Cursos Vocacionais Análises internacionais

Anos letivos 2012/13, 2013/14 e 2014/15

Ministério da Educação e Ciência



ANÁLISES INTERNACIONAIS

Vários estudos internacionais têm feito referências positivas das medidas adotadas no ensino profissionalizante em Portugal, com destaque para a implementação dos cursos vocacionais e suas características, designadamente no que se refere aos objetivos, ao público-alvo, à articulação e à participação das empresas e de outras entidades nos cursos, e ainda à flexibilidade dada para o desenvolvimento dos cursos.

Os excertos que se apresentam de seguida estão organizados em torno de três grandes temas: novas medidas de política de educação e sua implementação; relevância para a redução do abandono escolar das ofertas que incluem, no currículo, componentes de cariz vocacional; contributo para o alinhamento entre as aptidões dos jovens e as necessidades do mercado de trabalho.

Dos estudos e reportes internacionais que salientam as novas medidas de política educativa e sua implementação, designadamente, o estudo da OCDE "Education Policy Outlook 2015", publicado em janeiro de 2015, o estudo conjunto da rede Eurydice e do Cedefop "Tackling Early Leaving from Education and Training in Europe: Strategies, Policies and Measures", publicado em novembro de 2014, o estudo "Dual Education: a bridge over troubled waters?" desenvolvido pelo ICF International a pedido da Comissão de Cultura e Educação do Parlamento Europeu e publicado em junho de 2014 e o "Education and Training Monitor 2014", publicado em outubro de 2014 pela Comissão Europeia, transcreve-se os seguintes excertos:

"Wide-ranging changes are being made to the vocational education and training system in an effort to reduce early school leaving and better align the skills being taught with the needs of the labour market. Measures introduced to adapt the curricular pattern of vocational education and training included: (...) the launch of new vocational courses at basic and secondary education level with 46% of the total curricular time allocated to in-work training16. Increased flexibility between the academic and the vocational education and training paths should increase the attractiveness of vocational education and training."

[Education and Training Monitor 2014].

"The Portuguese Government's strategy for the promotion of learning and school success includes a comprehensive set of policy measures explicitly referring to the reduction of early leaving as one of the expected outcomes. Additionally the Council of Ministers of 21 June 2012 approved a decree-law with a specific chapter entitled 'Measures to prevent school failure and early school leaving' for basic and secondary education. This chapter comprises the main policy measures targeted to at-risk students and their families.

The main examples of the policy measures included in these documents are: revising the curricula; reducing grade retention by offering additional support to those who did not pass the examinations so that they have a second chance to pass them, thanks to an additional period at the end of the school year; allowing schools to introduce a second teacher in some classes with higher risk of students' failure and drop-out; fostering collaborative practices among students; building temporary flexible groups of students, independently of their classes, to specifically support them, foster their learning and achievement; increasing the flexibility and permeability of the educational pathways by experimenting the dual model in vocational training through a joint partnership of schools, companies and municipalities; increasing VET access and quality;..."

[Tackling Early Leaving from Education and Training in Europe: Strategies, Policies and Measures].

"Memoranda of understanding signed between Germany and Italy, Portugal and Spain:

In Portugal, a bilateral agreement was signed in November 2012. The Portuguese and German Ministers of Education signed a Memorandum of Understanding for the cooperation in vocational education and training. It was agreed to put in place actions to bring together and compare the VET systems and structures in the two countries, promote information exchange on students' guidance, and endorse exchanges for students, education professionals and representatives of companies. It was recognised that mechanisms should be introduced to further assure the quality of work-based learning developed in companies. In this regard, the Portuguese Ministry of Education will survey the opinion of students, schools and companies on work-based learning. The survey will also help identifying the training needs of the in-company tutors/trainers423. The German Federal Institute for Vocational Education and Training (BIBB) is preparing the survey, based on data provided by the Portuguese Ministry of Education. A first draft of the surveys is expected in March 2014 and it is foreseen to run in a sample of schools and companies in April.

[Dual Education: a bridge over troubled waters?]

"In the framework of this memorandum, several activities have been organised regarding mutual knowledge of VET systems in the two countries: there were meetings between specialists, visits to Germany of Portuguese VET schools' heads, and visits from BIBB to Portuguese schools. Furthermore, an analysis is being carried out to identify areas where there are needs of intervention and modernisation in VET in Portugal. For instance, one of the working areas is training for teachers and in-company tutors. Other programmed activities regard the mobility of Portuguese students to train in companies in Germany, and an external evaluation of the new 'Vocational Courses' by a German specialist. A meeting of the working groups will take place in Germany in March 2014 to assess the ongoing cooperation and discuss new activities to be developed.

In June 2013, a bilateral working group meeting was also held in Lisbon. Discussion focused on increasing the share of workplace-based training in VET, enhancing the quality in IVET, providing in-company trainers with training and qualifications, developing and updating selected training profiles with the contribution of the social partners, improving vocational counselling and guidance and permeability in the education system. Both parties agreed to launch joint project in reference to these areas in the short term."

[Dual Education: a bridge over troubled waters?]

"VET tracks in Portugal place a significant focus on early-school leavers, highlighting that this is a key challenge for the country. Indeed, Portugal faces the highest rate of early school leavers in the EU-28. According to a recent study published by the National Strategic Reference Framework observatory, VET courses have an impact on the reduction of early school leaving and the completion of upper secondary education. Therefore, both the 'education and training courses' and the newly implemented (pilot) 'vocational courses' target youth at risk of early school leaving.

Strengths and weaknesses of the new schemes

According to research in the selected countries, overall the introduction of new alternance schemes is perceived positively, given the link of such schemes with better employment outcomes for graduates. Common strengths can be identified among the reforms in different countries:

- -Strengthening of the available alternance schemes in the country: This is especially the case in Greece, where VET was mainly school-based and until the reform, apprenticeships were chosen only by a small fraction of students. In Portugal, the new (pilot) vocational courses also widen the possibilities for prospective VET students.
- Providing training solutions to youth at risk: The new (pilot) vocational courses in Portugal specifically target youth at the risk of early school-leaving. The courses provide the opportunity to this group of students to attain a double certification in two years with a higher share of work-based learning than the other available courses. Thus, they allow quicker entrance onto the labour market, which offers a significant participation motive to students.

Although reforms introducing new alternance schemes are well-received, weaknesses can be identified regarding their design, integration with existing VET tracks and other country-specific elements. More specifically, and according to national sources and interviews, the reforms above may bear criticism on:

- creating possible conflicts with existing schemes: Graduates of the 'vocational courses' in upper secondary education in Portugal will achieve qualifications only after two years, where students in the 'professional courses', also offered under the Ministry of Education, after three years. This is why 'vocational courses' have been characterised as a 'low-cost track' as their implementation demands fewer resources than other tracks. Therefore, these new courses raise concerns that they may negatively influence participation in the 'professional courses'.
- new tracks or early tracking? The 'vocational courses' in Portugal may also pose the danger of functioning as early tracking. 'Vocational courses' started being piloted in ISCED 1 and 2 for those that had not completed primary or lower secondary education. The 'new' 'vocational courses' (ISCED 3) were implemented to allow graduates from lower relevant courses to continue within the same type of courses. Graduates of ISCED 1 and 2 'vocational courses' are not obliged to continue to ISCED 3 in the same type of courses; but one could presume that most of the graduates will prefer to do so, rather than choosing another track with more advanced learning demands."

[Dual Education: a bridge over troubled waters?]

"This section maps out the ELVET specific measures the European countries have in place and the measures that rely on traditional VET pedagogies as means of reducing early leaving. They have been identified from European and international literature stakeholders and practitioners) in eight countries (Belgium, Denmark, Germany, France, Croatia, Italy, Austria and Portugal). The measures selected concern lower and upper secondary level VET; the review excludes policies/measures introduced to tackle early leaving from higher and continuing VET, albeit some of the second chance measures discussed may operate on the borderline between initial and continuing vocational education and training (IVET and CVET).

Overall, the initial mapping resulted in the identification and mapping of over 330 policies and measures across 29 countries and over 100 measures were examined in greater detail: early leaving measures specific to the VET sector only could be identified in 20 (Belgium (French and Flemish Communities), Bulgaria, Denmark, Germany, Estonia, Ireland, Greece, Spain, France, Italy, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Austria, Poland, Slovenia, Finland, the United Kingdom and Norway); countries VET relevant early leaving measures, which however have broader target groups or goals (e.g. within the general education sector), could be identified in further 11 countries (Belgium (German- speaking Community), the Czech Republic, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Hungary, Portugal, Slovakia, Sweden, Switzerland and Iceland); no measures to address early leaving in VET could be identified through the chosen research method in three countries (Romania, Liechtenstein and Turkey)."

[Tackling Early Leaving from Education and Training in Europe: Strategies, Policies and Measures]

Outro tema a merecer destaque nos estudos e análises internacionais é o da relevância para a redução do abandono escolar das ofertas que incluem, no currículo, componentes de cariz vocacional. Para além dos estudos acima indicados, há ainda a referir o "Early leaving from vocational education and training — Portugal", publicado pelo Cedefop em 2013, pela incidência sobre o caso específico de Portugal.

"Measures to prevent dropout from school based VET and apprenticeship-type training

The Portuguese Government has been implementing preventive/intervention measures leading to the reduction of early exit from education and training, including:

2015 Education Program, initiated at the beginning of the academic year 2010/2011, aims to involve schools in meeting the objectives of improving pupils' basic skills and extending compulsory education. This program takes the objectives defined in the Strategic Framework for European Cooperation in the field of Education and Training (ET2020) and establishes national goals and indicators in the area of improving basic skills in Portuguese and Mathematics and reducing dropout.

- The extension of compulsory education to 18 years. Approved by Law n. 2 85/2009 of 27 August, accompanied by scholarships to students from lower economic situation attending high school (established in the academic year 2009/2010). For students enrolled in the academic year 2009/2010 in any grade of 1. 2 or 2. 2 cycles of basic education or 7th grade is now compulsory to stay in school until age 18 or until obtaining a diploma course lecturer at the secondary level of education. It is hoped, therefore, achieve the academic year 2013/2014 a rate of completion of secondary school education or through training of 85%.
- The Program Educational Territories of Priority Intervention, which helps to prevent early exit from education and training and combat levels of educational failure, through organizational measures, adequacy of strategies to specific audiences and use of material and human resources to ensure the conditions that generate educational success
- The reorganization of counseling services at vocational schools. The proposed reorganization is being designed and It's intended to improve the quality of vocational and educational counseling, integrating approaches and resources and supplying gaps.
- The increase in the implementation and extension of Education and Training and Professional Courses that promote increased levels of schooling, as well as the transition to working life and employability;
- Support for international students and / or migrant background through classes in Portuguese Not Maternal Language as well as actions Portuguese second language, offer for the adult population that works in the modality of Education Extra-School, replaced in 2010/2011 by a Modular Formation and also actions Portuguese for All, the program under initiative of the High Commissioner for Integration and Intercultural Dialogue.

- Student Welfare support, providing conditions for the frequency of different socioeconomic contexts students and families with low incomes.

In July 2012, in preparation for the academic year 2012-13 and in line with the stated policy goals for education in the period 2011-15 (i.e. to raise educational quality and improve educational success), a new policy initiative was created at the level of the 2nd cycle and the 3rd cycle in basic education. The target group for these courses is +13 year olds in risk of dropping out of school. The objective is to offer young people Cursos Vocacionais, which cover both basic education and initial vocational training while raising young people's awareness to the labour market and simultaneously allowing for further learning. The educational services at regional level are piloting the initiative during the academic year 2012-13 and it will be expanded further if the evaluation, to be conducted at the end of the academic year, demonstrates its value. More recently, this pilot project was extended to other schools that can apply to offer this kind of vocational courses at basic education level in the next school year (2013/2014).

At the 1st cycle of basic education, through the strengthening of measures to support study, and a more effective monitoring of the pupil when the first learning difficulties are detected;

Adoption, in exceptional circumstances duly justified by the school and approved by the competent educational administration, of different educational paths, namely, alternative curricular paths and integrated programs of education and training, tailored to the profile and characteristics of pupils;

Implementation of a modular system, as an alternative to the basic education curriculum for pupils aged 16.

In March 2013, Centres for Qualification and Vocational Education (Centros para a Qualificação e o Ensino Profissional) were established by a legal act. They replaced the former New Opportunities Centres that supported, in the past, the recognition, validation and certification of academic and professional competences in Portugal. The Centres for Qualification and Vocational Education ensure the provision of a quality service in the field of guidance for young people and adults, with a focus on information about educational offers, professional or dual certification, offering a realistic choice, and meeting the individual profiles, the diversity of pathways in order to following their studies or to respond present and future needs of the labour market, among other factors.

Work in progress

- Restructuring of the current model of VET for an increased bid to areas deemed relevant to job creation, in close collaboration with the labour market.
- Restructuring of the VET curriculum design to reinforce the training and learning in a work context ("Dual System"). In this scope should be mentioned the memorandum signed between Portugal and Germany by which a bilateral cooperation take place in order to support a Portuguese dual system in organisational and conceptual terms.
- Establishment of VET Reference schools in close cooperation with labour market"

[Early leaving from vocational education and training – Portugal]

"Spotlight: Combatting school failure and school dropout

The Programme to Combat School Failure and School Dropout (Programa de Combate ao Insucesso e Abandono Escolar, 2012) builds on a series of measures designed to prevent school dropout, by providing extra support to students at risk of failing in primary and secondary education and developing vocational education and training (VET) in upper secondary education as an equal alternative to the general programme. Portugal has aimed to create more vocational courses in secondary education and provide for a coherent national VET strategy to guide students and involve the business sector, mainly through: the reformulation of VET upper secondary syllabi (2013); Centres for Qualification and Vocational Education (CQEP, 2013); specific Vocational Programmes (2012) providing pilot vocational courses in primary education (2nd cycle) and lower secondary education (starting at age 13); and Vocational Reference Schools (Escolas de Referência do Ensino Profissional, EREP, 2012)."

[Education Policy Outlook 2015].

"In more than half of European countries, other recent policies and measures for reducing early leaving, in many cases as part of their early leaving strategy, aim to increase the flexibility and permeability of educational pathways. Having to make premature choices between educational pathways at an early age can demotivate those who have not been guided well. Educational pathways which are too rigid can, moreover, create obstacles to completing upper secondary education (European Commission, 2013; see also Section 2.2 on the transition to upper secondary education). In other cases, increasing the flexibility and permeability of educational pathways has been the means to ensure a smooth transition between education levels or different types of education, thus helping minimise the risk of early leaving. For example, countries/regions such as Belgium (French and Flemish Community), Cyprus, Poland and Finland have undertaken reforms to improve the quality, attractiveness and flexibility of their VET systems. This includes changes to the qualification systems aimed at improving the recognition and validation of skills. Related to this, in Italy, a legislative decree was recently issued that encourages the full integration and recognition of non-formal and informal learning experiences within the education system, which will, in future, be included in a student's 'personal portfolio'. In Belgium (German-speaking Community), Germany, Lithuania and Portugal, projects have been recently implemented that seek to reduce ELET by improving the transition between general education and different types of vocational pathways or between different types of vocational programmes (NL) ... very few European countries have recently implemented policies or measures to restrict the practice of grade retention. In most of them, reforms of this nature have been introduced as part of general policy rather than as a specific measure to prevent early leaving. A pilot project was recently launched, for example, in Belgium (French Community) whereby schools participating on a voluntary basis are helped to find alternative practices to grade retention. In Latvia and Portugal, recently introduced legislation stipulates mandatory support measures for students with learning difficulties, as well as opportunities for students to repeat exams so that they repeat a year only in certain circumstances."

[Tackling Early Leaving from Education and Training in Europe: Strategies, Policies and Measures].

"The previous chapters of this report discuss the issue of early leaving from education and training (ELET) in general or focusing on general education. This section summarises findings of an on-going Cedefop study specifically looking at the phenomenon of early leaving from vocational education and training (ELVET). The methodology combines:

- secondary analysis of the programme for the international assessment of adult competences (PIAAC) and adult education survey (AES) micro-data;
- primary data collection that covered eight countries (Belgium both French and Flemish Communities, Denmark, Germany, France, Croatia, Italy, Austria and Portugal);
- desk research and literature review.

Challenges of measuring early leaving from VET:

Comparing ELVET rates across these countries is, however, very difficult since definitions adopted by European countries and regions differ in a number of ways including their coverage of different programmes, fields of education, regions and attainment levels. Further, while the EU indicator limits early leavers to a particular age group (18 to 24 year olds), national definitions are typically not limited by age — with age coverage instead reflecting the national context with respect to participation in upper secondary education. The different indicators on ELVET available at national/regional level in Europe typically measure the incidence and rate of non-completion among the student population, and/or non- attainment among the student population or the resident population of the same age. There are two main alternative indicators used to understand ELVET across countries: across several European countries and regions measures of the non-retention (or non- completion) of students are used to provide information on the level and rate of ELVET. However, based on these measures it is not possible to distinguish dropouts from cases of student mobility. This data is helpful to understand which programmes or VET providers face greatest difficulties regarding non-retention, but they do not reflect the real rate of early leaving. Belgium (French community), Croatia and Portugal are examples of countries with such data on VET. The available statistics in ELVET Denmark and Italy provide examples of approaches that measure the occurrence of drop-out by counting the incidence of programme interruptions;"

[Tackling Early Leaving from Education and Training in Europe: Strategies, Policies and Measures].

"National data on rate of early leaving from VET:

Comparing rates of early leaving between VET and general education In a number of European countries and regions, irrespective of the definitions and data collection methods used, it is often observed that the rates of early leaving from VET are higher than the overall rate of ELET. In Belgium (French Community), for example, the share of young people who did not obtain an upper secondary school certificate among all students in the last year of secondary education was 26.6 % in 2011 for vocational-oriented programmes, compared to 14.2 % for general upper secondary education.

In Denmark, the ELVET rate in 2012 is reported at 48 % – largely due to many VET students' reselection of subjects during the foundation course. Based on interviews with academic experts and ministry officials, if only those dropouts that have left the educational system (without reselection) are included, this figure is estimated to be approximately 30 %. This rate, however, remains considerably higher than the rates of early leaving attributable to general education pathways (13 % in 2012). In Austria, a greater proportion of students drop out from VET schools (36 %) and VET colleges (27 %) to change educational track or programme than do students in general education (16 %). The true rate of drop-out – i.e. those who quit their educational career during upper secondary education – is estimated to be higher in VET schools (13 %) than it is in general education and VET colleges (7 %). In Portugal, in contrast, rates of non-retention of students are consistently higher for general education courses than in VET in each of the three years of upper secondary education"

[Tackling Early Leaving from Education and Training in Europe: Strategies, Policies and Measures].

"Preventing early leaving from VET:

Individual VET providers do not always have the expertise to address high levels of early leaving or they are lacking the drive to prioritise the topic. There are programmes for example in Belgium (French Community), Denmark, France, Italy, Portugal and Finland that offer individual VET providers with additional resources or expertise to handle the problem. Typically this involves either additional funding or an external expert coming into the school/institute to oversee or help develop and implement a comprehensive ELVET prevention strategy. The expert stays for a period of time or visits the provider on regular basis to support implementation on an on-going manner and help the provider to tackle problems as they emerge. The expert is normally employed by the authority in charge of the programme or the schools/providers may be given funding to employ one.

The VET legislation in many countries stipulate that students should have an access to support services such as career, psychological, counselling, special and/or social pedagogical services. In practice, this however does not always materialise. Previous research has indicated that the availability of multi-professional support has been more sparsely available within the VET sector than within the general upper secondary sector (see Section 4.3 on multi-agency partnerships in tackling ELET) even if many VET schools, albeit not all, host a more challenging student population and display higher than average early leaving rates. This is one of the reasons why countries like Belgium, the Czech Republic, France, Hungary, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Portugal, Slovenia, Finland and Iceland, for instance have recently reinforced the availability of professional counselling and support services within VET schools."

[Tackling Early Leaving from Education and Training in Europe: Strategies, Policies and Measures].

Por fim, apresentam-se alguns excertos de estudos internacionais que destacam o esforço que Portugal tem feito no sentido de garantir um melhor alinhamento entre as aptidões dos jovens e as necessidades do mercado de trabalho, nomeadamente, no âmbito das ofertas tuteladas pela educação. Para esse alinhamento é também importante a orientação vocacional e a permeabilidade entre ciclos de estudos e ofertas.

"Reforço da resposta da EFP às exigências do mercado de trabalho: Aqueles que se formam através do sistema de Educação e Formação Profissional (EFP) têm melhores perspetivas de emprego em países onde a aprendizagem baseada no trabalho é uma forte componente dos cursos. Portugal tem feito esforços significativos para melhorar a qualidade e a flexibilidade do seu sistema de EFP, nomeadamente através do aumento da participação das empresas e de outros atores relevantes na EFP, de modo a garantir uma melhor resposta às necessidades do mercado de trabalho."

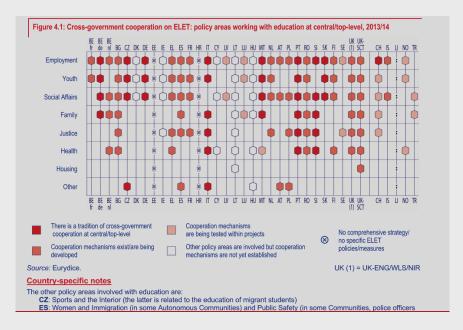
[OECD Skills Strategy: Relatório de diagnóstico Portugal].

"In a number of EU Member States a youth guarantee scheme has been recently introduced, responding to the Council Recommendation. Establishing cooperation between the different policy sectors and stakeholders is a key element of these schemes. Spain, for example, has recently approved the 2013-2016 Strategy for Entrepreneurship and Youth Employment (reduce youth unemployment. Measures included in this strategy promote stronger cooperation between employment services, providers of vocational guidance, education and training centres and support services to ensure that all young people are fully informed of the services and support available.) In Portugal, the youth guarantee scheme is being implemented gradually, starting in 2014. Its implementation is coordinated by the public authorities and public employment services and involves many partners, including NGOs, social sector institutions, enterprises and business associations. The work will be developed through a partnership approach and a committee will coordinate and monitor the Youth Guarantee. It is envisaged that these partners will participate according to their area of expertise and will mobilise, not only their organisations and resources, but also the local and regional stakeholders with whom they cooperate, thus rebuilding and strengthening the networks, in order to ensure opportunities for young people and to address their needs."

[Tackling Early Leaving from Education and Training in Europe: Strategies, Policies and Measures].

"Specialist staff can be of crucial importance in creating a learning environment that meets the needs of individual students (European Commission, 2013). While this is a general policy in a number of countries, four countries/regions have recently implemented intervention policies to ensure the involvement of specialists in efforts to reduce early leaving. For example, in Portugal, specialist staff are being deployed to support at-risk students through tutoring or mentoring, psychological support and education and career counselling. In Belgium (German-

speaking Community), specialist advisory groups have been established in recent years to improve school and teaching quality. A new decree on the creation of school development consultants is intended to ensure that practical advice is given on how to improve conditions for learning and teaching.; ... Where there is already a tradition of cooperation between areas, it is much easier to cooperate on initiatives to address the problem of early leaving and to institutionalise new arrangements: In Germany, for example, the dual system in vocational education and training is well established and employers are used to working closely with education and training authorities. Individual support plans for poorer-performing students are implemented in cooperation with the (vocational) guidance element of the youth welfare service at local level. The Federal Employment Agency supports schools in the development of careers services and offers to participate in the coordination of regional stakeholders in order to improve transition management. In Portugal, the national Commission for the Protection of Children and Youth, although not originally tasked with coordinating ELET issues, has now taken charge. In this, it benefits from its long-established cooperation with policy areas at the central/top level. It draws its members from the Ministries of Solidarity, Employment and Social Security (including Family); Education and Science; Justice; Youth Sports and Health.



[Tackling Early Leaving from Education and Training in Europe: Strategies, Policies and Measures]

"The role of the overall education syste:

The education system can influence the development of alternance schemes in two ways: in relation to the structure of alternance schemes and how VET overall and alternance schemes in particular are placed in comparison to general education or other VET tracks.

In some countries, the development of VET has been rather neglected, receiving limited attention compared to other parts of the education system and therefore often seen as having lower status. This might result in a deterioration of the quality of programmes offered, directing young people into low-level jobs with little prospect of progression or further study, damaging at the same time, the status of VET in the general public's perception. In countries where apprenticeships are a strong feature of the education system, the image and employability prospects are much stronger (e.g. AT, DE, CH).

The importance that VET/alternance schemes have within the education system could be assessed by the state budget invested in the various education pathways, which inevitably influences the quality of the school-based part of alternance schemes and significantly impacts the attractiveness of IVET overall.

Also, accessing higher education may influence the attractiveness of the schemes: students that plan to continue their studies may not opt for schemes that do not offer access to higher education.

To support this, it is reported that in **Portugal**, the fact that VET alternance schemes provide progression opportunities to higher education as general education, is identified as a positive factor in terms of the perception of VET.205 In fact, the new 'vocational courses' are being developed in cooperation with the polytechnic system (higher education focused on vocational training and advanced technical training) to facilitate the smooth transition of students to higher education."

[Dual Education: a bridge over troubled waters?]