

Adults' Learning and Career Temporalities in the Analysis of Professionalisation and Professional Identity Construction

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PART 4

CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY IN PROFESSIONAL CONTEXTS

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PASCAL ROQUET

12. ADULTS' LEARNING AND CAREER TEMPORALITIES IN THE ANALYSIS OF PROFESSIONALISATION AND PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

Adults develop experiential learning (Kolb, 1984) in private and professional contexts and situations that are increasingly diverse and mobile. Thus, the related identity construction processes are marked by articulations but also, and mainly, by tensions between on the one hand, the short temporalities defined by urgency and by the acceleration of the requirements for performance and career success, and, on the other hand, the longer temporalities that foster professional or personal development. These individual temporalities intersect with institutional ones that are affected as well by the cult of urgency, of quick solutions (Aubert, 2003), but also by the necessity of sustainability, of durable constructions and of long term institutional programmes (Dubet, 2002). This conflictuality between short term and long term temporal rhythms and perspectives is key to the understanding of the identity construction processes of adults engaged in learning and professionalisation journeys.

Within this framework, we will develop a reflection on macro, meso and micro temporal positions, and their articulation to professionalisation. Then, we will explain how our conception of *temps vécu,* which is lived-time, can clarify the comprehension of the temporal processes that are inscribed in the professional and learning pathways of adults. Finally, three analyses taken from our research work, covering three professional groups, French engineers, physiotherapists and junior community mediators, will identify two distinct processes of temporal construction of professionalisation and reveal their effects on the construction of the professional identities of those three professional groups.

TEMPORAL POSITIONS OF PROFESSIONALISATION

Temporalities concern all the activities of traditional, modern and post-modern societies and contribute to the fact that every society, every individual, can experience time (Hall, 1983). The power of programmatic time and the domination of clock time characterise modernity (Sue, 1994) and fit into the organised and streamlined time of work organisations and institutions in industrial societies (Sennett, 2006). This type of time equally organises nature (seasons), companies (rationalisation of

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economic, social and educational times, etc.) and individuals (careers, life cycles, etc.); it is a specific feature of the Western civilisation of the 19th and 20th centuries. But the time of clocks, a concept that refers to *Chronos*, the physical, objective time of real-word event sequence, has eventually expelled kairological time (Urry, 2000), the time of change and movement, the time of the emergence of forms and opportunities, the form of time that we feel when we are actively seeking new phenomena. This conception of *Kairos*, of discontinuous and creative time, is found in the post-modern and hypermodern approaches that place the development of individualism at the heart of major mutations. This relationship to time can then be understood as a series of empty rooms that one could explore in a given period. Individuals thus inscribe themselves in multiple temporalities that may be restrictive or emancipative (family, professional or learning temporalities). The question then arises to define the temporal positions along which these temporalities can unfold. These multifaceted temporal processes involve private and public activities as well as professional activities. Specific forms of temporality can be identified in individual life course, around several nonlinear sequences.

Temporalities are multiple and diverse. They relate to forms of temporal experience that affect differentiated levels of human life. The classical macro/meso/micro differentiation, is based on the distinction defined by Braudel (1949) on the plurality of social time and its tiered temporalities: firstly, the base of long duration, secondly, conjuncture, and finally the short term of the event. This differentiation enables us to think temporalities as being in direct contact with social and cultural processes in both individual and collective dimensions. Locating these processes on separate temporal positions does not prevent from 'watching them live' in constant interaction, within individual temporal experiences and dynamics.

Macro Temporality: A Historical Depth

Macro temporality pertains to long-term historical time. It generates identifiable and dated temporal figures belonging to defined space-times. This temporality remains on a human scale, it is the result of a specific historiality, specific to each culture and to each society. What it produces is a temporal configuration (Elias, 1996), a regime of historicity (Koselleck, 1990; Hartog, 2003) that favours specific relationships between past, present and future, or even between the field of experience (past to present relationship) and the horizon of expectations (future to present relationship). In connection with professionalisation, it is the historical construction of professional models, especially for the professions as in the case of engineers. Understanding the historical process is essential to grasping the genesis of the dynamics of professionalisation, for the professions but also for occupations in the process of recognition, or for emerging ones, as well as for occupations that are considered non-organised. The links between education or training and professionalisation define articulations between different types of knowledge. At the macro level, construction and exploitation of knowledge can be identified in the three following

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forms of knowledge: the theoretical one which is transmitted academically, the professional and empirical one, which is acquired through experience, and action-knowledge which is acquired through specific formative and professional activities. They can exist separately or form combinations, resulting in formalised modes within education curricula, or in more informal modes of knowledge transmission (e.g., self-study, peer learning). This trilogy both refers to the transmission of the specific learning modes of a professional activity and to the integration of this type of transmission into the mode of organisatio7n of the corresponding professional group. In fact, it refers to the production of educational and formative processes that underpin the legitimacy of the practice of a professional activity through the production of professionalisms, and of professional paths and careers. Without this historical depth, professionalisation become a momentary social stake, whose fulcrums and temporal frameworks are not sufficiently established for the situations and actors concerned.

Meso Temporality: An Institutional Translation

Meso temporality is a form of temporal mediation that is materialised by the production of collective temporal experiences, primarily through institutional and organisational forms. Historical temporal regimes get translated into temporal schemes that are anchored in specific socio-cultural contexts. This temporality is part of a contemporaneity, a present that is palpable for each individual. It aims at a present, social, political issue, located at a time 't' in a historical configuration. Its most visible shape can be found in the temporalities of institutions and organisations in our modern and post-modern societies. On this level, the professionalisation that has been built on a macro level is translated into a professional education curriculum, a training apparatus or a professional curriculum. This translation is often defined in 'an institutional programme', i.e. a socialisation mode of actors in learning or professional situations. Schools, universities, training curricula, professionalisation frameworks, define institutional programmes that fit or do not fit in previous historical models. As Dubet wrote it, an institutional programme:

> (1) considers that working on others is a mediation between universal values and specific individuals; (2) affirms that the activity of socialisation is a vocation because it is directly founded on values; (3) is based on the belief that socialisation is aimed at inculcating norms that shape individuals and, at the same time make them autonomous and free. (2002, pp. 13–14)

Transmitted knowledge, articulation between forms of knowledge, professionality building are social constructs that participate in this translation process.

The distinct training apparatuses then play a socialising role, they are the translation of modes of relation to others that value a type of normalisation between the universal values of a profession or trade, and their transmission to individuals wishing to practice an activity which is defined in specific areas of autonomy.

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Whatever their nature or construction may be, apparatuses meet social requirements. Their continuity and transformation over time, their short existence, or even their disappearance, appear to be mediating elements between historical professional models and individuals inscribed in heterogeneous social and personal trajectories.

Micro Temporality: Lived Temporalities

Finally, the micro temporal level directly affects individuals and individual temporalities; it consists in temporal experiences that are specific to each person, that are heterogeneous, based on spaces of biographical continuity and/or rupture, including the differentiated movements and rhythms of life. It refers to the 'professionalisation pathways' embedded in diversified biographical journeys. These temporalities are identifiable in life cycles, in individual biographies but also in the time connections which are experienced and built by individuals. They may not be disjointed from historical temporalities and from institutional temporalities, because they reflect social representations and express the actual experience of individual and collective temporalities (Boutinet, 2004). At the same time, they give meaning to the various forms of temporalities and reflect the true-life dimension of temporality experience in everyone's daily life. They incorporate stabilisation processes as well as change processes in the fragmented modern temporalities. Thus, the micro level questions macro and meso temporalities in return. In this perspective, it is essential to grasp the diversity and singularity of these structures in the specific temporal plurality of every human being. The professionalisation processes get materialised in individual dynamics of knowledge production within lifelong differentiated learning, training and working activities (transformative learning, professional retraining, and so on). The lived experience of professionalisation is built on combinations of established educational and professional models and by training modes created by individuals (self-training, on the job training, peer-training) which respect individual temporalities and root professionalisation trajectories in individual itineraries.

How Temporal Positions Connect

Temporalities may therefore diversify, generate different speeds (Virillo, 1995, 2005), and also stagnate, stabilise, accelerate, slow down, split into forms of disruption-discontinuity-continuity, and affect individual temporalities as well as institutional temporalities. They only exist through these movements, these rhythms, which are the expression of continuities and discontinuities inherent in any social or individual process. Thus, a 'deprogramming', a break-up of the established models seems to oppose the rationalising frameworks of the modern era, of the industrial society, which were made of linear temporalities (life-lasting family and job) as they now seem to split into a variety of institutional and individual bricolages. Moreover, the continuity/discontinuity distinction is no more thoroughly clear-cut. Continuity

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may be seen in the resistance of institutional frameworks to the heterogeneity of individual situations (planning and scheduling time frames are still up-to-date), but also in individual constructions, such as the models of boundaryless careers (mobility can be a form of continuity through professional success). Discontinuity can be considered through the more and more frequent rupture processes taking place in private and professional lives, but also in the managerial modes of institutions increasingly faced with permanent changes.

These dynamics are embedded in the forms of time which individuals experience and construct both in their own trajectories and their experiential contexts. These dynamics can take the aspect of continuity, but also of ruptures, where representations of the past and projection in the future articulate. What we call temporal positions (macro, meso and micro) are successive layers of temporalities which can be used to grasp these representations, at a specific time 't', linking them so that they gain meaning in individual and social reality. They correspond to experiential and therefore human states of lived-time, rebuilt *a posteriori* by individuals and, modelled, necessarily later, by researchers.

Thus, the conceptual framework of temporalities allows to think professionalisation processes as constantly intersecting, in the distinct temporal dynamics that punctuate the life cycles of individuals. These processes occur both in collective contexts (work organisations, professional organisations) and in individual contexts. These processes take place in collective configurations, namely occupational groups, or through individuals who perform a similar occupation. The acceleration of temporal rhythms emphasises the tensions between individual and institutional rhythms of professionalisation: the gap widens between the long-term timescale, which is necessary to the construction of professionalism, and the urgent time frame required by institutional professionalisation.

THE EXPRESSION OF LIVED-TIME

Our interest therefore lies in biographical material, in the one that gives an account of life course, and, more specifically, of the life sequences linked to the formative and professional activities. This approach merges into a comprehensive conception of experienced time: 'historical time models' have no existence in themselves, if they are not relayed by, or do not integrate, social and individual conceptions, which are the representations that actors build in their biographical and temporal trajectories. These articulations are inscribed in processes that have differentiated durations and rhythms within the individual experience of time. They provide the ability of connecting temporal positions, not only on hierarchical temporal registers, but on an identical time line experienced individually and socially. This posture and this perspective do not refer to a concept of *Chronos*, the linear programmed time, but to the concept of *temps vécu* or, in English, *lived-time*, developed by Minkowski (1933), and therefore to intercalary interspersed recursive processes which connect different levels of temporalities. Minkowski's conception of time provides an

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adequate framework to the comprehension of lived temporalities. Time is considered, on the one hand, as an irrational phenomenon, refractory to any conceptual formula, but on the other hand, as soon as we try to represent it, it quite naturally takes the appearance of a straight line. To reduce this tension, phenomena intercalate and spread between these two extreme aspects of time, by enabling the passage from one to the other. These phenomena constitute articulations between temporal positions, thus creating the sense of many individual, social and professional activities.

These processes are embedded in the *lived-times* (Roquet, 2013) built by individuals both in their own singular trajectories and experiential contexts of continuity, but also in situations of rupture linking representation of the past, present itself, and projection into the future. Links are built in the past/present/future relation, thus giving meaning to the experiences of individuals. Walter Benjamin's (1982) analysis helps us identify a dissociation between the space of experience and the horizon of expectations. This dynamic creates an accelerated, but not cumulative, succession of isolated episodes of experience that juxtapose and result in a transformation of the structure of subjective temporal experience. Differentiated rhythms generate meaning in this organisation of lived-time and touch upon the understanding of the processes of professionalisation. They contribute to the setting in motion and to the recognition of the professionalities of the subjects within their career paths.

Thus, in the employment/training trajectories of adults, professionalisation is permanently questioned. Professionalisation incorporates a dimension of individual lived-time; it is a lifelong construction which can be realised under differentiated experiential forms. The professionalisation of the subject refers to a combination of, on the one hand, identifiable existing educational and professional models and, on the other hand, new professionalities requiring the intervention of appropriate training modes. These models do not consist in 'planned' paths, but in paths that include the contingencies, opportunities and hazards which allow the construction of professionalisation strategies that are contextualised in educational and professional situations identifiable in the biographical trajectory. They result in identity constructions considered as socialisation processes and contributing to the production of professionalisation dynamics.

THE TEMPORAL CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY OF PROFESSIONALISATION: DIFFERENTIATED FORMS OF IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

This reflection on the temporalities of professionalisation highlights the links between the formative and professional identity constructions of adults in specific temporal positions and reveal how they result in various forms of professionalisation. In this regard, we will take three examples from our research work to illustrate our point of view and show how temporal continuity and discontinuity produce differentiated forms of identity construction.

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As far as temporal continuity is concerned, we can identify two differentiated forms of identity construction in engineers and physiotherapists: the professionalisation process of engineers rests on a historical depth and on an identity offer that have both been built over more than 200 years, whereas the more recent professionalisation of physiotherapists is marked by the search for a specific identity.

Engineers: Sustainable Professionalisation, Temporalities of Continuity

The numerous historical and sociological research studies on the occupational group of engineers in France insist on the hierarchical and segmented aspect of this group regarding its reproduction and transformations modes over two centuries (Grelon, 1989; Picon & Chatzis, 1992). The traditional characteristics of this professional group are the emblematic figure of the engineer graduated from the *grandes écoles*, that are elite higher education institutions,[1] and the traditional polarisation between the academically qualified engineers and the technicians who gained their qualification thanks to promotion. This situation can be explained by the constitution of educational and professional engineer models over a long historical period; it refers to a sustainable professionalisation process articulated to characteristic engineer figures (Roquet, 2000). Neither the profession nor its representation are unified, but the historical dynamics of the training modes of engineers have given meaning to the identity construction of this professional group. Professional models range from the central segment of the engineer graduated from a *grande école* to the minority one of the autodidact, who is generally called *ingénieur maison*[2] (Roquet, 2000). A third intermediate segment developed more recently due to the creation of university curricula, of "second-rank" *écoles d'ingénieurs*; these new engineer schools delivered academic education but were less selective than the *grandes écoles* and were more open to the productive system. Thus, three engineer models (*grandes écoles* engineer, production engineer, promoted engineer) developed in relation to the sociohistorical evolution. The forms of temporalities induced in this long process of professionalisation alternate: a historical time long enough to define the models of the engineering profession, the time of institutionalisation of these models through the creation of permanent and recognised training apparatuses (engineer schools, initial education, continuing education, apprenticeship) and the individual biographical temporalities which permanently allow to anchor and transform these models into professional, social and individual life cycles. These three professional models constitute identity offers organised in relation to different professional segments. The recruitment channels, the training apparatuses, the learning modes of the distinct academic and professional forms of knowledge and the professionalities contribute to the identity definition of the segments and to their differentiation. A basic process such as professionalisation overlaps with authentication and transformation mechanisms that redefine existing identities. In relation to historical periods, the segments are recomposed, but at the same time

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maintain professional models, in a permanent movement of identity construction-deconstruction-reconstruction of the professional figures of the engineer. Somehow, these are biographical temporal forms (how do I identify myself as an engineer?) and institutional temporal forms (how am I recognised as an engineer?) of identity construction which give meaning to the existence of this professional group. We can then put forward the following proposal: the three professional models of the engineer (*grandes écoles* engineer, production engineer and promoted engineer) only come to life in the biographical stories of the engineers and in the speech of the actors. These (micro level) biographical temporalities give meaning to the existence of these models, which are translated into social and professional representations and into modes of acquisition of knowledge. The central segment and the intermediate segment are linked to forms of temporalities of continuity, and to recognised and established models of self-identification, whereas the minority segment coincides with transitional temporalities more related to biographical courses that are embedded in continuing education. There is absolutely no temporal linearity, but we rather observe the stabilisation of a process of professionalisation in individual trajectories.

French Physiotherapists: Identity Construction Within a Temporal Continuity

In the historical context of the practice of physiotherapy, or more precisely of *masso-kinesitherapie* in France, it took the First World War and its many mutilated victims to see the creation of a group of new professionals responsible for physical therapy. Then, the definition of the activity of physiotherapists became clearer with the creation of the State diploma of *infirmier-masseur*[3] in 1923, and then the degree of *professeur de culture physique médicale*[4] (1932), the *diplôme d'Etat de moniteur de gymnastique médicale*[5] (1942) and finally the degree of *masseur médical*[6] (1943). In 1946, it is the fusion of these trades that gave birth to the French profession of physiotherapists. In relation to the development of their professional practices, physiotherapists have established their group as a professional group, seeking to differentiate themselves from other health professionals.

Indeed, the results of a recent study (Roquet, Gatto, & Vincent, 2015) show that physiotherapy is a profession in France, and that it is serves patients as well as society. It meets the professionalism criteria defined by Wilensky (1964):

> the profession is exercised full time; it is regulated by a legal framework, which is here composed of the French code of public health, and the French penal and civil codes; it has a specialised training curriculum and specific schools, possesses professional organisations (here, a professional order and several trade unions), its monopoly is legally protected, and it has established a code of ethics.

However this recent professionalisation process is linked to the development of professional stakes that are more and more visible.

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The results of this research allowed us to define the contours of several social roles that physiotherapists have acquired through experience in a long-term temporal construction and as a result of adaptation and adjustment dynamics balancing their various societal demands with the needs and demands of patients and society. Some of these new roles are not yet recognised by the French administration in the definition of the professional practice of physiotherapy. Identified social roles appear in different categories:

- Physiotherapy diagnosis
- Physiotherapy diagnosis of exclusion.
- Differential physiotherapy diagnosis.
- Physiotherapy diagnosis of orientation.
- Direct access care.
- Autonomous therapeutic decision-making with the patient as a partner.
- Answers to the patient's implicit and explicit needs and requirements (quality).
- The relational, educational and communicational activities concurrent with rehabilitation activities.
- Inventiveness, creativity, conceptualisation, decision-making (singular activities resulting from the patient's requests, using disciplinary knowledge, associated know-how and experience of physiotherapy).
- Conceptual and technical innovation within professional practice.
- Prevention, patient and caregiver education.
- Care from birth to the end of life.
- Advice.
- Alternative to hospitalisation.
- Home support.
- Holistic patient-environment care approach in accordance with the logic of the current health care system.

The results have also led to demonstrate that the professional identities of French physiotherapists were both constructed around a common dimension, in which these healthcare professionals could all root their identification (the vocation/profession relationship), and around the differentiation between three identity logics that are respectively development, expertise and vocation. This double perspective defines the professional identity of French physiotherapists and constitutes the core of their profession. This identity construction allows French physiotherapists to define themselves and to be recognised in their activity; it also allows a collective construction around a common platform thanks to which they can be recognised by other occupational groups (doctors, healthcare professions and occupations, etc.) and by patients as well. After an analysis identifying professional situations experienced by French physiotherapists, a second analysis also identified two axes through the biographic, and sometimes reflective, narrative of those interviewed.

The first axis which founds the identification of each physiotherapist (stability of self-representation, meaning given to activities, stabilisation of practices) connects,

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sometimes in tension, the vocational origin of the activity of physiotherapy with the professional practice of French physiotherapists. Vocation corresponds to the values of universality, humanity, human relationships, and so on. Profession corresponds to professional roles (e.g., expert, communicator, and instructor) and social roles (such as patient's education and physiotherapy diagnosis). This link between vocation and profession constitutes a stable component of the professional identity of French physiotherapists. It is at the heart of the meaning of their professional activity and of their social and professional recognition. It is the common point of the identity construction of the profession, an identity in which any physical therapist will personally recognise himself. This construction belongs to the long-term level of professionalisation that articulates the past and the present of a profession in a temporal continuity.

The second level of analysis also allowed us to define three differentiated logics of identity-building that are involved in the collective identity construction of French physiotherapists. The basis of this differentiation lies in the processes of the personal, social and professional recognition of their activities. The cross-references made between the professional situations encountered by the interviewed French physiotherapists and their past and present career trajectories reveal that three identificatory models of the profession, both common and differentiated, can be identified in their professional careers: one of them is articulated by an identity logic of vocation, another one by an identity logic of development, and another one by an identity logic of expertise.

The identity logic of vocation relies on the affirmation process of a personal identity but also on the search for appropriate social roles (for example, for a care mission). Reflexivity on the practices, professionalisation construction through the use of experience and knowledge contribute to explore the personal part of identity while seeking, in different stages of career, several modes of recognition (others, institutions, etc.).

The identity logic of development fits into career dynamics that are generally oriented upwards, allowing to integrate different statuses (self-employed or not) as well as distinct positions and functions, but also enabling to develop different forms of expertise (e.g. scientific and technical) while seeking paths of professional development especially through continuing education. Occupational mobility is "the ingredient of this dynamic".

The identity logic of expertise rather lies in a process of identity differentiation. As experts, or as artists, French physiotherapists express themselves through the creation of new technologies and knowledge that fit into an art which is recognised in different socio-professional worlds (high performance sport, for example). Thus, the issue of recognition is competence singularity, which can therefore become visible in their distinctness from other professionals or colleagues.

These three identity forms are also found in a long-term form of professionalisation that more specifically articulates present and future types of professional career construction.

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The processes of identity construction of engineers and physiotherapists were built in differentiated time frames. If the engineers could quickly find their professional autonomy through the specificity of their professional activity, the physiotherapists have had to define their scope of activities by comparing them to the doctors' and had to adapt their professional practices more quickly. These identity construction processes of working adults reveal how experience is built and valued thanks to the use of forms of reflexivity (Dewey, 1934). For the individuals, these structures of professionalisation belong to long-term temporal configurations. This long-term time scale, time of durability, is built on a set of events, of ordeals, that solidify the career paths of individuals into forms of recognition. This long-term time scale provides a form of continuity in the professionalisation of French physiotherapists.

Emploi Jeunes Junior Community Mediators: Temporalities of Discontinuity

The objective of the youth employment promotion programme called *Nouveaux services – Emplois Jeunes* (1999–2005) was to enable young people to quickly access employment in new forms of activities such as social mediation, thanks to subsidised contracts that could last up to five years. During this period the inputs and outputs of the programme were highly variable. The objective of activity creation determined the finality of access to employment for young people, thus professionalisation became an intervention category of youth employment policy. The temporal dimension was associated with this process: the professionalisation of the youth was being built in sequenced temporalities (when they entered the programme, during the programme and after the programme). It operated as a transition path or professional socialisation route for a large part of the target population. The *Emplois Jeune* programme belonged to an ephemeral temporality which ran counter to job sustainability and professionalisation process. Numerous training courses were created but they mainly only resulted in setting fuzzy future time horizons, instead of building professional models of activity and knowledge for the youth. The young workers had to develop, legitimise and assert their skills by themselves within their learning and professional journeys. The construction of their professional identities thus relied on fragmented processes of activity autonomisation, in occupations devoid of established or recognised professional models: the young people in the programme were in charge of the promotion and legitimation of their own activities, including those related to social mediation. Professional models were too few or absent, and *Emplois Jeunes* junior community mediators could not either rely on the professionalisation models of their activities: there were no established professional frameworks. These frameworks are temporal constructions that allow individuals to integrate, or not to integrate, the spaces of opportunity in their own professionalisation trajectory. This possibility refers to intentionality, to *agency*, i.e. the ability of individuals to be or to become active agents in their own lives.

So, as those professional models did not exist, new forms of professionalism were built within heterogeneous biographical journeys, in continuity/discontinuity.

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The biographical temporalities of these young people were more marked by unstable constructions characterised by 'moments' of professional recognition of their activities and experience. The biographical and experiential framework set in various temporalities was then put forth without having so far been recognised or consolidated by the institutional framework. In this configuration, we could only identify forms of permanent transaction between life sequences, inscribed in trajectories and patterns of professionalisation occurring with occupational groups, peers, work collectives or organisations (companies, institutions, etc.). These transactions underlie the construction of professional identities (Dubar, 2000) and give an experiential meaning to 'professionalisation paths" marked by both temporal continuity and ruptures.

The professionalisation of *Emplois Jeunes* junior community mediators contributed to this adaptation and adjustment process by coming closer to common professional and formative models, or through the invention of training modes (self-training) that respected individual temporalities and rooted professionalisation journeys in individual itineraries. The hypothesis of a prescriptive or programmed route designed by institutional actors in the traditional descriptive and classificatory model of job-training courses is refuted by a comprehensive approach of individual trajectories. On the contrary, a multiplicity of contingencies, opportunities, risks and accidents can build professionalisation strategies, contextualised in identifiable formative and professional situations. Then the professionalisation time model of the *Emplois Jeunes* junior community mediators was built through diversified experiential learning configurations that allowed individuals to develop various skills (relational skills, resourcefulness) in multiple forms of identity construction, with no established model. Fragmented and discontinuous forms of individual temporalities have built unique and singular professionalities for the young people enrolled in the *Emploi Jeunes* programme.

CONCLUSION: THE SHORT-TIME/LONG-TIME OPPOSITION OF PROFESSIONALISATION

The three identity construction processes of French physiotherapists and *Emplois Jeunes* junior community mediators belong to differentiated professionalisation dynamics that have distinctive temporalities. Individual trajectories are inscribed in different temporal sequences: continuity, discontinuity, rupture, project, etc., which permanently structure educational and professional paths. These temporal forms expressed in biographical narratives, do not dissociate from institutional time forms that mark and punctuate individual routes, as exemplified in landmarks such as the beginning of training or of professionalisation programmes, or in the successive steps of socio-professional recognition. The well-structured time of the professionalisation of engineers, inscribed in a system of identity dynamics that are stabilised, and of French physiotherapists, whose identities are stabilising, is opposed to the discontinuous professionalisation time model of the *Emplois Jeunes*

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junior community mediators whose identity forms are uncertain. The proposed identity offers developed in differentiated space-time and socio-historical contexts which secure, which fix, the references of professional self-identification that are marked by the variation of professional models. These three forms of temporal dynamics affect the life-courses of adults engaged in professionalisation paths that are becoming increasingly complex nowadays. The historical time required for any perpetuation and recognition of a professional activity is overlapped by the shorter times of professional socialisation. In other words, the long-term time scale, necessary to all forms of professional recognition, opposes the short-term time scale of immediate activity, often little socially recognised. Moreover, the lived-time of professionalisation, i.e. biographical time, on the micro level, is embedded in professional contexts pertaining to the meso level, but sustains transitions towards significant differences in recognition and therefore in sustainability, consequently to the existence or lack of stable and established professional models, inscribed in the macro level.

NOTES

1 In France, the *grandes écoles* ("grand schools") such as the prestigious *Ecole polytechnique* or *Ecole centrale* are higher education establishments outside the university system. Some of them were created several centuries ago. These schools are state-run and state-funded, and are famous for the quality of their teaching and research. Unlike in universities, admission is based on a selection process. The *Diplôme d'ingénieur*, i.e. engineer diploma, awarded by the *grandes écoles* generally after five years of studies after high school, is still a reference for engineership today.

2 "Home-trained engineers" or "company-trained engineers".

3 "Masseur-nurse".

4 "Teacher of medical physical culture".

5 "State diploma of medical gymnastics teacher".

6 "Medical masseur".

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