (2005) stating that a woman's space to emancipate can be strongly reduced when the collective they identify with is under pressure. Moreover, prior research approves that stigmatizing increasingly Islam can have a negative effect on the emancipation of these women (Glorieux et al., 2011).

There are several indications about inequalities concerning the headscarf between educational institutes and employers. Three women about their experiences:

Couldn't start with a headscarf

HAFSA I could also attend the course with my headscarf ... no problem. And maybe ... and maybe, that is a reason as well to choose to take this course in Dutch. I don't know because, I have a lot of girls in my family who studied in French and they couldn't work with their headscarf. I have my sister-in-law who is working in a day care center, without headscarf, but she is actually wearing a headscarf. She couldn't start with a headscarf. I have my own sister ... and ... lots ... I know lots of people.

That's strange, no?!

HAFIDA we were talking once and she said yes, you can keep your headscarf on (at work)? And I said yes! And oooh, noo, *c'est pas vrai* ... I say yes I can, because she says that in French organizations, no, you can't. That's strange, no?! Strange because a lot of people, well, a lot of Moroccan or Turkish or other people are wearing their headscarf and they are speaking rather French more than Dutch but even then ... I don't know why. I think ... in Dutch organizations it is more accepted ... well, at least I hope.

You should learn Dutch

HANA A while ago, I was sitting in the bus and I had a conversation with a woman sitting next to me. She as well wanted to work in a day care center and she had also studied in French school, but she didn't want to take off her headscarf to work and then I said to her you should learn Dutch and that Dutch day care centers are more ... and then she asked me: "And where can I take Dutch courses?". And then I said it was possible at the CVO. And she asked me where that was and ... yes.

Several women experienced or had the impression there is more flexibility concerning cultural elements in Dutch organizations. Former research (Bouw et al., 2003; Glorieux et al., 2011) notifies: the more difficulties women experience in the labor market, the more attractive the alternative of a dedicated mother at home.

Houda concludes:

With a heart

HOUDA Actually it's all about the employers and the teachers and everything ... if they are treating you with respect, then you go to work, to study, ... with a heart.

Difficulties and inequalities concerning respect are not mentioned in the control group.

2.3.2 Offering chances

Chances in the labor market are often reduced for the women interviewed due to the lack of a degree, headscarf, low language proficiency, ... However, prior research emphasizes the importance of opportunities to a decent job, in which there is trust in the employees, enough autonomy and potential to grow in the job function of organization (Kyndt et al., 2011). According to Kyndt et al. (2011) these elements have a positive impact on the learning intentions.

A supportive attitude of organizations towards learning and development is strongly appreciated.

They understand us

HASSIBA If they wouldn't have been so ... how can I say ... they understand us, so that's ok. But if that would have been missing, then it would have been a little more difficult, because we get quite a lot of tasks. And then if we would go home, still have to do the preparations and so on ... It would be difficult.

Further, the workplace is perceived as the ideal environment to practice and develop language skills in a concrete and purposeful context. Hafsa is one of the women appreciating strongly these opportunities.

Dutch was only happening in the classroom

HAFSA I try ... well, now it has been six months and I've learned a lot, because I was working only with Dutch-speaking people and I could talk a lot and ... well, so we learned a lot ... because they asked me if I did a course. I was attending Dutch classes, yes, euh ... but the course was ok but outside of that ... nothing ... Dutch was only happening in the classroom, but not outside.

At last, Hana values possibilities for growth at the workplace.

She walked the same path as I do

HANA I also received a regular contract at Elmer, already since September. They knew I was still studying but still they offered me a regular contract. I have my own group of children now. I'm also person of interest for the children ... so euh ... That is also a very good thing at Elmer. You can actually increase your function. Not such a long time ago there also was a nurse who is pedagogical guide right now. And she walked the same path as I do, so ... that's motivating.

Conclusion

Several aspects situated within the learner and its personal living context, the learning environment and the broader social context influence participation. The cooperation between actors on all levels is important.

Women refer to personal aspects and inner strengths in order to explain their successful participation. However, partner and family have several roles concerning their participation in adult education. Their experiences, expectations and perceptions are taken into account and their support is highly needed in order to make the combination of participation (in adult education and/or the labor market) and family responsibilities feasible.

On the other hand, professional and educational institutes can be a lever or an obstacle concerning participation. Several women indicate a need for counseling in order to discover their own talents and possibilities within adult education. Furthermore, aspects of non-formal learning in formal learning are highly appreciated. In that context classmates and colleagues function as role models and partners in the learning process. Lastly, good experiences in the labor market and respect for the cultural identity of the community have a positive effect on participation of women with a Moroccan background. In comparison with the control group, there are few differences, except of the language problems, the importance of family and partner and the experiences and needs concerning the headscarf.

Conclusion

The following discussion, limitations and recommendations are the result of interplay between the stories of seventeen low-educated women and literature on (participation in) lifelong learning.

1 Discussion

This report started with a framework concerning lifelong learning and the participation of individuals with a Moroccan migration background in formal adult education. For the purpose of this study the target group consisted of women without a degree of higher secondary education and part of the second-generation Moroccans, an initially under-represented group in adult education. Four women with a Belgian background functioned as a control group. Only formal adult education was addressed and the respondents were selected in the childcare training program of second chance education in Brussels. The key focus of this study was on the question which chances formal adult education offers to the target group. An exploration of the motives, experiences and objectives provides an insight in these chances offered and the (internal and external) factors involved. Moreover, it gives evidence for a broader view on lifelong learning.

This study has shown that learning has an impact on all life spheres. For the women interviewed it was important that adult education offered chances for professional, educational, personal and social perspectives. Although professional and educational perspectives are prioritized, participation is also strongly motivated by personal and social emancipation often starting from the mother role. Due to former experiences in education and the labor market low-educated women of Moroccan origin often feel rejected by society. This not only offers them fewer opportunities in order to continue education or to find a good job, but it makes them also very unconfident concerning their role in society and their personal competencies. On the other hand, within their direct environment and within the community these women are valorized and respected for their mother role and other personal aspects. During their participation in formal adult education several women try to develop this role and these aspects not only to strengthen the chances for their (future) children but also in order to increase their own value in society. Generally, participation increases their self-confidence and learning intentions. Adult education has in that sense an important role in empowering these women and the positive effects of participation should be encouraged.

A certificate or degree is considered as a proof for their personal value and a ticket to social inclusion. However, several factors both on an individual and social level can stimulate or block (continued) participation and social inclusion. A positive self-perception and inner strengths are stimulating factors within the women. Despite some discourses that perceive cultural aspects as an obstacle for integration, these women experience religion as an engine for participation in (formal) adult education. Their participation is a project in collaboration with their family and partner. Moreover, family is very often the introduction channel to the educational institute and also functions as model. Decisions are taken in relation to the family responsibilities. The partner is an

important support concerning the care for the children. Some women indicate that family and partner can also be an obstacle concerning chances to participate. However, small children are the main obstacles for these women. In order to pursue all lifelong learning objectives and increase full and equal chances, policy should take the whole living situation of individuals into account.

Not only individual factors have an impact on chances in participation. Also professional and educational institutes can be a lever or an obstacle. In order to create equal chances it isn't enough to provide equal access to adult education. Several women say they didn't have any idea what they wanted to do and where they had to start. Except of some institutes offering Dutch courses, they are often not familiar with other educational institutes. There is a clear need for counseling not only to direct these women to Dutch classes but more importantly to help them discover their own talents and to show the possibilities within adult education. A focus on the strengths of these women and a belief in their capacities are important. In that context, this study reveals strong inequalities between educational institutes. Some educational institutes seem to decrease the chances for participation with difficult entrance tests or non-adapted teaching methods. Also better information on measures for financial support should be offered in order to stimulate participation. Generally, the women interviewed are very positive about the childcare program in the CVO.

Furthermore, aspects of non-formal learning in formal learning increase chances for learning. In that context classmates and colleagues function as role models and partners in the learning process. Learning is a social activity and the workplace offers chances to be an ideal learning environment, at least if it assures a safe and strong environment for learning. This implicates a respectful attitude towards individuals and learning, and professional guidance on the workplace. Therefore, if lifelong learning policies want to offer equal chances concerning the participation of this group, they should stimulate opportunities and chances that include all possible types of learning (formal, non-formal and informal).

Lastly, this study revealed great differences between organizations in educational and professional spheres concerning cultural elements. Women wearing a headscarf are often confronted with negative comments and discrimination. Prohibition of the headscarf and other cultural elements has a negative effect on their participation in adult education and social inclusion. Most women seem to gather together in organizations respecting cultural aspects. Despite the positive intentions of those organizations this doesn't stimulate diversity and social inclusion.

In conclusion, this study reinforces the view that a holistic approach on learning is important in order to increase participation of low-educated women of Moroccan origin in formal adult education and to pursue the lifelong learning objectives, not only on economical and social level, but also on personal level. Current policies focus on individual responsibility, activation and adaptation. As such, they risk shaping new forms of inequality. In order to be sustainable lifelong learning policies should rather focus on fighting social exclusion: shared responsibility, offering chances and development of all life spheres are inherent to this approach.

2 Limitations

The participants of this study offered valuable information. However, the key focus of this study has been on low-educated women of Moroccan origin who succeeded access in formal adult education. This focus implies that the results of this study can't be generalized without caution. Findings can vary depending on the research sample. Other samples could enrich the results of this study. For example, women who aren't participating are not included, although they could offer additional information in order to further deepen understanding concerning the position of second-generation Moroccan women in formal adult education.

However, the choice for the target group is logical in the research context. These women succeeded to access formal adult education despite the possible obstacles. They are the pioneers who pave the path for other women who would like to participate. The motives, experiences and objectives of women who succeeded against the odds helped to point factors for success and possible obstacles concerning participation in formal adult education.

3 Recommendations

1.3.1 For further research

This study reveals some concerns regarding the position of groups with a migration background in adult education. Therefore, further large-scale research is needed. Firstly, the findings of this research could be used to develop a questionnaire for a large-scale quantitative research, including participating and not-participating women in several types of adult learning.

Secondly, the findings of the survey used to select the study sample within the childcare program showed there is also a rather large group of women participating who attended school in Morocco. These women obtained a degree of higher secondary school and came at adult age to Belgium. It would be interesting to compare their motives, objectives and experiences with the findings of this study.

Furthermore, the possibilities of workplace learning, the existing counseling services and the inequalities concerning access and acceptance of the headscarf need further investigation. Also research in French educational institutes in Brussels or other regions in Belgium could offer interesting results to compare with findings of this study.

1.3.2 For lifelong learning policy

Creating equal chances goes beyond offering equal access. Policies concerning lifelong learning clearly need to be based on the motives, experiences and objectives of specific target groups. These elements shape the perceptions towards learning and reflections on how individuals see themselves as (future) learners. This study offers some ideas in order to increase full and equal chances for low-educated women of Moroccan origin.

Primarily this study confirms several findings of earlier research, especially concerning the influencing factors for participation. Thus, it remains important to be aware of and continue to remove practical barriers that keep under-represented groups and low-skilled adults from participating in adult education. In that context, professional counseling and a link with other policies (such as social policy, labor market policy, ...) are essential. This includes for example, clear and correct information on financial support, childcare solutions, help in order to gain insight in personal competencies, ...

Secondly, a focus on integrated learning opportunities (non-formal, formal, informal learning) is needed. In that context, opportunities for workplace learning should be encouraged in cooperation with educational institutes. A lot of learning takes place in the workplace by practicing and improving skills. Therefore, reasonable qualified jobs enable individuals to use and improve skills and knowledge within a concrete context. Moreover these jobs should offer opportunities to grow. Thus, professional guidance in the workplace is recommended, such as language assistance, encouragement, ... Learning and teaching techniques should valorize informal learning and focus on personal growth. This offers perspectives on several levels to individuals who weren't successful in their school career.

Another step towards integrated learning could be realized when social organizations working with minorities are included in the cooperation between educational institutes and labor market. They have a more direct link with minority groups that are vulnerable in the context of lifelong learning. Their critical evaluation of existing learning opportunities and ideas for improvement in order to offer conditions to motivate adults are in that context worthwhile. These organizations can be an important intermediary in order to inform and encourage people to participate. However, actions that encourage people to participate shouldn't problematize non-participation. Indeed, a focus on non-participation could be counterproductive.

Fourth, cooperation between educational institutes should be encouraged. Non-formal and formal institutes should work together in order to empower women and offer them chances on personal, social, professional and educational level. In that context, policy measures for financial support should also include non-formal learning. Also cooperation between formal adult education and higher education should be fostered. Participation increases learning intentions and several women desire to continue studying in higher education.

In conclusion, equal chances in participation can only be reached if also the labor market is offering equal chances, especially with respect to divers cultural backgrounds and multilingualism.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: survey



Vrije Universiteit Brussel

FACULTY OF PSYCHOLOGY AND EDUCATIONAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL SCIENCES
MASTER OF SCIENCE IN EDUCATIONAL SCIENCES

Participatiepatronen van vrouwen in het formeel volwassenenonderwijs ***Vragenlijst***

In het kader van mijn thesisonderzoek ben ik op zoek naar vrouwen die willen praten over hun ervaringen en verwachtingen met betrekking tot het volgen van een opleiding voor volwassenen. Ik ben hiervoor op zoek naar zowel vrouwen met een Belgische als met een buitenlandse achtergrond.

Via de volgende vragen wil ik alvast een eerste beeld krijgen van de vrouwen in het volwassenenonderwijs en u uitnodigen om in gesprek te gaan over uw ervaringen en verwachtingen. Het is dan ook belangrijk dat u alle vragen volledig en naar waarheid invult. De anonimiteit van de gegevens uit de vragenlijst en tijdens het persoonlijk gesprek worden absoluut verzekerd bij de verwerking van de gegevens.

Dit onderzoek wordt uitgevoerd op voorstel van het Minderhedenforum en maakt deel uit van mijn opleiding aan de Vrije Universiteit van Brussel.

Ik wil u alvast hartelijk danken voor het invullen van de vragenlijst en hoop binnenkort met u te kunnen praten over uw ervaringen en verwachtingen binnen het volwassenenonderwijs.

Heidi Depraetere

Voor meer informatie kan u me contacteren via Heidi.Depraetere@vub.ac.be of via 0476/53.32.13.

Algemene gegevens	
V1	Wanneer bent u geboren? (<i>Vul in</i>) __ dag __ maand 19__ jaar
Uw schoolloopbaan	
V2	Waar hebt u lager onderwijs gevolgd? <input type="checkbox"/> In België <input type="checkbox"/> In het buitenland (volledig of gedeeltelijk) <input type="checkbox"/> Ik heb geen lager onderwijs gevolgd
V3	Waar hebt u secundair onderwijs gevolgd? <input type="checkbox"/> In België <input type="checkbox"/> In het buitenland (volledig of gedeeltelijk) <input type="checkbox"/> Ik heb geen secundair onderwijs gevolgd => GA NAAR VRAAG V7
V4	Wat is het laatste jaar dat u met succes (A-attest of B-attest) heeft afgemaakt in het secundair onderwijs?
	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 ^{ste} middelbaar <input type="checkbox"/> 2 ^{de} middelbaar <input type="checkbox"/> 3 ^{de} middelbaar <input type="checkbox"/> 4 ^{de} middelbaar <input type="checkbox"/> 5^{de} middelbaar <input type="checkbox"/> 6^{de} middelbaar <input type="checkbox"/> Andere: (<i>leg uit</i>)
V5	In welke onderwijsvorm zat u toen u gestopt bent in het secundair onderwijs? (<i>Kruis 1 antwoord aan</i>)
	<input type="checkbox"/> ASO (algemeen secundair onderwijs) <input type="checkbox"/> TSO (technisch secundair onderwijs) <input type="checkbox"/> BSO (beroepssecundair onderwijs) <input type="checkbox"/> KSO (kunstsecundair onderwijs) <input type="checkbox"/> DBSO (deeltijds beroepssecundair onderwijs) <input type="checkbox"/> BUSO (buitengewoon secundair onderwijs) <input type="checkbox"/> SYNTRA-VIZO (leercontract – middenstandopleiding – Vlaams Instituut voor Zelfstandig Ondernemen) <input type="checkbox"/> Andere: (<i>leg uit</i>)
V6	Hoe oud was u toen u gestopt bent in het secundair onderwijs? ____ jaar
Uw professionele situatie	
V7	Wat is uw huidige situatie?
	<input type="checkbox"/> Werkend (ook zelfstandige, RVA-stage, GESCO, PWA, interim, artikel 60, BTK, DAC, ...) <input type="checkbox"/> met ziekteverlof of bevallingsverlof <input type="checkbox"/> met volledig verlof zonder wedde / loopbaanonderbreking <input type="checkbox"/> op zoek naar eerste werk <input type="checkbox"/> werkzoekend (niet naar eerste werk), uitkeringsgerechtigd werkloos <input type="checkbox"/> arbeidsongeschikt <input type="checkbox"/> huisvrouw <input type="checkbox"/> gepensioneerd (ook brugpensioen, prepensioen) <input type="checkbox"/> andere: (<i>leg uit</i>)
V8	Indien u in uw huidige situatie <u>werkend</u> bent, werkt u dan deeltijds of voltijds in uw huidige job? (<i>Kruis 1 antwoord aan</i>) <input type="checkbox"/> Voltijds <input type="checkbox"/> Deeltijds

Uw gezinssituatie	
V9	Wat is uw burgerlijke staat op dit moment? <i>(kruis 1 antwoord aan)</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Ongehuwd en nog nooit gehuwd geweest <input type="checkbox"/> Wettelijk samenwonend <input type="checkbox"/> Gehuwd <input type="checkbox"/> Gescheiden of feitelijk gescheiden (van tafel en bed gescheiden) <input type="checkbox"/> Weduwnaar of weduwe <input type="checkbox"/> Andere: <i>(Vul in)</i>
V10	Hoe is uw gezin momenteel samengesteld? Met gezin bedoelen we de mensen die momenteel met u onder één dak wonen. <i>(vul telkens het aantal in, als u alleen woont, vul dan overal 0 in)</i> — partner — kinderen (ook deeltijds inwonende kinderen of adoptiekinderen) — ouders, schoonouders of stiefouders — (stief)broers of (stief)zussen — andere familie — vrienden — andere personen: <i>(leg uit)</i>
Uw achtergrond	
V11	Wat is uw nationaliteit? <i>(Meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)</i>
V12	In welk land bent u geboren?
V13	In welk land is uw moeder geboren (of de persoon die u als uw moeder beschouwt)?
V14	In welk land is uw vader geboren (of de persoon die u als uw vader beschouwt)?
V15	In welk land is uw grootmoeder langs moederszijde (moeder van moeder) geboren?
Vervolgonderzoek	
<p>Het zou een hele hulp zijn en een meerwaarde betekenen voor het onderzoek mocht u bereid zijn mee te werken aan een vervolgonderzoek. Het vervolgonderzoek bestaat uit een individueel en persoonlijk gesprek waarin ik met u wil praten over uw ervaringen in het volwassenenonderwijs (problemen die u ervaart in het leerproces, ...), de redenen waarom u deelneemt aan het volwassenenonderwijs en wat u graag wil doen eens u de opleiding afgerond heeft.</p> <p>Als u bereid bent om te praten over dit onderwerp, dan kan u hieronder uw gegevens invullen, zodat ik u kan contacteren voor een gesprek. Ik laat u hierbij alvast weten dat het gesprek kan doorgaan op een plaats en taal naar voorkeur.</p> <p>Ik benadruk nogmaals dat de anonimiteit van de gegevens absoluut verzekerd worden bij de</p>	

verwerking van de gegevens.

Alvast heel erg bedankt om uw ervaringen te delen in het kader van dit onderzoek.

(vul in HOOFDLETTERS in a.u.b.)

Voornaam & familienaam:

.....

Telefoon en/of gsm:

.....

E-mail:

.....

Appendix 2: interview guide



Vrije Universiteit Brussel

FACULTY OF PSYCHOLOGY AND EDUCATIONAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL SCIENCES
MASTER OF SCIENCE IN EDUCATIONAL SCIENCES

Participatiepatronen van laaggeschoolde vrouwen binnen het formeel volwassenenonderwijs *Interview guide*

Richtlijnen bij de interviews

- Nadruk op de mening en ervaring van de respondenten.
- Inleiding van groot belang om geïnterviewde op haar gemak te stellen
- Nadruk op open, natuurlijk gesprek. De vragen mogen dan ook niet sturend en kunstmatig overkomen. De eerste vraag moet neutraal en open zijn. De structuur van het interview, de volgorde van de vragen wordt in grote mate bepaald door het gesprek zelf.
- Doel van het onderzoek en onderzoeksvragen in het achterhoofd houden:
 - o Doel:
Inzicht verwerven in de participatiepatronen van laaggeschoolde vrouwen van Marokkaanse origine die deelnemen aan het formeel volwassenenonderwijs.
 - o Onderzoeksvragen:
 1. Waarom nemen ze deel aan het volwassenenonderwijs?
 2. Welke factoren beïnvloeden hun keuze voor het formeel volwassenenonderwijs?
 3. Welke ervaringen hebben ze met het volwassenenonderwijs?
 4. Welke doelen hebben ze met hun deelname aan het volwassenenonderwijs?
- Structuur van het interview:
Het interview bestaat uit 8 delen.
De delen worden schuingedrukt in de leidraad en zijn verder onderverdeeld in subdelen.
Onder elk subdeel staan enkele richtvragen.

Inleiding

Onderzoekscontext

- Vrouwen die opleiding kindercare volgen binnen het Tweedekansonderwijs
- Deel van mijn opleiding en in opdracht van Minderhedenforum
- Praten over ervaringen m.b.t. het volgen van een opleiding voor volwassenen.
- Belangrijk voor beter bereik van vrouwen die interesse hebben in bijscholing binnen volwassenenonderwijs (drempels wegnemen, beter bereik, betere begeleiding, ...)
- Stijgende interesse en participatie van vrouwen met migratieachtergrond in volwassenenonderwijs.
- Kansen verhogen om een diploma van het secundair onderwijs te behalen.

Praktische aspecten van het gesprek

- Het gesprek zal ongeveer een half uur tot een uur duren, afhankelijk van de beschikbaarheid van de respondent.
- Om zo correct mogelijk te kunnen weergeven wat ideeën zijn, wordt het gesprek opgenomen.
- Nadruk op 'vrij' spreken: de anonimiteit van de gegevens tijdens het persoonlijk gesprek wordt absoluut verzekerd bij de verwerking van de gegevens (bijv. d.m.v. het gebruik van fictieve namen bij de verslaggeving om de privacy van de respondenten te garanderen).
- Mocht een vraag niet duidelijk zijn of mocht je het niet eens zijn met een bepaalde vraag, dan kan je dat gerust zeggen.

Bedanking voor deelname

- Zelfgemaakte muffins meegebracht als bedanking

Leidraad vragen

Kenmerken van de respondent

- Naam
- Leeftijd
- Woonplaats
- Geslacht: vrouw
- Etnische afkomst: Marokkaans of Belgisch (controlegroep)
- Onderwijsniveau: lager secundair onderwijs
- Werkstatus
- Soort werk
- Familiale status
- Status huidige opleiding

Keuze voor Tweedekansonderwijs

- Manier waarop respondent het Tweedekansonderwijs leerde kennen (informatiekanalen, ...): hoe heb je het CVO/TKO leren kennen?
- Rol van begeleiding en steun bij de keuze voor het Tweedekansonderwijs (CLB, verenigingen, Brucovo, familie, vrienden, ...): rol en invloed van de partner, de ouders (mee gezocht naar informatie? Mee gekozen? Wat vonden ze goed/minder goed aan de verschillende mogelijkheden?)
- Stimulerende/doorslaggevende aspecten voor deelname aan het Tweedekansonderwijs (Culturele elementen, inschrijvingsgeld, Nederlandse opleiding, ...)

Bekendheid met het volwassenenonderwijs

- Bekendheid met de verschillende vormen van en het aanbod binnen het volwassenenonderwijs (Basiseducatie, Syntra, Huis van het Nederlands, Vormingsplus, Examencommissie, Formation Bruxelles, Vaartkapoen, ...)
- Beeld/imago van de verschillende vormen van en het aanbod binnen het volwassenenonderwijs: zijn er redenen waarom je wel of niet geïnteresseerd zou zijn in die instellingen (bijv. het vormingsaanbod is niet afgestemd op de interesses, ...)? Hoe wordt de keuze gemaakt?

Redenen voor deelname

- Waarom ben je aan deze opleiding begonnen?
- Gevoel dat je nood hebt aan een opleiding? (vanuit je werk, je eigen leven, ...?)
- Zou je ook opleiding volgen als het werk het niet verplicht? Als je al een diploma had? Als er geen certificaat voor gegeven werd?
- Gevoel dat je nood hebt aan deze opleiding?

Ervaringen

- Ervaringen met andere vormen van volwassenenonderwijs
 - Heb je ook andere vormen gevolgd? Welke? In welke instelling(en)?
 - Hoe heb je die vormen ervaren?
 - Welke drempels heb je eventueel ervaren?
 - Heb je die kunnen overbruggen? Hoe?
- Ervaringen met de overgang van andere vormen van (volwassenen)onderwijs naar Tweedekansonderwijs

- Hoe verliep de overgang van die andere vormen van (volwassenen)onderwijs naar je huidige opleiding in het Tweedekansonderwijs?
- Welke drempels heb je eventueel ervaren?
- Heb je die kunnen overbruggen? Hoe?
- Ervaringen binnen het Tweedekansonderwijs
 - Voordelen
 - Nadelen
 - Ervaringen m.b.t. instelling: instructeur, werkmethoden/aanpak, evaluatie, duur, tijdstip, groepssamenstelling
 - Ervaringen m.b.t. eigen leven: steun omgeving, combinatie met gezinsleven, combinatie met werk, ...
 - Veranderingen (m.b.t. eigen leven)
 - Welke drempels heb je eventueel ervaren?
 - Heb je die kunnen overbruggen? Hoe?

Houding t.a.v. volwassenenonderwijs

- Ideeën over volwassenenonderwijs
 - Welke aspecten vind je belangrijk binnen het volwassenenonderwijs?
 - Welke aspecten kunnen volgens jou de toegankelijkheid van de opleidingen verhogen?
- Invloed van de leeftijd
 - Vind je bijleren, studeren op volwassenen leeftijd nuttig, moeilijk, ... ?
 - Heb je het gevoel of de indruk dat veel vrouwen uit je omgeving kunnen, willen of mogen bijstuderen? Welke drempels ervaren ze?
- Belang van een diploma
 - Waarom vind je het belangrijk om een certificaat/diploma van TKO/Kinderzorg te behalen?
- Invloed volwassenenonderwijs op het eigen leven (kijk je anders aan t.o.v. studeren)?
 - Welke impact heeft jouw deelname nu op je eigen leven?
 - Betekent leren nu iets anders voor jou?
- Bereidheid om andere vormingen/opleidingen te volgen in de toekomst
 - Zie je je ook later na deze opleiding nog bijstuderen (bijv. een taal leren, ...)?
 - Wat zou je ervan vinden om van thuis uit te studeren (begrippen distance education, blended learning toelichten)

Schoolverlaten

- Redenen
 - In welk jaar stopte je met het voltijds secundair onderwijs?
 - In welke onderwijsvorm zat je toen?
 - Hoe oud was je toen?
 - Waarom heb je het secundair onderwijs niet helemaal kunnen afmaken?
- Beleving
 - Hoe voelde je je bij het feit dat je het secundair onderwijs niet had afgemaakt?
 - Hoe ging je omgeving hiermee om?
 - Welke rol speelt dit in de keuze voor het Tweedekansonderwijs en/of de reden om een vorming te volgen?
- Periode tussen schoolverlaten en inschrijving Tweedekansonderwijs
 - Heb je je direct nadat je het secundair onderwijs verliet ook ingeschreven bij het Tweedekansonderwijs?
 - Wat heb je in de tijd tussen het verlaten van het secundair onderwijs en je inschrijving bij het Tweedekansonderwijs gedaan?

- Heb je ergens in een bepaalde situatie het gevoel gehad dat je kennis en/of vaardigheden miste?
- Speelt dit mee in de keuze voor het Tweedekansonderwijs en/of de reden om een vorming te volgen?
- Heb je eraan gedacht direct te gaan werken en niet meer te studeren? Wat heeft je van mening doen veranderen?

Toekomstplannen

- Wat wil je doen als de opleiding klaar is?

Slot

Evaluatie

- Vragen, opmerkingen, zaken waarover je zelf nog wil praten, dingen die je wil aanvullen, ...?
- Evaluatie van het gesprek m.b.t. duur, moeilijkheidsgraad van de vragen, ...

Verwerking gegevens

- Schriftelijk verslag van het gesprek stuur ik je via e-mail of geef ik je op een lesdag in het CVO. Mochten in het verslag zaken staan waarin je je niet kan vinden, dingen die ik verkeerd weergeef, ... dan kan je me dat zeker laten weten.
- Eventueel nog informatie die je kwijt wil of die je achteraf toch interessant lijkt voor het onderzoek? Contact mogelijk via: Heidi.Depraetere@vub.ac.be of via 0476/53.32.13.
- Resultaten van mijn onderzoek zullen (idealiter) rond augustus bekend zijn. Via het CVO zal je hiervan op de hoogte worden gebracht. Als je wil kan ik dit ook via e-mail bezorgen.

Dankwoord

- Heel leuk dat je je ervaringen wilde delen met mij.

Appendix 3: characteristics of the respondents (situation at the moment of the survey)

R	Name (1)	Origin	Age	Last successful year in secondary education	Type of education at dropout (2)	Age at dropout	Employment status	Full-time Part-time	Civil state	Living with	Combination with additional general education (3)
R1	Hafsa	M	20	4th	ASO	18	Student		Unmarried	Parents	BKO + AAV
R2	Hind	M	20	3th	BSO	19	Student		Unmarried	Parents	BKO + AAV
R3	Nabila	M	20	5th	BSO	18	Looking for first job		Unmarried	Parents	BKO + AAV (starts in sept)
R4	Nesrine	M	22	5th	BSO	20	Working	Part-time	Unmarried	Parents	BKO + AAV
R5	Houda	M	22	2nd	BSO	15	Working (DSP)	Part-time	Married	Partner+child	
R6	Hassiba	M	24	5th	TSO	19	Working (DSP)	Full-time	Married	Partner	
R7	Hafida	M	24	3th	TSO (FR)	18	Working (DSP)	Part-time	Divorced	Alone	
R8	Hadjar (1)	M	24	4th	ASO	16	Working (DSP)	Full-time	Unmarried	Alone	
R9	Wahiba	M	24	4th	BSO	18	Working (DSP)	Part-time	Married	Partner+child	
R10	Hessa (2)	M	30	3th	BSO	16	Looking for a job		Married	Partner+child	

R11	Hiba	M	34	4th	TSO (FR)	18	Looking for a job		Married	Partner+3children	
R12	Rachida (3)	M	41	4th	ASO	18	Looking for a job		Divorced	2children	
R13	Hiyam	M	46	5th	BSO	17	Working (DSP)	Full-time	Married	Partner+3children	
R14	Delphine	B	21	4th	BSO	19	Looking for first job		Unmarried	Parents	
R15	Sabrina	B	23	4th	BSO	16	Looking for a job		Unmarried	Parents	BKO + AAV
R16	Hana	B	25	5th	BSO	18	Working (DSP)	Part-time	Married	Partner	
R17	Cathy	B	28	5th	BUSO	18	Looking for a job		Unmarried	Partner+child	

Notes

- (1) Three women were born and raised abroad:
- Hadjar was born in Morocco. She went to school in Morocco, came to Belgium as a teenager and continued secondary school in a French school in Brussels.
 - Hessa was born in Spain. She went to school in Spain, came to Belgium as a teenager but didn't continue secondary school here.
 - Rachida was born in Morocco. She went to school in Morocco, came to Belgium as a teenager but didn't continue secondary school here.
- (2) ASO, TSO and BSO refer to types of education in the Belgian education system.
- ASO refers to Algemeen Secundair Onderwijs (general education)
 - TSO refers to Technisch Secundair Onderwijs (technical education)
 - BSO refers to Beroeps Secundair Onderwijs (vocational education)
- (FR) refers to women attended a French secondary school
- (3) AAV and BKO refers to the possibilities in second chance education relevant for this study.
- BKO refers to Begeleid(st)er in de (Buitenschoolse) Kinderopvang (nurse in childcare)
 - AAV refers to Aanvullende Algemene vorming (additional general education)

Appendix 4: original quotes of interviewees

The following quotes aren't structured in the way they appear in the report. Instead we chose to reconstruct the stories of the respondents as they were told during the interviews. This makes their life situations, experiences, perceptions and expectations livelier.

HIYAM

Eén dag per week

HIYAM Wel euh, ik was werkloos en ik zocht ander werk. 'k heb wel een jaartje thuis gezeten van hoh, wa moet ik nu doen. En dan was 't te veel wa moet ik nu doen en dan ben ik beginnen achter werk te zoeken op internet en zo. Enneuh da was dus euh in de kindercare, maar ik moest dan wel mijn diploma behalen en ik heb geen diploma van kinderverzorgster ... en ik ben begonnen ... En ik heb geprobeerd ... ik heb een e-mailtje gestuurd ... ik dacht eerst ik zal te oud zijn ... mijn eerste gedachte was "ik zal daar te oud voor zijn" ... en ik heb dan toch mijn telefoon gepakt ... als t na mijn emailtje he en ik heb gezegd ik heb jullie een emailtje gestuurd maar ik wou toch iets vragen. Euh, gewoon eerlijk zijn met mij ... ben ik er niet te oud voor, voor nog in de kindercare te werken. Over het algemeen zijn da jonge meisjes he. He. Toch vaak. En ik weet da ze nie graag oudere vrouwen nemen want euh das voor hun ook euh, voor 't werk zelf ook euh dunder denk ik en ... allee, alles wat er bij hoort he. En die mevrouw zo "o nee, zeker nie. Wij ... wij ... bij ons is da hier ... ".En dus hebben ze tegen mij gezegd: "ok, je mag gerust beginnen werken bij ons, maar je moet dan wel studeren. Eén dag per week. Ja, dat was een voorwaarde. En ik was daar ook direct akkoord mee. Da was wel bij Elmer en da is diversiteit. Daar kreeg ik een kans.

Jullie zijn nog jong

HIYAM Sommige gaan dan toch algemene vakken doen ... jonge meisjes ... en ik moedig die aan he ... 'k zeg doen maar, jullie zijn nog jong ... ge zult nog genoeg werken in uw leven ... doet da nu da ge ... en ze gingen testen doen... en ik moedig ze aan ... we hebben zo een paar jonge meisjes bij ons in de klas ... ma voor mij is da ... voor mij is da genoeg, gewoon mijn certificaat.

Ik vond geen opvang

HIYAM Heel lang geleden heb ik bij de VDAB ... Daar heb ik een keer een opleiding ... maar das heel lang geleden. Mijn kindjes waren nog klein. En dan ... da was te ingewikkeld. T lukte mij nie, want in die tijd ... Het zou me gelukt geweest zijn had ik euh opvang gevonden. Ik vond geen opvang voor mijn euh ... Ja, voor de kinderen. Da waren hele dagen. Da waren echt hele dagen. Hele week, hele dagen. En nu, echt, ik ben ouder maar da ... maar je hebt veel meer vrijheid als je ouder bent. Je hebt meer tijd ... Kinderen zijn groter. Ze zijn ook al bijna volwassen.

Dan ken je elkaar heel goed

HIYAM Je hebt veel meer vrijheid als je ouder bent. Je hebt meer tijd ... Kinderen zijn groter. Ze zijn ook al bijna volwassen. En euh, als ... ik denk als Marokkaanse vrouw hebt ge ook meer vrijheid als je ouder wordt ... jaaa ... ik denk euh of misschien omdat ... als wij jong waren, misschien is da anders nu met de jonge meisjes ... allee 'k zie da ook met mijn dochter, das anders ... euh, ze hadden toch minder vrijheid. We hadden minder vrijheid vroeger. Zo ... een beetje onze cultuur he ... de ouders he ... en ook al was ik gelukkig getrouwd e ... je had toch ... de man, je had een beetje minder vrijheid als ... Maar als je ouder wordt, heb je ... 'k weet nie ... dan ken je elkaar heel goed of zo ... 'k weet nie waarom. Ja, dat is zo ... je man laat je vrijer.

We zullen een oplossing vinden

HIYAM Hier bij CVO ... ze kijken echt persoon tot persoon en ze zeggen "hebben jullie een probleem? Lukt het nie ... euh, met werk ... euh ... onze schoolwerk, kinderen, kom ne keer naar ons. We zullen een oplossing vinden". Echt neen, ze (de leerkrachten) staan echt achter de leerlingen. Das ... heel aanmoedigend. Voor mij is 't nu geen probleem, maar ik heb sommige meisjes die bij mij zitten, die kleine kinderen hebben, die van ver komen ... en das ... en die werken ... en soms is da nie allemaal combineerbaar en ... echt euh ... moesten ze ... die leerkrachten nie zo achter hun staan van zeggen "kom we zullen wel een oplossing vinden" das ze da gewoon, da ze gewoon stoppen he.

Dat ze elke dag toch wel bijleren

HIYAM We hebben ook een paar mensen die dus nie Nederlands zijn ... allee, ik ... veronderstel ik toch dat ik Nederlandstalig ben. En dan zijn er veel, nie Nederlandstalig en toch ze werken bij Elmer ... en wij motiveren hen en wij spreken met hen da ze da ze elke dag toch wel bijleren. Dus das toch wel belangrijk, iemand die heel goed Nederlands kan.

Zich moeten uitkleden

HIYAM Veel van deze vrouwen die hier komen das ... allee, hoe moet ik da zeggen ... da moedigt u aan ... zeggen ik mag gewoon gaan zoals ik ben. Dan voelen ze zich ook beter, dan ergens te moeten gaan waar ze dan zich moeten uitkleden. Dan voelen ze zich nie, een klein beetje minder op hun plaats zo. Je hebt het gevoel hier da je geaccepteerd wordt zoals je eigenlijk bent.

HANA

Meer zelfzeker

HANA Ik voel mij beter in mijn vel ook ... zelfzekerder ... Ik weet da ik nu een vaste plaats heb om te werken. Ik weet da ... da geeft een structuur ook in 't leven he. Je voelt je ook gevaloriseerd he ... je hebt meer kennis, je bent meer zelfzeker, das normaal ... precies of da, de mensen bekijken je soms ja, je hebt geen diploma. Dan voel je je nie echt euh ... allee dat is belangrijk. Ofwel misschien is dat gevoel dat ikzelf had, maar ik had de indruk dat de mensen zo euh neerkijken of ... Maar nu voel ik wel dat het vertrouwen er is ...

Geen grote werkloosheidsuitkering

HANA Zij betalen mijn hele opleiding. Das wel euh ... heel goe ... zeker in het begin, want 't is wel euh duur. Da hangt van af van trimester en van het lesmateriaal da ze geven eigenlijk he ... maar da kan tot euh ... Ik heb gezien bij andere mensen, de factuur ... dat da kan gaan tot 400 euro in het begin he. In het begin was da ... ik had ook nie veel geld. Ik had nooit voltijds gewerkt. En dan krijg je geen grote werkloosheidsuitkering. De facturen, de huur, ... Da gaat snel weg het geld. Ik denk da ik bijna 800 euro had. Das alles. Ik had echt nie ... ja, da was echt moeilijk. Da was echt euh ... iedere cent euh ... Hoh, ik euh ... in het begin kon ik geen opleiding ... misschien nie. Maar ik heb wel gehoord da ze vaak bij opleidingen ook, als je echt geen keuze hebt om alles in één keer te betalen, da je da in stukken kunt. Da heb ik wel gehoord, maar bon ...

Gepersonaliseerd

HANA Zij volgen meer in 't geheel de groep en minder hoe moet ik da zeggen ... gepersonaliseerd, als je wilt zeggen. En op 't werk is da echt een persoon da je opvolgt en als ik vragen heb of zo of als ik hulp nodig heb in mijn opdrachten of euh, dan helpt zij mij ... en da motiveert ook he. Allee, het feit dat er iemand achter jou staat, ga je ook meer euh ... weet je wat ik.

Hetzelfde parcours gedaan

HANA Ik heb ook een vast contract gekregen bij Elmer, al van september. Ze wisten dat ik nog aan het studeren was, maar ze hebben me toch een vast contract gegeven. Ik heb mijn eigen groep kindjes nu. Ik ben ook aandachtspersoon van de kindjes ... dus euh ... Dat is ook wat dat d'er goe is bij Elmer ... is da je kunt opklimmen eigenlijk he. Er was ook een verzorgster nog niet zo lang geleden die is nu pedagogische begeleidster. En die heeft ook hetzelfde parcours gedaan als ik, dus ... das motiverend.

Da je Nederlands moet leren

HANA Een tijdje geleden ik zat in de bus en ik had een gesprek met een vrouw die naast mij zat. Zij wou ook wel in een crèche werken en zij had ook wel studies gedaan in Franstalige school daarvoor, maar zij wou haar hoofddoek nie uitdoen om te werken en dan heb ik haar gezegd da je Nederlands moet leren en da je Nederlandstalige crèche wel ... en dan heeft ze mij wel gevraagd: "En waar zou ik euh Nederlands kunnen volgen?". En dan heb ik wel gezegd bij CVO. En zei ze waar is da en ... ja.

RACHIDA

Moedergevoel

RACHIDA Ik heb ervaring van euh, mijn kinderen ... maar is niet zoals werken he ... Hier, je leert euh veel verschillende manier om met kinderen omgaan maar niet bij je thuis ... met mijn kinderen ik heb de andere manier ... maar als bij een groep peuters of zo ... Zeer nuttig wel. Maar je blijft wel moeder ... ze zijn niet mijn kinderen, maar ik euh ... ik geef veel om zorg en soms ... de regel zegt nee, je mag niet doen, maar ik doe meer ... ja, is een moedergevoel ...

HAFIDA

Ik wil da ook praten

HAFIDA ik heb mijn schoonzus die komt uit Holland. Dus ik zie haar altijd aan het praten en ik zeg oh mooi, ik wil da ook praten. Ja, echt, echt. Enneuh, en dan ik heb gezegd aan mijn vader. Ik ga alleen Nederlands leren met modules, alleen Nederlands leren. Dus ik heb 1.1 en dan 1.2 gedaan en VDAB is gekomen.

I ga toch proberen dan. En ik heb zo gedaan

HAFIDA Ik heb Nederlands gedaan bij CVO Lethas. Dus, VDAB komt, dus die zegt: "ja als jullie willen opleiding" ... Ik zeg: "Amai, maar ik heb toch geen diploma". Die zeggen: "Ja maar is niet erg". Ik was zo blij. Ik wist dat niet. Echt waar. Ik wist da nie, want ik heb gezegd ... ik heb alle mijn school in Franstalig gedaan dus ik wist niets met Nederlands of zo. Dus, ja, die zegt: "Ja, geen probleem als je wil verplegen of kindzorg of secretaire of zo anders". Ik zeg: Amai ja, ik ga toch proberen dan". En ik heb zo gedaan.

Ik ben gelukkig

HAFIDA Ik voel mij heel goed met de kindjes. Nu ik werk bij Elmer en ja het is elke dag je weet het je gaat naar de crèche, maar de kindjes ze zijn daar en ... ja, maar ik weet niet hoe ik dat moet zeggen maar ik ben gelukkig ... met kindjes ... ik ben iemand ik doe contact met iedereen. Ik heb geen probleem met da. Ja, dus ik ben heel sociaal, dus met kindjes da was ... ik weet het niet. Dat is zo gemakkelijk.

Nie zoveel kans

HAFIDA Ik heb geprobeerd om mijn diploma te hebben (in het volwassenenonderwijs) maar met Franstalig, maar da was nie zoveel kans ... echt waar ... echt waar ... die zeggen neen, als je hebt gestopt, je moet zo zo ... da was echt moeilijk ...

Niemand is daar om te helpen

HAFIDA Ik heb geprobeerd maar nee nee nee, is niet hetzelfde. Echt waar is niet hetzelfde. Die zijn niet duidelijk en je weet niet wat moet jij doen dan. Niemand is daar om te helpen. Niemand. Je moet da alleen gaan zoeken. Je moet alleen alles doen, maar soms ... ik heb gestopt, dus ik heb geen diploma dus da was nog meer moeilijk voor mij.

We kunnen niks weten wat gaat morgen gebeuren

HAFIDA Ma ja, want ik allee ik zeg da altijd ... we kunnen niks weten wat gaat morgen gebeuren dus ja ... ik zeg da altijd in mijn hoofd. Dus, we weten da nie, dus beter iets leren ... enneuh, iets hebben en niet wachten. Waarom wachten? Nee, ik ken veel die hebben kindjes. Die gaan naar (de secundaire) school om te leren ... Maar die zijn, die willen da nie meer dan ... Ze zeggen, is genoeg voor ons. We hebben een beetje gestudeerd. We kunnen praten en we kunnen schrijven. Dat is alles. Punt uit. Ja, maar voor mij nee, ik ben altijd aan het denken voor morgen ... altijd. Of misschien, of misschien dat is, want ik was ook getrouwd en ik ben gescheiden ... Dus ik heb euh dus ik heb gestopt door mijn trouw ...

Morgen, morgen, morgen

HAFIDA Hij zegt nee, niet naar school gaan. Alleen thuis blijven. Dus ja ok. Morgen morgen morgen. Ik was altijd aan het wachten op het einde. Ik zeg nee stop sorry. Da ga nie.

Bij onze religie we moeten ook leren

HAFIDA bij ons bij onze religie we moeten ook leren, altijd leren bij ... leren de religie en ook euh in wat je doe altijd in jouw leven ... dus school, werk ... en niet alleen slapen ... maar ... er zijn veel mensen die weten dat nie ... dus euh ...

Je kan zo meer leren

HAFIDA Als we zijn bij euh in de crèche, allee ... we moeten alleen Nederlands spreken ... Maar ik vind da ook leuk want als jij begrijpt niet, je kan dat zeggen in 't Frans en er zijn daar veel veel Arabisch ... dus je kan dat in Arabisch zeggen. En, allee, je kan zo meer leren

Ik heb geluk

HAFIDA Misschien bijvoorbeeld die mensen die zijn Nederlandstalig misschien is voor hun gemakkelijk maar voor mij nee ... als ik begrijp iets nie, wie gaat mij helpen dan. Nu, ik heb gelukkig ik heb mijn schoonzus die helpt mij altijd ... die zegt, ik ben nu aan 't studeren. Jij bent niet meer aan het studeren, want ze helpt me altijd met die opdracht ... aja, echt.

Is toch bizar!?

HAFIDA We was één keer aan het spreken en ze zegt ja, jij mag je hoofddoek dragen dan (op 't werk)? En ik zeg ja! En ooh, nee c'est pas vrai ... ik zeg ja toch, want die zegt bij Franstalig nee, die mogen da nie doen. Is toch bizar!? Raar want veel mensen allee veel Marokkaanse of Turkse of andere religie die dragen hun hoofddoek en die spreken Frans dan Nederlands maar toch ... ik weet niet waarom. Ik denk ... dat da in 't Nederlands meer mag ... allee, ik hoop da.

HIND

De vriendin van mijn moeder

HIND Euhm. Ik wou eigenlijk eerst Syntra doen. Maa ik was aan 't twijfelen, want 't school is eigenlijk nie zoveel voor mij. Want secundair en zo, vond ik nie zo leuk. Enne de vriendin van mijn moeder heeft hier lessen gevolgd. (Ook in zorg) En zij heeft da tegen mijn moeder verteld en mijn moeder zo waarom gaat ge nie naar 't volwassenenonderwijs in de plaats van Syntra?

Mijn diploma da was toch belangrijk

HIND Omdat ik euhm school allee de hele dag les volgen was echt nie goe voor mij en ik spijbelde ik ging eigenlijk bijna nooit naar de lessen en zo. Ik heb keiveel keren gedubbeld doorda ik altijd van school veranderde. Ik ben eigenlijk eerst in Molenbeek begonnen daarna ben ik naar Dilbeek geweest en dan was da een ander niveau dus ik heb toch jaren gedubbeld. Ik vond da nie meer zo leuk. En toch, ja, mijn diploma da was toch belangrijk.

Dat het moeilijk was

HIND ik heb vrienden van mij die zelf hun eigen winkels of hun restaurants hebben en ze hebben gezegd dat het moeilijk was. Omda van euh ... de eerste keer da ge da opent en zo, dan moet ge veel geld uitgeven en ge ziet het geld ook niet binnenkomen. Ge moet ook alle regels kennen en zo maar ik dacht van ik ga eerst werken normaal in een kinderopvang of in een IBO; want in een IBO heb ik mijn stage nog niet gedaan in een IBO ... dus ik weet niet of ik da leuk zou vinden of nie ... Ik ga eerst beginnen werken en dan als ik zie da in het werken alles goed gaat dan evalueren en dan een kinderopvang open doen da zou ook leuk zijn.

HIBA

Ik doe niets thuis

HIBA Ik wou een opleiding doen maar alleen voor taal. Engels of Nederlands of euh ... om mijn taal te beteren. Pff ... ik doe niets thuis ... ik heb kinderen, drie kinderen maar euh de hele dag doe ik niets, alleen poetsen en ...

Om mijn kindje te kunnen volgen

HIBA Euh ... mn kindje was in een Nederlandstalige school en er was euh ... huiswerk of een papiertje ... ze moeten iets aan de school geven, ... maar ik begrijp niets, dus ... ik heb les gevolgd, Nederlands ... om te kunnen mijn kindje volgen .. Bij Lethas. ... thuis van het Nederlands, ruppeplein.

Quelque chose que j'aime

HIBA Mais j'aurais bien aimé travailler dans quelque chose que j'aime, parce que maintenant je suis chomeuse, demandeuse d'emploi et le VDAB m'envoie tout le temps dans nettoyage. Je suis née ici, j'ai 34 ans, je parle bien français, je sais lire et écrire, et 34 ans jusqu'à ma pension faire le nettoyage je me vois pas du tout faire ça quoi.

Des formations qu'on peut faire

HIBA Pourtant VDAB ... on est obligé d'y aller une fois par mois ... on est convoqué et euh on nous a jamais parlé des formations qu'on peut faire à part aller apprendre le néerlandais avec c'est Lethas quoi ... mais à part ça c'est tout quoi. On m'a jamais dit beh voilà, tu peux faire une formation pour devenir un tel ou un tel ou un tel quoi. Eux ils te donnent juste du boulot à faire ou d'aller te présenter ... ou de prendre un journal et dire voilà tu dois aller te présenter, moi trois fois par mois pour trouver du travail. C'est tout ce qu'on nous dit quoi. On nous propose pas ... voilà vous pouvez faire cette formation ... vous n'êtes pas vieux ... aller là vous renseigner quoi. Même pour CVO, quand j'en ai parlé on m'a dit ah oui on connaît ... je disais voilà, je vais faire une formation avec eux ... c'est tout quoi.

Un blocage

HIBA Quand j'ai fait les stages j'ai commencé à hésiter ... parce que je parle pas beaucoup avec mes collègues. J'ai l'impression qu'on me trouve pas sympathique, parce que je parle pas beaucoup. Et je me disais si ça aurait été en français j'aurais plus parlé, raconté ma vie, ... Aussi avec les enfants si ça aurait été en français, je serais plus ouverte avec eux, parce que le néerlandais ça bloque un peu. C'est ça aussi qui me donne un peu à réfléchir, mais je pense continuer encore en néerlandais la formation. J'ai un blocage ... même une phrase simple, j'y arrive plus. J'ai un blocage, je sais pas pourquoi.

WAHIBA

Meer kans om uw kinderen makkelijker naar school te brengen

WAHIBA ook voor mijn kind later ... voor mijn kind later zou ik zeggen "ik heb gestudeerd, ik heb mijn diploma behaald, t is wel iets belangrijk voor u later, dus studeert". Das wel euh ... iets belangrijk vind ik. Das een surplus hier vind ik. Voor ons later we zijn al niet in onze land vind ik. Allee, das, allee, we horen wel hier omdat we hier geboren zijn, maar we zijn nie echt in onze land. Dus als we Nederlands kunnen, dan is da een surplus, ge hebt meer kans om werk te vinden, ... meer kans om uw kinderen makkelijker naar school te brengen, want nu vragen ze da da één van de ouders Nederlands kan ...

HAFSA

Iets van da

HAFSA ik wou altijd mijn droom toen ik in mijn land was ... dat was leerkracht worden om met kinderen te werken, maar wanneer ik heb hier gekomen, dat was heel moeilijk om mijn studies af te maken, want dat was Nederlands en Frans anderstalig ... ja, ik heb al mijn studies in Arabisch gedaan ... dat was moeilijk om verder te doen ... want ik heb gestopt met mijn studies ... ik heb alleen maar één jaar hier gedaan ... allee, ik heb mijn jaar geslaagd maar het was heel moeilijk. Maar dan ik heb voor da gekozen ... allee, mijn droom was leerkracht ... en kindverzorg da is ook iets van da ...

Ik zal da leren

HAFSA Ik heb veel mensen in mijn familie die Nederlands praten en ... mijn vader is Nederlandstalig eigenlijk ... hij is in Holland geboren, maar ze zijn terug naar Marokko en daar hun leven blijven. Allee, en ik heb gezegd waarom nie ... Thuis we spreken geen Nederlands, helemaal nie ... en ook geen Frans ... we spreken onze moedertaal. Maar ik zeg allee zij weten wel Nederlands praten en ik nie ... dan ik zal da leren.

Ik voelde mij daar niet geaccepteerd

HAFSA Bijvoorbeeld als ik les van een leerkracht hier krijg dan ze doen altijd hun best om alles door te geven aan iedereen, niet alleen aan Nederlandstaligen of die meer of snel kunnen begrijpen of beter begrijpen ... maar in VDAB het was niet zo. Het was echt moeilijk. Het was

precies normaalgezien voor Nederlandstaligen. Maar ik begreep niet waarom ze accepteren mensen die een beetje lager niveau hebben. Ik voelde mij daar niet geaccepteerd. Dat kan voor anderen iets anders ... maar dat was voor mij persoonlijk, is zo.

Nie binnenkomen met een hoofddoek

HAFSA Ik mocht ook met mijn hoofddoek opleiding doen ... geen probleem. En misschien ... en misschien dat was ook een reden om te kiezen om deze opleiding in het Nederlands te doen. Ik weet niet want, ik heb veel meisjes in mijn familie die hun studies in het Frans hebben gedaan en ze mogen niet met hun hoofddoek werken. Ik heb mijn schoonzus die in een crèche werkt, zonder hoofddoek, maar zij draagt wel een hoofddoek. Zij mocht nie binnenkomen met een hoofddoek. Ik heb mijn zus ... en ... veel ... ik weet veel mensen.

Met iedereen kunnen omgaan

HAFSA Ik vind da heel belangrijk, want nu ik werk en ik zie ja mensen die verschillende talen spreken en er zijn ook mensen die alleen Engels spreken of alleen Frans spreken dan we moeten als begeleidster, we moeten met iedereen kunnen omgaan. En ik vind da heel belangrijk.

Ik heb al ervaring

HAFSA Het wordt moeilijker en moeilijker en moeilijker ... Ze vragen meer en meer en meer. Allee, want nu ik heb de kans gekregen om als ik op een job op internet zoek ... ik kijk ... ik zie altijd twee jaar ervaren, één jaar ervaring ... als ik een iemand die euh ... die een diploma haalt ... hoe moet ik doen om euh een job te vinden. Als ze vragen alleen personen met een jaar, twee jaar, drie jaar ... ervaring ... dan allee, ik heb nu een kans gekregen en daar stage doen en werken dan ik heb al ervaring ... met een diploma is da gemakkelijker om een job te vinden.

Da gebeurt alleen in de klas

HAFSA Ik probeer ... allee, dat is later zes maanden en ik heb veel geleerd, want ik werkte alleen met Nederlandstalige mensen en ik mocht veel proberen praten en ... allee, we leren van da ... want ze vroegen ik deed een opleiding ok, ik volgde Nederlands ... euh ... cursus ok ... maar buiten ... niks ... allee, da gebeurt alleen in de klas, maar buiten.

Dat neemt twee jaar

HAFSA ik vind da jammer dat allee dat is niet slecht maar vrouwen die bijvoorbeeld 40 jaar zijn en kuisen en zo van die dingen ... want allee, dat neemt twee jaar om een diploma te hebben maar daarna je gaat iets leuk euh in iets leuk werken ... en niet een hele leven schoonmaken. Ik bedoel ok twee jaar leren en dan iets leuk. Maar ja, iemand die echt werk nodig heeft ... twee jaar is dan een beetje lang.

HESSA

Mijn kinderen helpen

HESSA Ik heb dat gedaan omdat dat kan ook met mijn kinderen helpen. En terzelfdertijd kan ik ook werken. Ik kan werken als ik wil ... dat helpt ook bij je kinderen. Informatie die je niet hebt gehad. Bijvoorbeeld in de les krijg je informatie over hoe je omgaan met de kinderen en zo. Ik heb één kindje. Hij is goed opgevoed maar ik denk ook als ik nog later meer kinderen heb hoe ik met mijn kinderen moet omgaan. Hier je krijgt veel informatie.

Eerst mijn certificaat

HESSA Hij zegt dan moet ik eerst mijn certificaat hebben en dan euh zoek ik voor werk, want anders wordt het zwaarder dan euh als jij werk en opleiding volgt en met een gezin dan is t te veel ... nu doe ik alleen stage.

HASSIBA

Das zo in één keer teruggekomen

HASSIBA Eigenlijk was ik juist begonnen met werken ... ik had helemaal geen goesting om terug te gaan studeren of dingens bij te leren of misschien was ik wel een beetje te jong maar nu das zo in één keer teruggekomen. En ik ben daar blij voor ... Dan is da terug gekomen. Maar eerst ik moest van mijn werk BKO ook doen. De deeltijdse opleiding van animator ... ik moest da wel doen

verplicht ... Das voor een opvang. Een korte opleiding van zes maanden ... twee keer per week ... en ik heb da gedaan en 't is goe gelopen en zo ... maar ik hou van mijn job en da is mijn ding ... studeren doe ik nie zo graag, das meer praktijk, maar ça va, 't is goe gelopen. En nu, ik heb zo in één keer motivatie gekregen om door te gaan. En omdat ik al dat certificaat heb, krijg ik ook vrijstelling.

Die begrijpen ons

HASSIBA Toch wel een beetje ... als die waren nie zo ... hoe ga ik da nu zeggen ... die begrijpen ons eigenlijk, dus ça va ... maar als die waren nie zo ... dan zou 't wel een beetje moeilijk zijn, want we krijgen wel veel opdrachten ... En als we zouden daarna naar huis alles gaan ... voorbereiden en zo, opdrachten maken ... zou moeilijk zijn.

Een keimoeilijke test

HASSIBA Na 't secundair ... bijvoorbeeld die opleiding zoals kindercare ... ge hebt da wel ook in 't Frans, maar das een korte periode. Das nie zo lang ... nie twee jaar. Je kan ook niet zoveel bijleren. En, die geven ook nie zo vlug chance aan iedereen. Nee, ge hebt ook een test en das een keimoeilijke test en die nemen maar een paar.

HOUDA

Die vrouwen hebben het vaak moeilijk

HOUDA andere vrouwen hebben die geluk niet he ... Het is heel moeilijk als gij wilt studeren en jouw man wilt dat niet he ... wat heb je dan liever ... dat je naar school gaat of dat je thuis zit in plaats van ruzie te hebben. En die vrouwen hebben het vaak moeilijk. Weet ge, ik kan ook niet tegen de vrouwen doen, doe jouw droom ... later krijgen ze een pak slaag thuis ... Dus das ook niet evident he. Ze moet ook kunnen ...

Met een hart

HOUDA eigenlijk gaat het eigenlijk over de werkgevers en de leerkrachten en over alles ... als zij jou met respect behandelen dan ga je met een hart komen werken, studeren, ...

Een man die helpt

HOUDA Als je een man hebt die helpt, alles vlot. Maar als ge n man die pfft in de steek laat, dan gaat da echt moeilijk zijn he ... Allee kom, zoals in de ochtend. Het is mijn man die mijn dochter naar de crèche brengt. Weet ge ge moet echt combineren. En, er zijn ook vrouwen die die geluk niet hebben he. Weet je die vrouwen die gewoon thuis zijn en eten klaarmaken en gewoon wachten tot de kinderen ... de vrouw is voor kinderen ... de vrouw is voor ... neen, ... da is nie zo. Da is nie zo.

Ik bleef dan huiswerk verzinnen

HOUDA ik moest aan tafel zitten en mijn huiswerk maken en direct daarna ik moest van de tafel af van mijn moeder, maar ik bleef dan huiswerk verzinnen "ja, da moest ik ook nog doen", weet ge, en dan blijf ik zo aan tafel ... weet ge, ik dee da graag ... da was eigenlijk misschien een probleem of zo, ik weet nie.