

Anu Anttila & Anu Uusitalo (ed.)

**CONTEMPORARY MARGINALIZATION AND EXCLUSION OF
YOUNG PEOPLE – WHOSE REALITY COUNTS?**

NUORA Publications
No. 10

Mannerheim League for Child Welfare
Advisory Council for Youth Affairs

Helsinki 1998

Publishers:
Advisory Council for Youth Affairs
Mannerheim League for Child Welfare

© The authors and the publishers

Cover: Jukka Urho
Layout: Reijo Viitanen

ISBN 952-442-078-3
ISSN 1455-268X

Printed at NYKYPAINO OY
Helsinki 1998

CONTENTS

PREFACE	5
<i>Veli-Matti Ulvinen</i>	
WHO NEEDS DISCRIMINATION? I DO, WHO ELSE?	9
- <i>Social Action Revisited</i> -	
1. Preface	
2. Social exclusion in education?	
3. Cultural performance?	
4. What can we do?	
5. Preliminary exploration	
6. The question is	
7. The Final Question(s)	
<i>Kari Nyyssölä</i>	
FROM SCHOOL TO WHERE?	27
Labor market transitions of young Finnish people in 1980-1993	
1. Preface	
2. Risks and choices in the labor market	
3. Marginalization	
4. Changes in labor market status	
5. Youth unemployment and marginalization	
6. Conclusions	
<i>Markku Jahnukainen</i>	
EMPOWERMENT AND NON-FORMAL GUIDANCE IN A MODERN WORLD OF EDUCATION	35
1. Young people as a problem	
2. Education as a solution, or...?	
3. What can be done?	
4. Towards the 21 Century	
<i>Antero Johansson and Jukka Vuori</i>	
UNEMPLOYED YOUNG PEOPLE AT RISK OF MARGINALIZATION	39
A study of 323 Turku adolescents of the age 16-20 years	
1. Subjects and methods	
2. Results	
3. Conclusion	
<i>Heikki Silvennoinen and Pia Puustelli</i>	
PUBLIC POLICIES TO COMBAT SCHOOL AND SOCIAL FAILURE IN FINLAND	41
1. Preface	
2. The project	
3. The situation in Finland	
4. Education for what?	

<i>Matti Kuorelahti</i>	
QUALITY OF SCHOOL LIFE IN FINNISH SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS (EBD)	47
1. Preface	
2. Defining the concept	
3. Measuring the quality of school life (QSL) of emotionally / behaviorally disordered pupils	
4. Participants of the study	
5. Results of the study	
6. Conclusions	
<i>Elsi Veijola</i>	
SCHOOL EXPERIMENT TO SUPPORT YOUNG PEOPLE AT RISK OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION	51
<i>Markku Ihatsu, Kari Ruoho and Hannu Koskela</i>	
A TRAINING COURSE FOR TEACHERS WORKING IN THE VOCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS	53
- Experiences, evaluations and opinions -	
1. Preface	
2. The method and target group of the research	
3. The results	
4. Summary and conclusions	
<i>Sari Autio and Johanna Palovaara</i>	
INDIVIDUAL PATHWAYS AND LIFE MANAGEMENT	59
1. Preface	
2. Individual pathway to labor market in Project Advance	
3. A transnational study of the youth's future orientation	
<i>Anita Rubin and Miia Hänninen</i>	
FUTURE ORIENTATIONS AND LIVING CONDITIONS OF YOUNG PEOPLE	69
1. Preface	
2. Young people in transition	
3. Strategies for coping in transition	
4. A call for more flexible and open approaches	
5. Scientific independent research and empowerment evaluation	
References	77
Contact addresses	85

PREFACE

The writings in this publication are based on presentations of papers given in an international conference on youth affairs and youth research. This conference was called "Contemporary marginalization and exclusion of young people – whose reality counts?" The conference was organized by ESF Employment Youthstart Initiative Nuori-Youth project partners: Mannerheim League for Child Welfare, Finland, and the Ministry of the Flemish Community Education Department, Belgium, in cooperation with the Research Unit for Sociology of Education at the University of Turku. Persons active in youth projects, officials in governmental departments, policy makers, youth researchers and others interested in youth affairs were invited to participate. The conference was multidimensional and multidisciplinary. This publication comprises many, though not all the presentations given in the conference.

The main goal of TUHTI- Research Network for Youth is to increase co-operation between young people, representatives of public administration, researchers, and NGOs in issues linked to young persons' living conditions and youth research. TUHTI- Research Network for Youth is an open multidisciplinary network.

This international TUHTI-conference was the third one and as the previous ones it gave a good basis for both new and continuing co-operation between researchers and other people working with young people. In this conference we had an opportunity to become acquainted with not only Finnish youth research and practical experiences, but also German, English, Swedish and Scottish youth work and research. Internationality gave us new kinds of points of view and ideas to practical work with young people. At the same time we noticed that, although the cultures are different, we are fighting with the same kinds of problems. International co-operation gives us possibilities to consider different ways of practical acting. Many times our work is fruitless because we have no possibilities to learn from others' experiences about the same subjects.

Parts of the writings in this publication are independent articles presenting studies and practical projects. In addition to these there are two writings which were innovated at the workshops in the conference. *Markku Jahnukainen* and *Miia Hänninen / Anita Rubin* have written about the workshops where they acted as chairpersons.

Veli-Matti Ulvinen creates the framework for examining social exclusion and provides steady ground to consider the other writings in this publication. He examines social action and especially the features of encounters between the individual, community and society. For example, the social exclusion and marginalization are the outcomes, which are rising up, in positional relations between these three levels. One main concept in this writing is *cultural performance*, which refers to the individual ability to act in different kinds of situations in socio-cultural context. Ul-

vinen also presents that discrimination is strongly connected to every young person's need for existential expressions of being social.

National and international co-operation does not have to, and will not, be limited to conferences, but the point of conferences is to build up networks, which function in normal circumstances, too. Co-operation can give us opportunities to put to test practical models, which are already in use in some other country. The participants in the conference realized how better organized co-operation and direct information links could greatly benefit youth work. At a local level, the most important thing is to work together flexibly in new and innovative ways.

In future the co-operation is even more important than earlier, because the factors which indicate and predict marginalization are becoming more complex and less visible. The co-operation is an essential precondition for prediction and prevention of marginalization of young people. This theme comes up in the writing by *Kari Nyyssölä*. Nyyssölä's topic theme is to show the connections between young people's unemployment and marginalization.

Markku Jahnukainen presents that during the past 50 years we have had the problem-oriented perspective when talking about young people. We should finally begin to think otherwise about young people's problems; the problems should be a challenge for their socialization process. In our society, the most widely accepted intervention is education. However, it seems that there are many people who do not feel that education is the right way to solve their problems. Jahnukainen suggests that one solution to these kinds of problems could be education based on individual guidance.

Antero Johansson and *Jukka Vuori* present a study in which they are interested in how young people at risk of marginalization differ in their home and school background from other adolescents of the same age. Is their social life different, or do they have "bad habits"? One result is that the risk of exclusion was more pronounced among boys, and among adolescents from single-parent families.

Heikki Silvennoinen and *Pia Puustelli* present the general objective of the project "The reforms in the education and training systems to combat school failure in Europe". The public measures, outside the educational system, aiming at preventing young people's exclusion are mainly connected to the labor policy. The economic depression and mass unemployment of the 1990s have changed the basis of the labor policy in general and thus also the nature of the measures intended for young people. The emphasis has shifted even more from offering employment to offering education. The essential thing in preventing exclusion of young people is not the supply of education in itself; more important would be to pay enough attention to the quality and forms of education. The writers emphasize that the efficiency and quality of all education should be re-evaluated from fresh points of view.

Matti Kuorelahti has made a study, which concerns the quality of school life in Finnish special educational settings. The study shows that the special class functions efficiently and effectively, when we evaluate it by asking the pupils and their parents. Its positive consequences extend until adulthood. The results showed that students in special education enjoy being at school more, than if they were at regular education. The teachers' views on the educational outcomes were also positive. They felt that they got support in their own work. The principals had the most positive impression of the outcomes of special education.

Elsi Veijola's writing is concerned in the study of a school experiment called "Oma ura" (creating one's own career). The study shows that education, which involves more practical work than theoretical subjects, can reach the pupils who do not adapt to the normal comprehensive school model. The experiences of "Oma ura" are congruent with the study of Matti Kuorelahti; close relationships between teachers and pupils are significant to adaptation to school.

Markku Ihatsu, Kari Ruoho and Hannu Koskela present an in-service training course for teachers of vocational schools. The aim of the course was to promote the pedagogical capability of teachers acting in vocational schools to respond to new kinds of demands when teaching the whole age group. The in-service training has an outsider view to teachers' work, which has helped them to reflect better and correct their educational activities in the classroom. Teacher's own daily work seems to be the best link in learning new issues and adopting educational innovations.

Sari Autio and Johanna Palovaara write about Project Advance. At first, Sari Autio presents Project Advance in general terms, its goals, measures and visions of the future. In Project Advance young people have possibilities to develop their coping skills and they are able to achieve better life-management. The idea in this project is to give more individualized and more flexible guidance, training and support to a beneficiary. Johanna Palovaara has studied young people's future orientations and she has been interested in how unemployment influences one's hopes and fears. The study is made in four European countries and its endeavour is to compare the differences between unemployed young people and those who are at occupational training.

Miia Hänninen and Anita Rubin deal widely with the theoretical and practical points of view of young people's living conditions in today's society. A call for more flexible and open models and strategies to assist young people is one point in their writing. Besides the good points, they bring up some negative outcomes of youth projects. For example, lack of effective follow-ups seems to be problematic. In empowerment evaluation one of the most important aspects is to emphasize the opinions, feelings and wishes of the young people themselves.

Although young people have a lot of possibilities to choose from, not everybody can find the alternatives, which would be sensible for them. The only way to make things better is to change direction. The starting point should be the needs of the young people themselves. It means that we have to develop individual models of education and paths for training and living. This is already widely acknowledged, but what are the concrete solutions in giving opportunities of meaningful life to young people? The appropriate thing is to disseminate the solutions, which have already given good experiences and results. According to the writings in this publication, some methods of special education have proven to be good and functional; for example, small classes give possibilities to closer relationship between teacher and pupils. So why do we not use these methods in general education and training? The most important thing is to be human toward other human beings and accept different kinds of people and respect the differences, so the point is that we have to prevent marginalization and social exclusion before it appears. The first thing might be remodeling the educational institutions. Now we offer same basic education for every child, in future we should offer more individual models, for example the "Creating my own career" –model, and a good, planned apprenticeship education. And along these, young people will need holistic support for their life-control, as for example peer education, tutoring and work placement mentoring.

When we educate and work with young people, we should remember that the society where the young people will live and work is not the same than earlier. For example, the meaning of work in the postmodern society has changed and will change even more. It seems that in future there is no permanent position for everyone (see e.g. Rifkin 1997). We have to contemplate the meaning of work, we need to refresh our thinking about working life, both ways to live and ways to earn subsistence. Could it be so that a part of traditional wage work will change in the direction of the third sector?

The social order in modern society is the order of normal wage work. But in postmodern society the working is getting shorter. Then people have plenty of time for off-work activities and leisure. It could be said that education has become a risk investment. Nowadays, education creates an illusion of enduring tradition, and it creates groundless expectations that somewhere in the future will be a stable and continuing career for everyone. (Cf. Rinne 1997.) When you have read the writings of this publication you can consider, what are the values of our thinking and acting when we educate and counsel our young people?

We thank all the participants in the TUHTI- Research Network for Youth and especially people who have contributed in this publication. We hope that the co-operation will continue.

In Oulu, waiting for Christmas to come soon,
December 17th, 1998
Anu Anttila and Anu Uusitalo

WHO NEEDS DISCRIMINATION? I DO, WHO ELSE?

– *Social Action Revisited* –

1. Preface

This article is based on two presentations. The first presentation was at "Contemporary Marginalization and Exclusion of Young People – Whose Reality Counts?" International Conference on Youth Affairs, TUHTI – Research Network for Youth (April 22–24, 1998, Turku, Finland), in the workshop "Tackling Discrimination in Culture", and the title of my presentation was "Who Needs Discrimination? I do, who else?" The second presentation was at "Tools for Facilitators / SILTA" International Conference (May 11–13, 1998, Brussels, Belgium) and the title of my presentation was "An Individual, Community and Society: Social Action Revisited".

In this article I will focus on certain thematically relevant features of the encounters between the individual, community and society. These features are seen as strategies, as motivational and orientational factors of social action. The theoretical starting point in this article is the assumption of cultural performance, according to which a young person's world always contains life-historical learning experiences of the individual, communal and societal possibilities of action, and of the cultural forms of these possibilities. This framing is clarified in the context of youth work and research that focuses on the problem of marginalization and social exclusion. Especially, I will present some earlier discoveries of our youth research project. From the point of view of a young person, individual strategies for action serve as a means of coping with and adjusting to his or her reference group of action. On this level, we are dealing with the subjective experience of the development of life control. From the point of view of community, the feeling of togetherness felt by young people relates to life control, as the young person can rely on his or her assumptions of permanent meaning structures within his or her community. From the point of view of society, each encounter of social interaction tends to generate the strategic norms of behavior and social control. As an eventual result of this process, certain professional and bureaucratic sectors emerge.

The main focus, in the end, is on the theoretically grounded qualitative research data experiment. I will give some preliminary ideas of how to try to interpret the young persons' lives on daily facilitatory bases, and, of course, on the level of a bit broader youth research aim. Therefore I will not give any firm outcomes of this quite new youth research or youth work model, but instead I will be putting forward some ideas of the topics that might have some importance concerning the young people.

2. Social exclusion in education?

Social Exclusion at Schools is a youth research project in our Department of Behavioral Sciences. The project was started early in 1993, aiming at analyzing the problem of social exclusion in education and the nature of the social exclusion process. Within the project the active researchers at the moment comprise about 20 graduate and post-graduate students of the Faculty of Education. The project is seeking answers to questions such as:

- 1) *What does social exclusion mean?* Within this dimension, social exclusion is elaborated upon the examination of the social threats and mechanisms of exclusion in society.
- 2) *How and to what extent do the social and cultural structures of school itself cause exclusion?* Within this dimension, social exclusion is elaborated upon the pedagogical phenomenon: What kind of image a school and school life form upon young persons' possibilities in future education and employment?
- 3) *How and to what extent can social exclusion at school possibly be changed into social inclusion by means of the school?* Within this dimension, the general themes are young persons' rehabilitation, coping and survival strategies, and ways to obtain life control. In practice this means the development of action projects that count on different supportive welfare and social networks.

The research undertaken in this project is multidisciplinary. Besides education, the research takes advantage of the theories of disciplines such as psychology, sociology and social policy. Most of the research is carried through with qualitative methodology, which is one of the main focuses in our Faculty of Education. Special interest in the project is social exclusion at schools and in education, but during the year 1996 research undertaken has expanded into other walks of life, too. The observation of the phenomenon of social exclusion has shifted into the walks of life where *the social, life-historical and structural features* can produce the possibility of social exclusion, i.e., the possibility of being outside in contrast of being inside. These features are inherent in every local living condition. The living conditions can be divided into three levels of encounters between the individual, community and society, as follows (see Figure 1).

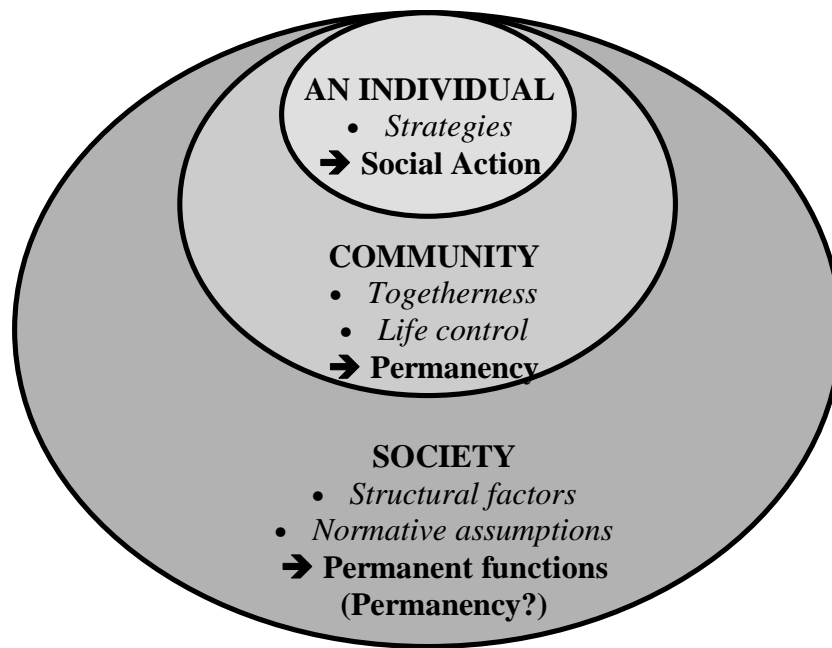


Figure 1. Positional relations between an individual, community and society.

Individual Action

Every human being is born into the social and cultural world of meaning structures that is already there for her/him to seize upon. A child's growing into this world happens naturally. Besides this, there is also a need for education – in terms of meaningful experiences – that facilitates this developmental and cognitive process into a rich awareness of social world. (Cf. Kimball 1974; Vandenberg 1974.) Despite education, a young persons' individual *strategies* for action serve as a means of coping with and an adaptation into the referential group of action; the group factor may be age, gender, race, social class or even habitus. It is, however, always a question of subjective experience of the developing life control. Within this experiencing a young person is perceiving her/his self; one is acting and living in a certain environment only from her/his point of view. So, the essential feature of a young persons' coping and adaptation strategies a young persons' is *social action*, the acting. (Cf. Kronqvist 1996; Murto 1997; Nygren-Nieminen 1997.)

In the case of social exclusion it is only a young person's socio-relational context of action in the social world that is somewhat limited. It is not a question of any false consciousness, reification or whatever lack *per se*. A person's meaningful experiences generate personal growth only in action. The structural form and content of a certain social action, e.g., activities in a classroom, work(shop) or youth work project environment, may fail to mediate meaningful experiences. The outcomes of this life-historical learning process may produce alienating and socially excluding effects that can, however, be understood only within the same life-worldly context of action. (Cf. Geyer 1980; Kallunki & Kangaskesti 1996; Mäkelä 1998; Peltola 1997.)

Community Life

The unavoidable experiences of social distance or closure between groups of different cultural background are blending different cultures continuously. This does not require truly shared meanings that are achieved by united action between different and separate cultural traditions. The cultures may exist without knowing of each other, but then there cannot be attitudes of cultural exclusion and conflict between them. So, each (sub)culture can in principle represent its own specific structure that deviates from other cultural forms. This structure frames a social space that is based on more extensive cultural system of meanings. (See Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983; Lynch 1986; Roseberry 1992.)

This is the case with communities, though they are not by nature static and clear-cut frames of social action. The felt communal *togetherness* among the young, for example, refers to a life control where a young person can rely on the assumptions of permanent meaning structures inside the community, as in some local subformation of "youth culture". This idea of *permanency* is normative by nature, and therefore a young persons' life control is tied to the forms of action which are relevant to that community. A young persons' mode of living that is structured by community is therefore, inherently functional attitude in relation to the other modes and contents of living. For example, on the one hand there may be societal but, for a young person, anonymous and strange demands and expectations of becoming conduct, of well being, of family life and such. On the other hand, the diverse communal understanding (e.g., another youth group) may sound and look stupid and unbecoming to a young person. (E.g. Back 1996; Dietz et al. 1994.)

In practice, these attitudes are determined in united action within the community, not only by the characteristics of a single person. It is a question of young persons' capability to act according to the cultural meanings inherent in each social situation. So, the cultural meaning structures help people to reach mutual understanding and to act together (cf. Pehkonen 1997; Purola 1997). In terms of social exclusion the developing cultural meaning structures provide every person or community an arena (or space) for social action. Without this arena of social reality, or if this arena is void, a human being ceases to exist. Therefore, the proper sense of the concept of social exclusion would at the utmost point to death.

Normal Society

The ideal typical structure of "normal society" refers to a quite extensive cultural system of meanings. It is always a question of (ideological) *power structures* that tend to reproduce the predominant culture. In the structural and functional level of society each encounter of social interaction tends to generate the strategic norms and rules of behavior and social control. These ideas of united action are finally detached from the relations of everyday life interactions. Even though the normative assumptions inside a community may be significant to an individual, the normative assumptions on the level of society are there only to justify the institutional social control. This process ends up with the justification of certain professional and bureaucratic sectors' existence and permanence in the society. The structural and functional norms of behavior on the level of society refer to the assumption of *permanent functions* in society. This assumption refers at the same time to the *permanency* on the community level, and is therefore a quite relevant interpretation of society and manner of reasoning in relation to different community modes of living. (E.g. Bourdieu & Passeron 1977; Bourdieu 1990; Jordan 1996.)

So, the permanent functions are structures of cultural understanding in society, strategic ways to comprehend an individual's societal being. In practice this permanency may appear in certain bureaucratic sectors' existence. Those sectors are often described as forming a social safety net, which supports the young person's integration into society as its full and competent member. For example, in the process of creating a socially, culturally and economically strong European Community, this integrating tendency is evident. The questions that reveal the disintegrating structure of practical and strategic work orientations of different authorities are such as: who of the young is taken as an object of the work, what is their "disability" that has to be fixed (cf. Albee & Gullotta 1997)? Thus, social exclusion is by origin a macro-sociological and normative term. As is typical to the setting of "normal society", the phenomenon of social exclusion or alienation can be understood as a consequence of poor education and unemployment, political powerlessness, false consciousness, or reified comprehension of the social and institutional world. These features may appear for instance as a lack of initiative in searching for work or even in applying for social welfare together with a social worker. (E.g. Deakin et al. 1995; European Opinions... 1995; Kajava 1997; Social Exclusion... 1995; Social Exclusion... 1996.)

3. Cultural performance?

So, the starting point in our research project on social exclusion is *contextual understanding of everyday life*. This is to say that actions of people are understandable only in a certain cultural environment and its social meaning structures. These structures are motivational and orientational factors of social action, strategies that refer to the contextual and progressive motion of an action in the individual, communal and societal networks of possible social relations. I have elaborated this cultural and contextual idea of qualitative research project earlier under the theme of cultural performance. In the case of defining cultural performance the following three dimensions can be depicted (Figure 2; see Ulvinen 1997; Ulvinen 1998b; cf. Prus 1994; Ulvinen 1996):

- 1) *Reflective understanding of one's own life-world and Contextuality of competency in social action* are means that can give a person a life-experiential way to transcend one's expressive cultural performance. As a phenomenological event an individual's social growth and development is attached to the boundary terms of her/his life-world. These boundary terms either expand or limit individual's horizon of the life-world because they are determined through meaningful experiences and meaning contexts that are created in social action. These life-experiences may enlarge a person's life-world horizons over the practical assumptions and taken-for-grantedness of everyday life.
- 2) *Cultural meaning structures* are the essential means that help people reach mutual understanding with each other. It is assumed, that an individual is able to construe social and categorical situations, to understand, act and express oneself in relation to ideal, typical Others. Human beings develop cultural meaning structures with each other, shared definitions of situations every time they have a possibility to communicate among themselves. The developing mutual definition of a situation therefore signifies symbolically constructed and shared communication amongst the human beings. To understand, say, the manner of speech of men or women, one should take

into account the discursive terms of social action that are inherently different between these cultural phenomena of sex.

- 3) *Social competency* is a one-dimensional and normatively defined concept. It signifies the factual but external features of an individual's being in the world. These features presuppose that an individual's social growth and development carries through certain criteria into the normatively defined class in society. At the extreme, this refers to a dividing classification between the normal and the deviant, which is based on the normatively defined performance of an individual person. And furthermore, the concept of social control is evidently tied into the prevailing institutional, cultural and normative system of meanings.

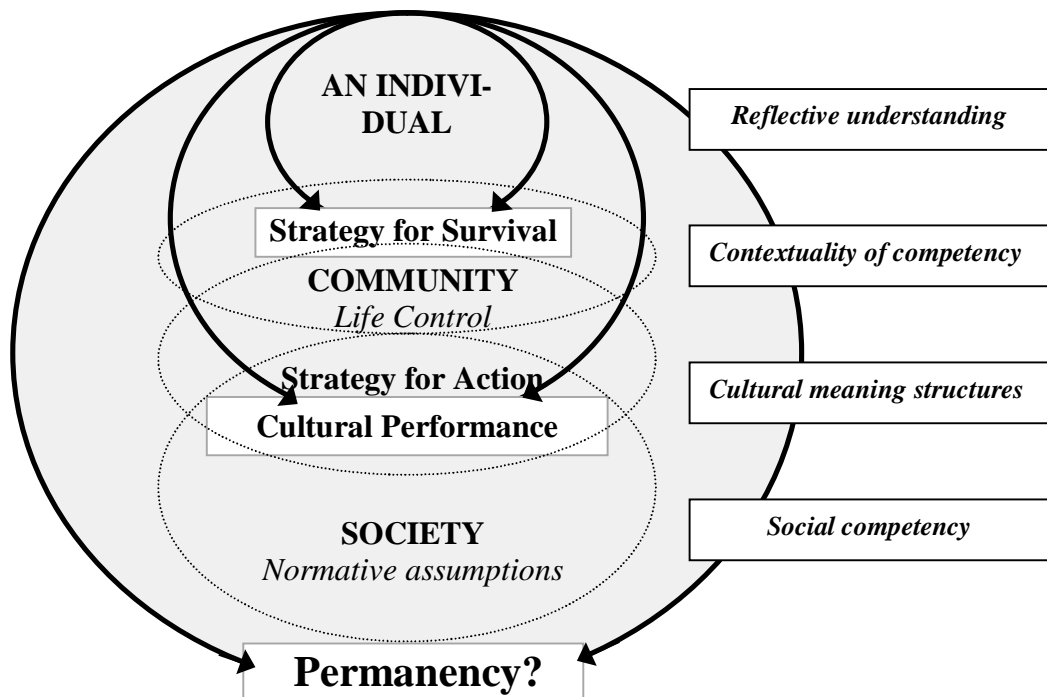


Figure 2. Dimensions of cultural performance – of discrimination?

Within the dimension *Contextual competency / Reflective understanding* there are two strategic levels, that are constructions of the experiential structures of social life: the Strategy for Survival and the Strategy for Action. They differ from each other in relation to the chronological order, in relation to the constancy in the formation process of the world of lived experiences, and in relation to the acquisition of cultural performance.

- (1) The *Strategy for Survival* is a tool for anomalic life occasions and periods of crisis in life. It does not require very extensive anticipation, because on each occasion and period of life it is addressed through both functional limitations of life-world as well as those features of social relationships that are at one's disposal. It is an individual's active way to solve an acute problem situation and as such it can form around quite a small quantity of experiential factors. So, as a theoretical term, it signifies a very strongly externalized, cognitive expression. A person's ability to adjust to sudden changes in life is

based on what one knows and what one has learned before. A person is forced to solve the problem of adjustment, and the emerging solution can never be any standard to anyone.

- (2) The *Strategy for Action* is a result of social growth and learning, and it anticipates the course of events in the network of socially experienced relations. It also channels an individual's action in practice, and structures her/his whole life and personality, which is constructed through one's own unique social relations. These essential elements of emerging life control are still always subordinates in relation to an individual's contemporary world and one's former life-historical world of experiences. In setting different strategies for action, an individual's whole course of life is shaped through the personal structures of anticipation and relevant future expectations (cf. Hokkanen & Nevalainen 1998). This kind of strategy is a tool for obtaining the life control and cultural performance, and it is structured on the basis of the comprehension and disposal of the cultural meaning structures.

By discrimination we usually mean the treatment or consideration of a person or thing based on the group, class or category to which a person or thing belongs, rather than individual merit. To discriminate a person is about making a distinction in favor or against her/him. We are observing a difference, making a *distinction between her/his haves and have nots*. But is it not all cultural? In terms of cultural performance, discrimination can be sketched by definitions of a cultural identity and of acting in a certain culture. These definitions lead to phrases like pragmatic cultural competency or school performance, in which a person's performance or efficiency can be low, average or high. The concept of cultural performance can also be more extensively defined as life competence or a person's appearance in a social stage or scene, of which each event can be examined as dramatic acts. These acts are carried out through various frames of action that give the persons their positional roles in relation to each other. (Cf. Bauman 1986; Fernandez 1986; Goffman 1990; Halonen & Karvonen 1998; Laapio 1994; MacAloon 1984; Offord et al. 1978.) The relational position itself generates the social need to discriminate, to make distinctions, but – considering whether discrimination is good or bad – it is the cultural awareness over the observed differences that finally matters.

The cultural context on which an individual acts always means being inside. Each cultural context is also composed of the presumptions of "peripheral" and "core" areas of the walk of life in question. The assumption of a person being inside (socially included) signifies that a person's being outside (socially excluded) and being on the margin is a contextual possibility for each human being. Therefore, only permanent marginality produces the possibility of being discriminated, of being outside, alienation and finally social exclusion. So, social exclusion is a consequence of alienation. The concepts of social exclusion and alienation refer to the estrangement and detachment from the general modes of living. Besides this, the concept of social exclusion refers to a person's unwilling displacement from the walks of life that are important to her/him. The terms of otherness and marginality as well as social exclusion or alienation describe the sociological but proportionally traceable phenomena of social life. The question, then, is always of individual's being (acting, experiencing) outside in relation to being inside in a certain cultural context. (Cf. Dogan & Pahre 1990; Schacht 1971.)

The qualitative research on social exclusion of the youth cannot be placed merely on the context of subjective actor's cultural experiences. Besides this, the context has to be broadened into the everyday living at the community and society levels. The evident meeting point of these levels is the social formation of commu-

nity, where the concept of social exclusion reveals its most fundamental feature. And there are a lot of different concepts that differentiate (discriminate?) the levels of human social condition from each other as well as the cultural periphery from the core. An example of these concepts is given in Table 1.

Table 1. From life control to marginal position to social exclusion (cf. Ulvinen 1998a).

Life Control / Management	Marginality	Social Exclusion
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → Well-being → Cultural performance → Security → High standard of living → Good (working) capacity → Normal → Qualification → Competence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Risks Risk taking Risk living Lack of well-being Ambivalence / Drop out – Drop in Problem Compensation Pedagogy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Poor living Otherness / Alienation Insecurity Social deprivation / Poverty Incapacity / Helplessness Deviant Stigmatization Charity

4. What can we do?

The life control of a young person develops especially through the communal as well as societal learning experiences. In our research project we have discovered that within a young person's rehabilitation and support on educational or occupational career, there are two essential features of the strategic work orientations of helping authorities that have to be taken into account. The first one is *acknowledging a young person's subjective realization of the felt difficulties and working close together with her/him*. In this process the aim is to find immediate and permanent solutions that are always based on the communal character of the problem. The second one is the *serious consideration of the individuality of a young person*. This idea stresses an adult's pedagogical responsibility on the encounters with young person. If a young person cannot rely on the world that an adult is constructing before him when trying to control her/his life, one is forced to seek resource from the communities that are the most powerful and closest to one's own situation in life. Within the subcultures of the youth at the moment, this tension seems to accompany the strong rise of different countercultural trends, e.g., neo-nazis or skin-heads. As a counterstroke to that, we have in our project *discovered four features that are the most efficient and supportive common denominators in the youth action projects and in working together with the young people*. These four features stress the communal character of life control (see Piri 1996):

(1) *Being a Responsible Person*, a chance is given to a young people to make her or his own responsible choices. One is not allowed to escape her/his communal responsibilities, but instead she/he is told and pointed out that a community needs people that can bear their responsibilities. The institutional environments, as for example schools, tend to generate the frames of compulsory communities that restrict young people's actions. Within these frames, the sufficiently flexible freedom of action comes true only through one's own decisions and choices that enhance the responsible. (2) *Involvement in Independent Action*. A young person can become more serious with the construction of her or his own life, when she/he is faced with the relational dilemma between the communal demands and one's own

personal freedom. This confrontation will clarify the relationship between a young person and the community.

(3) *Young Person's Personal Resources, Skills and Abilities* are brought into an important role within the functions and activities of a community. This enhances young person's communal life control. For example, teachers, pupils and groups that organize school life may need more power to gain enough freedom of choice to make decisions together about the contents and goals of the action into which a young person is ready to commit at school. Finally, (4) the *Experiences in Emotional Life*, that communal action creates, are guiding young person's development of personality. These experiences are binding her/him to the communal and societal understanding, to culture and civilization. For example, it is easy to see that the communal components – like participation and responsibility – of a young person's life control outside the school are always carried one way or other into the school life. Another question is, can this cultural transference work to another direction, from school life to everyday living, and under what conditions, or *from the life in youth action project to everyday living*, especially after the project (cf. Veivo 1997)?

In addition these four denominators, I assume that, through the social formation of a community, it can be possible to generate an understanding of the ethnographic, heterogenic post (or rather: late) modernity of everyday life. Here the social need to make distinctions is manifested. This can lead to the conscious reflection on the multiplicity of cultural and contextual features of action in everyday life. By this I mean – for instance in school life or in a youth action project – the possible creation of a shared anthropological project between the actors on the individual, community and society levels. The starting point of this *multicultural project* is the following series of statements and questions (see Ulvinen 1993; Ulvinen 1994):

(1) *Everybody is different but equal* at home, work, school, leisure or in business life. Official rules are the same for every single human being. The most important question is: What is important, necessary and permitted to be done with somebody or for somebody? (2) *Everybody is different and unequal*, because the relations between groups of people and fields of life categorize people different and/or similar all the time. So, with the help of official rules the conflicts between different groups are solved and the differences are stabilized. The most important question is: To what extent does one believe she/he can influence another person's actions at the same or some other field of life? (3) *Difference and inequality are generated within the social action between people* because the groups that differ from the others are created despite the everyday practices and/or official rules and structures (that are assumed to guide) in a certain field of life. In this case there are no official rules: it is nevertheless possible to find the shared and common goals, rules for all groups. The most important question is: Do you wish that somebody participates in your activities?

5. Preliminary exploration

As it has been stated earlier, actions of people are understandable only in certain cultural environment and its social meaning structures. As with defining the value orientations in a certain school environment, each person's action can be seen as a matter of cultural performance and of the social competencies that locate a person into the social order of culture according to its contextual features. With the following excursion on three perspectives of social life I am trying to put forward some preliminary ideas of the outcomes of the question: Which social, life-historical and structural features can produce the possibility of minority positions, marginali-

zation and social exclusion among the young people? In the case of marginal or minority positions of the young people we might say that in Finland we do not have that many "legally" named marginal groups or minority people that we could say we have a problem with. Now, elsewhere that problem might or might not be larger. But if we expand the limits of "legality" to the borders of ethnic and language inclusion and exclusion, we may pretty soon realize that nowadays minority and marginal (deviant?) young people are all around us.

(1) At first, there is neither global community, nor village, nor predominant local discourse that could exceed the basic hopefulness and trust each young person feels about one's own *good and safe future*. We might call this social and cultural phenomenon as a basis of a young person's developmental process of identity and personality formation, but quite as well as a basic tendency of an active human being no matter her/his age. And furthermore, the ideological shift from modern to post(rather: late)modern world (and probably condition) is worth looking for only from the point of view of time span (past—future) we think we are able to handle. Therefore we must bear in mind that it is only our own ideas about the young and their future orientations that puts "words of preference and order" into our own young puppets' mouths. What is it we mean by categorizing local, national or global understanding or trends of behavior or preference is a very crucial point in our everyday work, and even more crucial it becomes if we try to compare our ideas of youth work between different countries.

Let me give you a brief example. In Finland as well as elsewhere in Europe we have found a declining interest into political matters and voting among the young, especially among the "underclass" and unemployed youth, but also among the (normal) "new youth". What we have not easily found is political action outside the barriers of political parties and argumentation because we do not have the right vocabulary for that. No one is interested in that kind of weak politics! Why? We really don't have to go back to the history of politics to see that we are all political creatures, especially when we are looking at our lives through linguistic glasses. It may be so that the young people on the average in Europe nowadays are getting freer to think of their own lives as a continuum of fragmentary glances into places of interest and without the real purpose of stepping through the pre-set initiations (like politics or school system) of becoming a good citizen, like post(rather: late)modernity might put it. But this is just another mistreat of our living target, the young people! Therefore one starting point in social/youth work *and* research could be the aim to locate *different forms of everyday politics and ways of participation* of the young, from the point of view of deviant behavior, minority and marginal positions in our communities and societies.

(2) The next thing is the debate between *private and public spheres* of life. It seems that the basic distinction in the earlier social work with the deviant, minority and marginal, even socially excluded people, lies on how we interpret modernity and post(rather: late)modernity in the face of economics, educational system, working life and bi-directional transition of private and public goods, consumption, services and consumer-oriented actions at the state level and also at the local level. Usually the best arguments can put forward some ideas of post(rather: late)modern (usually from the "risk-society's" point of view) mixture of private and public, the ways of handling and doing it all differently, but the rest of the talking and work practices still stress and (for some odd reason) count on modern ideas of good life, where our whole life trajectories are guarded by public services and servants that can tell us how we should conduct our lives. This is not a conspiracy, I think, but quite an understandable interpretation for us, the young and older generations of social/youth workers *and* researchers, who have grown up in reasonably stable living conditions, but still think we possess enough (theoretical) knowl-

edge of people's deviant, minority and marginal positions to understand their lives and to generate good working practices.

Very good examples can be found in the research done in areas of health, psychology, youth culture, education (drop out, rehabilitation, vocational careers), mass media and sociology of deviance so that there is a possibility to question modern public functions and structures in the face of what is going on in everyday lives of our post(or: late)modern youth, if there is a postmodern condition at all, especially when we are looking at the gray, dark (oppressed?) and private side of our communities and societies. Therefore the second starting point in social/youth work *and* research could be the aim to think of our working target as a *multicultural mess*, and to generate from that the stages where each deviant, minority or marginal person has her/his (more or less ethnic) public and private areas of action; and discrimination, for that matter. There can be, I strongly believe, some "hidden rationalities" (rather: irrationalities?) that may in the long run have an impact on arranging, for instance, education and careers differently. If that is post(or: late)modern, then it would be.

(3) The last point I would like to make considers the problem of modernity in terms of *information age and the applied technological innovations* that may be quite visible and present in the life of the young people. There is a problem or paradox here if we take information technologies as signs of modern (Western) development but at the same time consider it as a dangerous weapon in the hands (minds) of our children and youth, especially of those who are in marginal, minority and deviant positions, in danger of being socially excluded. Even a real threat has been pronounced, that all technological innovations themselves cause social exclusion – no matter how many cellular phones those excluded people may have! And there are also the many technology (mis)user problems; from diverted gender and generation patterns, chatroom (IRC) roles, interactive programs and computer programming, virtual reality and virtual communities to the fact that World Wide Web and related telecommunications can either destroy or reconstruct the worldwide economics and information transmission in a manner no one can yet imagine. But if post(rather: late)modern cyberia is not reality but a technological fairy tale (way to feed our imagination; it is healthy!) and educational (in)equality does not change its form no matter what postmodern shroud we are trying to put over it, then we might want to turn back to everyday life to see what really is going on; what the young people are doing with all this technical and technological stuff?

There are some research examples of the fact that technological information networks and databases can help education to be more efficient, flexible and easy to reach, or to make the information exchange between different authorities more precise and also more flexible. But we must bear in mind that information is not knowledge, and knowledge comes true only in action. Information is just any culturally mediated artifact that has a form and content. Knowledge is something that is culturally obtained, tested, understood and used in everyday practices. When connected to education, it is just an old pedagogical problem of how teacher's knowledge can be transferred (transformed?) to student's knowledge. Therefore the third starting point in social/youth work and research could be to *reconsider the learning environments that education technologies provide and the phenomenon of knowledge transfer* in order to get more detailed descriptions of how young people, especially the marginal, minority and deviant, relate to their more and more technical and technological, probably even hypertextual lives. This is not to say that, for instance, mass media and other global phenomena are not a part of the information age, but for me they belong more to the private–public side of the problem of marginal positions and minorities among the youth.

6. The question is

What kind of life control and relation to the world a young person has? The following set of themes promotes the contextual understanding of the everyday life of the young people's (Table 2). In short, I am suggesting that we can try to ask the young people's own experiences of living in a certain cultural environment and its social meaning structures. These structures can be motivational and orientational factors, *relations to the world*, that may generate certain strategies of social action, of *life control*. Through these strategies we can (hopefully) depict individual, communal and societal levels of culturally prevalent networks of everyday life. This gives the possibility to judge whether there may be, and if so, what kind of, social exclusion and marginalization among the youth. Of course, in the youth research the background data should contain at least age, gender, area of residence and school (urban, rural - in more detail if possible) and social class. I think that this kind of set of themes – the responses can be gathered with open-ended questionnaire or interview – can be useful when working with young people, since the question mark and the bi-directional arrowheads at the center of the Table 2 are there to provoke discussion and questions in the areas such as "What if a young person wants to hold on something but does not control that part of one's life?" or "What if a young person has a control over some habits or forms of everyday life but wants to reject them even though the result of this would produce a situation where one loses control over some other part of one's life?" So, are the good things the only ones that a young person can try to control and are the bad things the only ones that a young person cannot even try to control? How about the bad things that a young person can control, or the good things that a young person cannot control?

Table 2. A respondent is asked to answer to the following questions under the title of: *What kind of life control and relation to the world a young person has?*

	A young person's relation to the world	A young person's life control
+	<p><i>Good things</i></p> <p>What are the good things in your life?</p> <p>What do you love or want to hold on?</p>	<p><i>Controls</i></p> <p>What kind of habits and forms of everyday life do you feel you control?</p> <p>What kind of knowledge and skills do you feel you control?</p>
-	<p><i>Bad things</i></p> <p>What are the bad things in your life?</p> <p>What do you hate, want to avoid or reject?</p>	<p><i>Does not control</i></p> <p>What kind of habits and forms of everyday life do you feel you do not control?</p> <p>What kind of knowledge and skills do you feel you do not control?</p>

The following qualitative research data experiment is composed of the material from two different and heterogenic groups of people. I gathered the data during a course I held on 7th of April 1998 at Joensuu service unit of the province of Eastern Finland (n=approx. 30), and during the presentation of my paper at Kasteel van Ham, Belgium, on 11th of May 1998 (n=14). They are male and female representatives of different age groups (from 18 to 55 years), areas of residence (urban and

rural) and social classes (regardless of classification). The majority of the respondents, however, were not "young" in the sense that youth workers might have it, so the actual questions were a bit different than in the Table 2 (see the questions at the six subheaded paragraphs below). There are no more details on these background data because this is just a preliminary review of this model. With the following interpretations of the data I describe the possible general structure of everyday life of the young people (Table 3). The structure is formed of three levels (*individual, communal and societal*): (1) On the individual level the point of view is a young person's *orientation and strategies in action*, (2) on the community level the point of view is a *cultural space for life control*, and (3) on the societal level the point of view is a *prevailing normative structure*. Next, on each of these levels I will introduce a young person's *relation to the world*, and a young person's *life control* – or what it appears to be according to the interpretation of the 44 respondents' 224 utterances.

Table 3. Interpretation guide and gathered data (224 text units + 4 question units = 228 units) on general structure of everyday life of the young people. Text units are each respondents' short utterances of their notions about the topic.

	Relation to the world		Life control	
	Good things	Bad things	Controls	Does not control
Individual <i>Orientation and strategies in action</i>	21 units = 9.2%	8 units = 3.5%	17 units = 7.5%	11 units = 4.8%
Communal <i>Cultural space for life control</i>	33 units = 14%	24 units = 11%	20 units = 8.8%	11 units = 4.8%
Societal <i>Prevailing normative structure</i>	6 units = 2.6%	35 units = 15%	10 units = 4.4%	28 units = 12%

Individual good things and bad things in everyday life

Considering a young person's relation to orientation and strategies in action one can ask: What are the good things in a young person's life? What does a young person love or want to hold on? The answer (data: 21 units out of 228 = 9.2%) lies on young person's own subjective identity; own youth, freedom, rights, decisions, thoughts, values and idealism(s). Of course, there is an idea of good life in all its senses that promotes young person's conscience so that health – of course – , good looks and material values are important factors in making life as easy as possible. Life, then, is all those things that do not ask too much energy from a young person. The basic hopefulness in life is generated from the positive experiences from the past, but the confidence in future is important as well. What is then crucial for good things is time; a young person's orientation and strategies in action are based on living here and now under somewhat permanent circumstances. It seems that it is often so that, a young person sees the world "rosy", without any problems and worries, but on the other hand this is not so for children and young people with problems; this leads to the fact that they – often desperately – want social support, a helping hand to survive. Some proof for this need of social support – need for

existential expressions of being social – comes from the next two questions: What are the bad things in a young person's life? What does a young person hate, want to avoid or reject? The answer (data: 8 units out of 228 = 3.5%) can be found within a young person's subjective feeling of isolation that can be pronounced as narrow-minded restrictions on a young person's freedom. Within these restrictions there is also a strong feeling of bodily/mental suffering that, for instance, alcohol, drugs, illnesses, and even hard work can produce.

Individual *haves* and *have nots* in everyday life

Concerning orientation and strategies of a young person's life control one can ask: What kind of habits and forms of everyday life does a young person control? What kind of knowledge and skills does a young person control? The outcomes of these questions (data: 17 units out of 228 = 7.5%) form a setting where a young person is seen as a discrete, independent and self-confident person that can take care of one's own businesses, can make up one's own mind quite quickly and can take risks easily. Despite the risks the young people are very well aware of their health and can take care of themselves. On the other hand, a young person needs many changes to feed and control one's memory and imagination, and to broaden one's emotional expressions towards openness, which, at the extreme can be perceived as a young person being nasty or sarcastic, and that her/his use of time looks meaningless; she/he is very good at just killing time. What comes out of the mentioned features is the control over everyday life knowledge, which, by its structure is "pile" knowledge. It is worth still to notice that a young person's openness can be a meaningful way to control one's own life-world. This (un)controlled view of subjective life-world can be constructed also from the answers (data: 11 units out of 228 = 4.8%) to the next two questions: What kind of habits and forms of everyday life a young person does not control? What kind of knowledge and skills a young person does not control? It seems that the young are not persevering and patient. They cannot withhold their aggressions and self-expressions. Neither can they think systematically according to a plan, nor keep up the continuity of their life plans. The most difficult things for them to control are the consumption of alcohol and drugs, but also their own nervousness and indifference. These things are said to "always lead towards darkness". Also the self-control over eating can be a big problem for the young.

Good things and bad things in everyday life of a community

Considering young person's relation to the cultural space for life control one can ask: What are the good things in a young person's life? What does a young person love or want to hold on? The answer (data: 33 units out of 228 = 14%) lies on a young person's own reference group: listening music, having hobbies (even costly) and having fun with friends of the same subculture and same age. So, the good things gather around equality, rules, friendship, safety and peace inside a young persons' own culture. Suffice to say that, to broaden this view a little, within community life young people like to get attention; they want to have prestige, but at the same time they value honor and openness towards other people. This kind of noble attitude values also animals, home, adults, work, sufficient incomes and several channels to cultivating oneself. And there are also some valuable tools for everyday communication and exchange in a community: a cellular phone and plain money. Some proof of the great importance of the own culture and reference group

for the young comes from the next two questions: What are the bad things in a young person's life? What does a young person hate, want to avoid or reject? The answer (data: 24 units out of 228 = 11%) can be found within the definition of the Other. Others, not us young people, are omniscient, narrow-minded, insincere, iniquitous, inefficient, stagnated people with different beliefs. They are different, but they possess uniformity that a young person cannot step over. Therefore others tend to produce negative experiences for, and negative relations among the young where a young person is left without reward. But instead she/he is given duties and obligations by the others, and responsibility without having voice in participation or having no participation at all. There is a social environment that tells a young person what to do and what not to do. Even though she/he wants to carry the great responsibility from time to time, one is left in uncertainty with all kinds of misconceptions. One very significantly rejected party is parents: they can even make a young person hate and deny one's own origin. Even though one's own origin and the attached human values are rejected, the really bad thing at the same time is a divorce or breaking of the family. It also comes out that the young people hate forced and compulsory labor, especially housework, but at the same time they hate lack of money. There are only two hateful things mentioned that does not directly belong to the characteristics of the Other: drugs and ethanol.

Haves and have nots in everyday life of a community

Concerning a space of young person's life control one can ask: What kind of habits and forms of everyday life does a young person control? What kind of knowledge and skills does a young person control? The outcomes of these questions (data: 20 units out of 228 = 8.8%) form a setting where leisure time, youth culture and hobbies (the most important talent factors form around sports and music) are special spaces for social relationships, meeting friends and people from the same age group. These spaces are open, not very much tied in a sense that for instance talking, fluency of language, bending the rules and adjusting to the changes can be like having fun. Beneath this "partying" there is a young person's serious tendency of not being hypocritical because a young person's actions in a peer group (or even in one's own family) lead to negotiated loyalty, a situation where one's attention is focused on the question of when you are allowed, or in a position, to have control over whom you relate with, and when you are not. This ongoing need for negotiations can be constructed also from the answers (data: 11 units out of 228 = 4.8%) to the next two questions: What kind of habits and forms of everyday life a young person does not control? What kind of knowledge and skills a young person does not control? It seems that for the young people the social skills, social intercourse, courtship, even dating, and considering others in a peer group or in family life can be very heavily out of control. The young lack the knowledge of human character, life and about the world at large. Therefore it is easy to see that, for instance, if the young have only a little or insufficient support from their parents they can be left out of control. They have no one to negotiate with. They cannot develop their responsibility without a proper social background; cultural reason, means and target. So, for instance, the ways to approve coming changes in one's own life or the ways to spend money can be very ambivalent; controlled at one time and uncontrolled at another. It depends on the space a young person has, and the people that are inside it.

Good things and bad things in everyday life of a society

Considering young person's relation to the prevailing normative structure one can ask: What are the good things in a young person's life? What does a young person love or want to hold on to? The answer (data: 6 units out of 228 = 2.6%) lies in the experienced and perceived environment in which every young person lives. The pro-environmental ideas are good, summer holiday and mother/fatherland as well. Also natives, "original" members of a society are important. But the openness and heartiness towards migrant people might be easily closed and cooled because they are not, sad to say, "one of us" nor are they one of them because they are not there for whatever reason. Some proof for this dilemma of "marginal man" comes from the next two questions: What are the bad things in a young person's life? What does a young person hate, want to avoid or reject? The answer (data: 35 units out of 228 = 15%) can be found within the definition of prevailing stereotypes, values and norms that guide reigning authorities' and different offices' bureaucratic working manners, even politics. Overwhelming controlling (e.g., some laws) and patronage, interfering with one's things in life, all kinds of rules, age limits and restrictions, obligations and orders, even sanctions generate societal injustice in a sense that the young people feel they have no voice in participation or having no participation at all. It is felt that the young are societally indifferent people, thus marginal. This perceived marginal position is combined with the awareness of economic depression in society, contamination of the environment, animal experiments, fox farming and ongoing wars around the world. What comes out of this combination is a rebellious attitude towards schools and teachers, "learning processes" and the necessity of permanent training, but also towards forced and compulsory labor, even housework. These activities do not make any sense because there is no solid society to which the young could rely on and ground their future plans to. Instead, bad economic position and negative experiences as well as negative relations with the representatives of society give the young a reason to turn back and live inside their own subculture. This closing of the barriers – fear and rejection of anything coming from outside – between culture and its subformation can be found in a few young Finnish respondents' utterances of negative things: humppa (old Finnish folk music and dance) and Swedish language. Young people do not want to be "marginal men", living at the fringes of two cultures.

Haves and have nots in everyday life of a society

Concerning a young person's normative structure of life control one can ask: What kind of habits and forms of everyday life does a young person control? What kind of knowledge and skills does a young person control? The outcomes of these questions (data: 10 units out of 228 = 4.4%) form a setting where technical knowledge and skills, information technology – like cellular phone – is very well handled by the young people (compared with adults, I think). The other thing that the young people are very good at is the awareness of how the bureaucratic machinery works; what are the young people's rights and benefits that can be exploited. Even though the young people have less choice because of their youth, education and school life form social contexts that a young person can control with one's own talent (as in Mathematics, languages, arts or sports). Employers and schools may control the structure of everyday life of the young people, but they can control their living in each part and context of that structure with their own awareness and action that relates adequately to that structure. These elements of everyday life control can be constructed also from the answers (data: 28 units out of 228 = 12%) to the next two questions: What kind of habits and forms of everyday life a young person does not control? What kind of knowledge and skills a young person does

not control? It seems that the young people do not know how to behave or act in a society. They do not have sufficient everyday skills, especially to pursue one's own interest, to seek benefit. They do not fit easily to society because they do not understand paperwork, rules and regulations, politics, religion and economy. They do not even really understand literature and media. In short, they lack professional knowledge. They are not punctual, they do not have good manners, responsibility, and they have difficulties to stick to rules. They have no control concerning what they do and do not do (this is certainly the case for boys). The most serious and important thing in this "novice" position of the young people is that they lack practical knowledge for their own future; their future orientation is weak and plans are hard to make. Their thinking mode can be described as "here and now and I" – not much in relation to the future. Of course, the young people have less choice when they are young, but nevertheless the mixing of and hesitation between bad and good values, perceptions of societal injustice and indifference, even wars, raise up the question of individual level of social control. What is possible for you and me to control, to understand and handle – what is out of our control, what is out of our reach? The two uncontrollable elements, in addition to the ones above, were mentioned: school and police authorities. Just live with it!

7. The Final Question(s)

Can a community as such produce marginalization, alienation and social exclusion? The answer is yes, if we adopt the normative standpoint in determining what is a young person's role in the structural and functional whole of our society's power structures and cultures. For the most underprivileged, underclass and incompetent minority young people there is no escape from marginalization, alienation and social exclusion. This is true if we take for granted that for a person the one and only real meaning of life is in competition of social, cultural and economic capital with others. For example, alienation starts with a young person's marginal position in relation to what in average is seen as normal and human. The permanence of being outside cuts off her/his ties to the prevailing cultural meaning structures of social action. Obviously this can finally end up with social exclusion. (Cf. Virtanen 1995; Virtanen 1996.)

Within the mainstream societies there are always people that are "marginal" and in danger of being socially excluded, even young people. Communities are miniature societies in a sense that their culture is composed of the similar power structures and functions that can restrict individual freedom. These restrictions are guiding people's group behavior by which discrimination and perceptions of the Other are established. Therefore it is easy to see that we all need discrimination, in favor of "us" or against "others". And the young are developing this skill rather well.

On the other hand, the answer is no if we adopt the relative and subjective standpoint in determining how and in relation to what a young person is experiencing her/his everyday life in a socio-cultural context. We cannot take for granted that there are certain predetermined discourses that describe the phenomenon of being outside better than the other (e.g. Riggins 1997). Of course there might be some individual, communal or societal indications that would point to marginalization, alienation and social exclusion, but with contextual reference only to a person's own life-worldly intentional project and life-plan. These may be, for instance, a person's lack of fundamental initiative in social action, limited socio-relational context of action, or even lack of social reality in terms of a void arena for social action. (E.g. Kiljala 1997; Ylitalo 1997.) We cannot, however, say that a certain community

as such produces much of anything. We cannot say that marginalization, alienation or social exclusion is in practice this or that before we are certain about the contextual, life-historical layers behind each person's cultural understanding and social action (cf. Sibley 1995; Siljander & Ulvinen 1996).

The ongoing negotiations of being inside or being outside within every young person's own cultural understanding and reference group (peer group, family, school class, hobby team, work place, etc.) are guiding the need for getting involved and feelings of being involved (cf. Anttila 1998). Therefore a young person needs to be able to discriminate between the mimicking and real action, between plain obedience and involvement. Marginal positions and fearful feelings of being socially excluded, discriminated, within community are strongly connected to every young persons' need for existential expressions of being social. Extremely crucial for these feelings, for the final expressions of these feelings (love, tenderness, hate, violence?), is the young person's subjective view of one's life-world. What one feels one can control, to understand and handle in everyday life? What is out of one's control, what is out of one's reach, even though it is apparently there? In such a time and space, is it? Who are there with you?

FROM SCHOOL TO WHERE?

Labor market transitions of young Finnish people in 1980-1993

1. Preface

Unlike a couple of decades ago, it is now far more difficult to predict how young people will move from one labor market position to another. And it is even more difficult to predict who will finally drop out of the labor market. Particularly for those persons who work with the youth, it is almost impossible to form the whole picture about the transition process from school to work. Fieldwork reveals, of course, real-life stories. They, however, represent only occasional cases in fragmented, flexible and individualistic transition processes. Therefore, from the point of view of TUHTI-network, it is important to give authorities and persons working with the youth basic and ample information about the transition process. In other words, in this article I try to build a bridge between a macro-oriented research process and micro-oriented field work.

The transition from the classroom to the workplace is an important stage in the process of growing up. It involves becoming financially independent, moving away from the parents' home, and building a career and family. However, the increasing instability of the labor market has made the process of growing up longer and more complicated than in the past. In the case of young people we can talk about a risk-sensitive model of work. In this model, work is typically part-time and temporary in nature, but also characterized by low wages and insecurity. Young people change their jobs frequently and often experience unemployment periods. In a certain sense, unemployment has become a normal and inevitable part of young people's career in the labor market.

In cases where the periods of unemployment are repeated and prolonged, the situation becomes problematic, because unemployment once experienced increases the probability of unemployment later on (see e.g. Lynch 1985; 1989; Jehoel-Gijsbers & Groot 1989; Hammer 1996). However, previous studies have not proved with any certainty that earlier periods of unemployment are in themselves a major factor leading to an unstable work history, or whether there are other factors related to marginalization in labor market (see Baker & Elias 1991, 242).

In this article I will follow the employment history of one age cohort of young people from 1980 to 1993. The subject of this study is the connection between an interrupted work history, unemployment experienced in youth and marginalization in the labor market. The main question is: How does unemployment experienced in youth correlate with one's later career? And how do the risk factors involved in marginalization relate to an unstable work history?

The basic material for the study is the 1970 census, from which a 40% random sample of all 3-5, 8-10, 13-15, 18-20, 23-25, 28-30 and 33-35 year-old Finns has been taken. A precondition was that the individual chosen also appear in later census material. The material is thus longitudinal, including observations made on the basis of five censuses (1970, 1975, 1980, 1985 and 1990). The material was supplemented by adding employment statistics for the year 1993. The basic material includes 598,000 cases altogether. In practice it gives a cross-section of Finland's working population today. The age group chosen for the analysis were 18-24 year-olds in 1980 - a total of 200,517 young people.

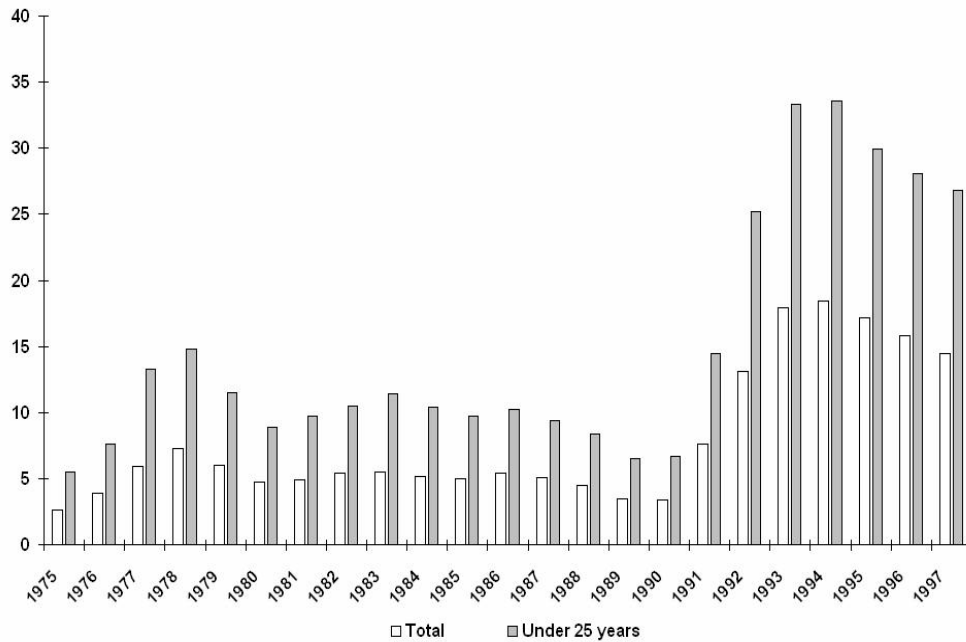


Figure 1. Total and youth unemployment rates 1975 - 1997 in Finland (%)

At the beginning of the follow-up period, Finland was just recovering from the large-scale unemployment of the late 1970's. The immediate reason for the growth of unemployment was the oil crisis and the ensuing recession, but at the same time Finland was also going through a process of structural change. In a decade or two, Finland had changed from a predominantly agrarian society into an industrial and service-intensive society. With the increase in wage-earning employment, unemployment had also become a permanent phenomenon. At the same time, youth unemployment became for the first time a widespread social problem. In the late 1980's an economic boom began in Finland, and there was a clear drop in unemployment. In the 1990's the economy went into recession, bringing with it a rapid rise in unemployment. At the end of the follow-up period, unemployment was at its worst. In 1993, total unemployment stood at 17.9%, with youth unemployment as high as 33.3%. The next year the unemployment situation was even worse, but in 1995 the figures began to improve slightly (see Fig. 1).

2. Risks and choices in the labor market

The destabilization of the labor market has often been associated with a crisis of our time, in which the social risks have increased in all sectors of life. The period of stable development, which began in the Western world after the Second World War, when the population was guaranteed certain conditions of life by traditional stable structures, seems to be at an end. In a risk society, social, political, financial and personal risks are slipping further and further beyond the grasp of the institutions that provides control and security in society. (Beck, Giddens & Lash 1994.)

Young people face the risk society at the turning points of their lives when they make important choices. These choices are made about, for instance, the field of study, place of study or work, moving to a new place, and in general between work, study and unemployment. Earlier, it was much easier to make choices because the "gains" obtained through the alternative choices (for instance, pay, status, prospects of employment and promotion) were very predictable. In a risk society, very few professions or fields of study can guarantee employment or good wages.

Despite the choices and risks have increased young people's transition to working life has always been a "vulnerable" phase in life, often characterized by short-term unemployment and uncertainty. This is indicated by the fact that the unemployment rate among young people is generally 1 ½ - 2 times higher than the total unemployment rate. It can be seen also in Figure 1.

In Finland, youth unemployment was not seen as an extensive social problem until the late 1970's. The term "the lost generation" came into use to describe the poor life prospects of unemployed youth. As the most common consequences of youth unemployment were mentioned loss of self-confidence, mental problems and a sense of personal worth, social isolation, alcohol abuse, crime, unwillingness to work, inefficiency in job seeking, lack of planning for the future, fewer friends, increased passivity and aimless spending of time. (Siurala 1994, 58.)

The same kind of debate was conducted in Great Britain in the early 1970's. The British were worried not only about the declining work morale, but also that young people would lose their grip on society and this would expose them to extreme political movements and crime. It was also feared that if young people had difficulty in entering the labor market, they would experience even more difficulties later on. (Roberts 1995, 92.)

The growth of youth unemployment in the 1970's encouraged research in the field, especially in Great Britain. Research into the effects of youth unemployment was also started in Finland. In spite of the research done, no definite answer has been found to the question of how unemployment experienced in youth affects the subsequent employment history. The subject can be approached from two angles. In the first, periods of unemployment are seen as factors that in themselves reduce the likelihood of the young person finding employment. The view is based on the theory of human capital, which sees work experience as one measure of a worker's quality and productivity. In a recruiting situation, an employer considers periods of unemployment as reducing the worker's potential quality and productivity, which in turn reduces the probability of the candidate being employed. Correspondingly, an employee with an unfavorable work history will probably apply for less skilled and less stable jobs - i.e. jobs in the secondary sector. This also worsens the job seeker's prospects of employment in future, because it is generally more difficult to move up to better jobs in the primary sector (Baker & Elias 1991, 216).

3. Marginalization

According to the second approach, unemployment in itself does not affect the work career, but it is rather influenced by individual differences between people and various social factors (Baker & Elias 1991, 216). Many individual and social background factors are related to unemployment and to an interrupted history of employment. These can be called risk factors contributing to marginalization.

Marginalization is seen as a deviation from the norm. Marginalization has been defined as "the process of falling into a marginal position", where patterns of consumption and use of time differ clearly from the average. Marginalization is defined also in relation to the normative average and may mean unemployment, poverty, loneliness or cultural marginalization. It has linked with lack of the essential resources relating to a normal way of life. In relation to the dominant normality, different individuals and different groups have different ways of coping: groups have different financial, social and cultural capital. Marginalization in this case means the inability of persons or groups to use various societal power resources, which in turn may lead to different processes of exclusion and marginalization.

The definition of marginalization is tied to the risks characteristic of different periods. Finnish researcher Kari Vähätalo (1996, 21) has defined three different types of marginalization which are divided into pre-recessional and recessional:

- 1) "New marginalization brought on by recession", which refers to long-term unemployment that has arisen as a result of the recession. These people have no previous symptoms of marginalization in the labor market or in other areas of life, but they may begin to experience them due to a deficiency of adjustment systems. According to Vähätalo, marginalization caused by recession appears especially in areas, which were previously little affected by unemployment.
- 2) "Marginalization worsened by recession" refers mainly to those long-term unemployed who already experienced some temporary symptoms of marginalization before the recession, but whose problems have been aggravated by the recession and who are now "terminally" marginalized.
- 3) "Already existing marginalization independent of recession" applies to those people who were already long-term unemployed and clients of social welfare services before the recession and whose situation will probably only be worsened by the recession.

It is difficult to give a precise definition of marginalization. However, many previous studies have shown that it has a background of statistically measurable risk factors such as unemployment, lack of vocational skill and education, the male sex, lack of family and social support, living in rent houses or living in unemployment area.

However, the definition and analysis of marginalization on the basis of quantitative material is problematic. Even though several factors indicating marginalization accumulate for the same person, this only means a high risk of marginalization. We cannot talk of actual marginalization, because it is impossible to form a picture of the marginalization process on the basis of quantitative material. However, an accumulation of risk factors indicating marginalization allows us to draw implicit conclusions about the links between marginalization and an unstable work history.

4. Changes in labor market status

The research material is classified into four categories on the basis of labor market status: employed, studying, unemployed or outside labor force. Figure 2 shows the labor market status at four different times. In 1980, more than a half (54%) of the age cohort were employed, 28% were studying, 4% were unemployed and the remainder were otherwise occupied (in military or civilian service, on a pension, on maternity leave, or employed at home etc.). Five years later only 11% were studying. The great majority (76%) was employed, and 5% were unemployed. By 1990, almost the entire age group had moved from school to work: only 3% were studying and 84% were employed. The unemployment figure was still at 5%. In 1993, the greatest change was in the number of unemployed. The figure rose from 5 to 17%, while the proportion of employed fell by the same amount. The proportion of students and others remained more or less the same.

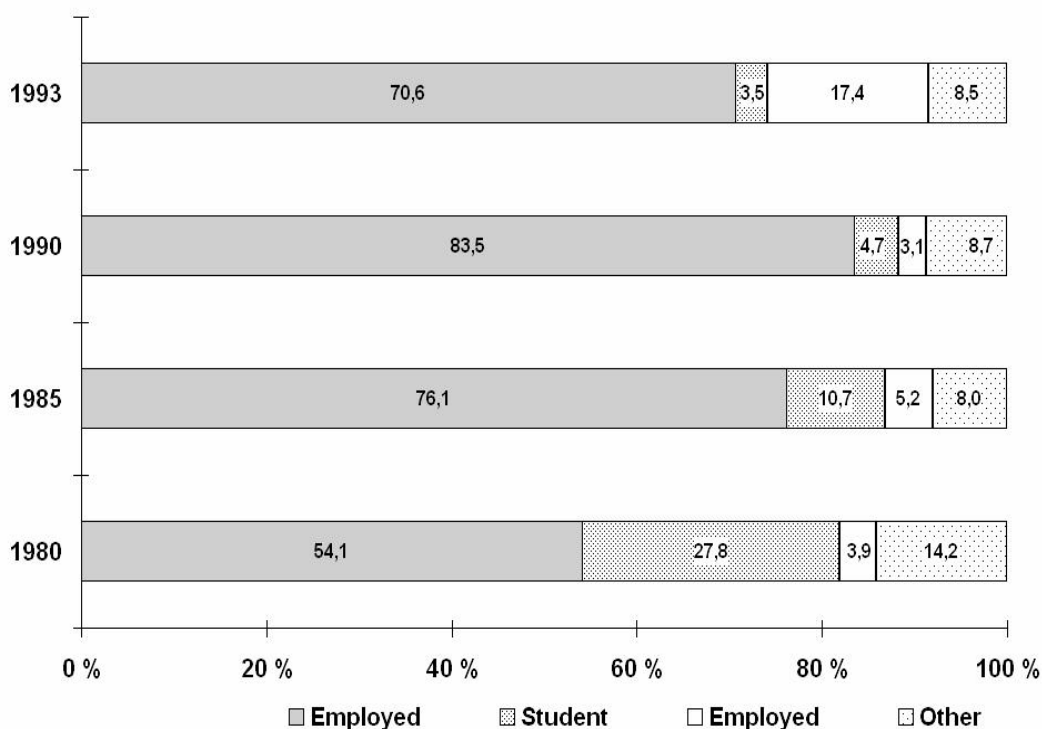


Figure 2. Labor market status in 1980, 1985, 1990 ja 1993 (%). Labor market status is defined by a week-long cut-off point at the end of the observation year

For further analysis, two observation years are taken into account: 1980 and 1993. In some cases also the year 1990 has been included in the observations.

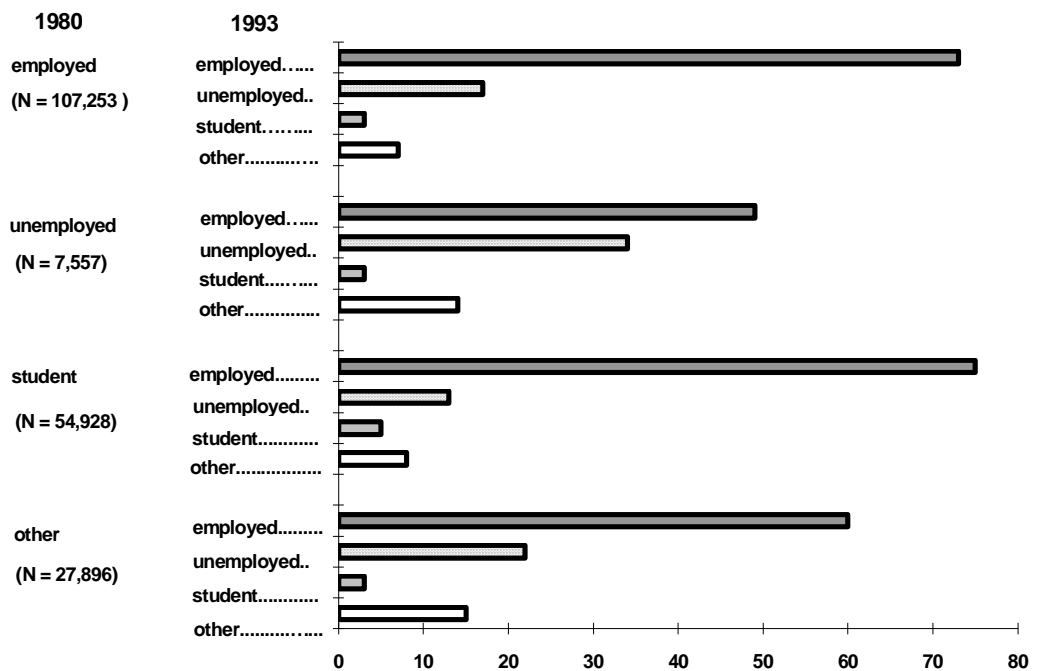


Figure 3. Labor market status in 1980 and 1993 (%)

In this figure, I have compared the labor market status in 1980 and 1993. The figure shows, that in respect of the whole youth cohort, persons who have done best are those who were either working or studying in 1980. Of both groups, more than 70% were still working in 1993. Those who had been studying were in a slightly better situation, because in 1993, only 13% of them were unemployed. For those who had been working in 1980, the unemployment figure was four percent higher.

Unemployment is connected with later unemployment periods surprisingly often. From those who were unemployed in 1980, only half of them were employed and a third were unemployed in 1993. Of those outside labor force in 1980, 60 % were working in 1993 and a fifth were unemployed, so they had done relatively better than those who were unemployed in 1980. (Fig 3)

5. Youth unemployment and marginalization

Previous results revealed that unemployment in youth has a strong negative impact to later work career. However, this phenomenon is strongly related to marginalization. In this study, the risk of marginalization is measured by four variables: lack of education, male sex, living alone and working class family background. The most interesting results were obtained when only those young people who had been unemployed in 1980 were examined. In this respect, three groups were formed according to the labor market history: Progressors (unemployed in 1980, but employed in 1993), Lost Generation (unemployed in 1980 and 1993) and the Hard Core of Lost Generation (unemployed in 1980 and 1993, and also in 1990, when employment situation was quite good in Finland).

Table 1. Shares of youth cohort and different groups by marginalization risk factors (%)

	Share of un- educated	Share of male	Share of living alone	Share of working class family	N
Whole youth cohort	20.1	51.1	15.3	55.1	200 517
Progressors (unemployed in 1980, employed in 1993)	23.2	52.3	13.3	60.8	3 691
Lost Generation (unemployed in 1980 and 1993)	38.2	58.5	22.9	69.0	2 558
“Hard Core“ (unemployed in 1980, 1990 and 1993)	44.7	66.2	28.2	72.3	687

From table 1, it can be seen that the shares of progressors are quite close to the shares of the whole youth cohort in relation to all the variables describing marginalization risk. For the lost generation group, percentages are distinctly higher than average. For the hard core of the lost generation group, the percentages are particularly high. Almost half of them lack education, two thirds are men, more than one fourth live alone and three quarters are from working class families.

On the basis of these results, it is evident that there is a small group of young people who are faced with an accumulation of problems. The statistics do not, however, show directly that these problems have led to marginalization or to membership of a new underclass. It is difficult to measure antisocial behavior numerically. However, the clear existence of a lost generation, and especially its hard core, give strong indications that a weak labor market status is associated with social problems.

6. Conclusions

According to the results, the majority of the age cohort has integrated into labor market. However, the study also showed that as many as 40% of the young people who were unemployed in 1980, later had difficulties in integrating themselves in the labor market. It is, however, too simple to draw the conclusion that unemployment experienced early in a young person's career automatically has a negative effect on their later career: poor performance in the labor market is connected with many risk factors that predict marginalization. Thus periods of unemployment are not direct reasons for a young person's unstable work history, but rather consequences of a lack of control of his or her own life.

Thus youth unemployment does not in itself lead to marginalization in the labor market, but it may act as the first step on an unstable career path. A cynical way to deal with this problem is to think, that every age cohort has its own marginal group that is in danger of being excluded from the labor market and that needs help from the society.

A crucial issue, then is the definition of the criteria of marginalization. Ten to fifteen years ago, unemployment was mainly frictional unemployment, after which the person usually went on to a full-time, continuous employment. Nowadays such "normal" jobs are rare among young people. Jobs are increasingly becoming project-like and temporary in nature. Success in the labor market will in future require the ability to be more flexible. This may result in new risk factors for marginalization. These may be such factors as unwillingness to move place of living, unwillingness to change jobs, unwillingness to participate in training or unwillingness to accept lower wage. If readiness for this type of changes is lacking, the risk of marginalization may increase.

Because the factors indicating and predicting marginalization are becoming more complex and less visible, it is important that researcher, authorities and persons working with young people share their information through networks like TU-HTI. It is an essential precondition for prediction and prevention of marginalization of young people.

EMPOWERMENT AND NON-FORMAL GUIDANCE IN A MODERN WORLD OF EDUCATION

1. Young people as a problem

When we are talking about young people and working with them, we often concentrate on problem-oriented point of views. In fact, this is not a new discourse in the field of youth work: in the history of youth work in Helsinki during the past 50 years (Ilves 1998), it is possible to see that different phenomena in Finnish society have generated different kind of problems in different times. For example, after the Second World War (in late 40's) the mobility from countryside and from lost Karelian areas to cities and disintegration of families were considered to generate a totally different youth. This "rebel and wild" youth should have been controlled and first of all, somehow guarded against themselves! (Ilves 1998, 17.)

Later, during the first rock-generation in the late 50's, during the birth of suburban teenage gangs in the 60's, during punk-rockers in the late 70's and early 80's and during hip-hoppers in the late 80's, the problem-oriented perspective has even been growing stronger, although the number of possible solutions and the amount of youth work services delivered by both independent youth associations and municipalities has been increased enormously. However, it seems that there is always something wrong with our young people! Maybe we should finally begin to think this otherwise: the historic fact that young people always seem to be problematic in one way or other, is more a built-in than an abnormal quality of youth. Maybe we should think of these kind of qualities as a challenge for our socialization process. In that way we could say that the most crucial challenge during the recession years at the turn of the 90's has been the youth unemployment and the "new" concern called the marginalization.

2. Education as a solution, or...?

One of the most often recommended and widely accepted intervention – even young people themselves seem to trust on it (see Nuorisosaian neuvottelukunta 1998) - to unemployment and marginalization has been education. This is based on a theory considering that lack of education (being educationally marginalized; being part of an educational subgroup or being an underachiever) is one of the first steps leading to weak position in the labor market, leading to unemployed and finally to marginalized adulthood. In this sense education will act as a preventive intervention of possible marginalization.

This kind of ideology can be found behind recent sociopolitical policies in Finland: new educational possibilities for unemployed or young people at risk have been developed and the willingness for education or (re)habilitation has been set as a precondition for having unemployment benefits. The effectiveness of education can be justified with statistics, which show that people with higher educational qualifications have survived better also during the recession years (for example Santavuori & Sauramo 1995). This seems to be the average trend also when we are examining results of a case study of educationally more challenging subgroup, former pupils of special classes for maladjusted (Jahnukainen 1997).

However, this is only "the average truth". When we are looking at individuals and their situations, there will be a lot of not-so-lucky stories about education. The basic problem is that being educated is not itself enough for everybody. Without a doubt, finding a meaningful education place and having positive learning experiences (so-called "flow" experiences, see Csikszentmihalyi 1990) are important goals which will increase one's self-esteem, but the problem is how to achieve these! In particular for young people from lower social classes and from families with low educational level, only the meritocratic trust to "magic of education" is not enough. What they want to do has to be meaningful itself, otherwise dropping out of education or a project is far too easy. These kinds of groups have traditionally been working class boys (Willis 1979) but nowadays also other groups are more looking for the real meaning of their doings - including participating in education. In this sense, a quite new problem in Finland is the education of young people from different ethnical minority groups. For some of them even the compulsory schooling will be out of reach for motivational reasons.

3. What can be done?

Are there any solutions to help these risk groups of educational marginalization to find the joy of learning and the meaning of education? Some may think that it is just a waste of time. However, if we examine some results of studies concerning experiences of students in special educational programs or other out-of-regular-school programs, we will find out an interesting thing: in educational programs which are more based in individual guidance, where it is possible to create a real human, non-formal relationship between a teacher (or other adult) and a pupil (or a youngster), the experiences of schooling are more positive than in regular education (Jahnukainen 1996, Kuorelahti 1997, Öhlund 1998). What does that mean in practice?

The "new" method of teaching is more a process, where "older citizens" are working with "younger citizens" starting from the individual baseline of each student. The task of a teacher is to let the student find out which kind people they are and let them reflect themselves and the world around them.

This means that a teacher has to be a human being also, not only a teaching machine. You can "kick" a machine if it doesn't work right, but with a human you have to learn other ways to communicate. This could be hard for traditional teachers, because they have learned to be concerned only about "have they done every exercises" or "have they colored the whole paper"! A teacher needs to learn to play many more roles in a modern school, if she or he wants to survive and - what is the most important thing - find the joy of being a teacher in our time!

When we are talking about empowerment, I am deeply convinced myself that this kind of working with young people is the only way to reach it. Young people with disadvantaged background should learn to reflect and analyze the world

around them, because things are not self-evident for them. The hidden curriculum of modern life should somehow become visible for them. The cultural capital (or lack of it) seems still to be an important factor behind the success or failure in adult life (Jahnukainen 1997).

Some may think that I am setting too hard demands for teachers. The truth is that many of our teachers are already working this way, because they have been reflective themselves and find out what is the most effective way to teach. The best way to try to intervene this is through teacher education and most immediately through teachers' in-service training.

4. Towards the 21 Century

The need for a really significant relationship at least with one adult seems to be a common result in many different approaches. This is an interesting result and needs more analyzing and discussion. One reason for this could be the fact that the traditional connections with other family members outside the nuclear family have been disintegrated. Families have to survive themselves and that could be too much for parents in today's market-oriented society. Media, in particular television and movies, are important sources of role models and are working as secondary educators. That is one reason why teachers need to change their task more toward a non-formal role of an educator from the traditional role of a schoolmaster. A very important question is: What does it mean that we are going more and more towards working with interactive computers also at schools? This may create more need for real human relationships in other social situations. Of course the significant adult could be found as well outside the school; within hobbies and so on. One good example of organized non-formal activity are Walkers youth cafés, which are run by voluntary personnel. On any occasion, we can be sure that life will not be only a stream of bytes in the next millennium either - the human contact can be more valuable than we can imagine.

UNEMPLOYED YOUNG PEOPLE AT RISK OF MARGINALIZATION

A study of 323 Turku adolescents of the age 16-20 years

1. Subjects and methods

Unemployed adolescents under 20 years of age were studied as a part of an ongoing project. The project is designed to help them to find employment or schooling. Participation in the project guaranteed them a possibility of a weekly income of USD 107.

323 adolescents (145 males and 178 females) volunteered to participate in the study. 150 of them (88 M, 62 F) had completed their 9-year basic education, 20 (8 M, 12 F) had taken some additional vocational courses, 91 (28 M, 63 F) had completed two or more years of vocational training and 49 (13 M, 36 F) had gone through college. Seven boys and four girls were school dropouts. All participants filled out a questionnaire and visited a nurse and a physician.

The questionnaire contained questions about biographical characteristics, i.e., gender, age, marital status, family background (single-parent vs. two-parent family, adoption, institution), type of living, education, employment/unemployment. They were also asked about their athletic and other hobbies, along with information about the use of tobacco, alcohol and drugs. The parents' activities (type of employment, retirement, etc.) were recorded. In addition, the questionnaire contained ten multi-item scales. The scales measured psychic strain (GHQ-12), sense of coherence, self-esteem, self-efficacy, assertiveness, fears, depression, meaning of work, work search activity, and social support. The nurse measured the height, weight and blood pressure of the participants. The physician interviewed them about their future plans, examined their physical fitness and gave them a rating of social and psychic work ability. She also recorded their records for crimes or misconducts.

2. Results

Adolescents from single-parent families and those living most of their childhood in institutions or elsewhere outside their own home, were strongly overrepresented among the subjects. Their proportion was more than twice that of the Turku residents in both cases (29 vs. 13% for single-parent families and 3.2 vs. 1.4% for living outside one's own family). The proportion of adolescents from single-parent families was especially pronounced among those who had interrupted their vocational training (n 6). 41 % of the adolescents in this group came from single-parent families.

The girls had more often than boys left their parents' families. 20.4% of the girls lived with their boyfriend or spouse, whereas only 3.5% of the boys were in the

same situation. 70.7% of the boys still lived with their parent/parents compared with only 49.2% of the girls. 18.6% of the boys and 20.9% of the girls lived alone and 6.2% of both sexes lived elsewhere. The girls were also better trained than the boys. 56.1% of the girls had completed college or 2 to 3 years of vocational training, whereas only 28.4% of the boys had corresponding training.

There were no significant differences as regards the physical health between the sexes. The girls reported more psychic (GHQ-12) and depressive (DEPS) symptoms than the boys, but the physician's estimate of the psychic condition of the sexes was the opposite. The boys reported significantly higher self-efficacy and higher self-esteem than the girls.

Of the adolescents who had completed college, the proportion of girls and boys from single-parent families was the same as in the Turku population as a whole. The use of drugs among those who had completed college was lower than among the other adolescents in the sample. They were also more active in sports than the others.

Those not actively seeking employment did not differ in most of the measures from the rest of the sample. Aside from the fact that the passive work-seekers had less work experience than the others, a significantly larger proportion of them still lived with their parents. Their assertiveness was also weaker and they went out with friends less often than the others.

Of those who had interrupted their vocational training, 40.6% came from single-parent families compared to 26.4% of the others. They had received counseling due to their psychic problems twice as often as the others in the sample. Their ability to function psychically and socially was deemed lower, they smoked more, they consumed more alcohol, used more drugs, and they had criminal records more often than the other adolescents in the sample. However, there were no significant differences in self-esteem, self-efficacy, psychic and depressive symptoms or assertiveness between the two subgroups.

Of those 65 adolescents (41 M, 24 F) sent to the project by social workers, 42.9% had single-parent families and unemployment was more common in their families than in the families of the rest of the group. They had less occupational training than the others and 56.9% of them had interrupted their training after the basic education. They reported no more psychic symptoms than the rest of the group but they had signs of losing life control. The physician was of the opinion that their psychic and social functioning was worse than that of the others. They also used more drugs and they smoked more than the others.

3. Conclusion

Boys seem to be at a greater risk of marginalization than girls, despite their better self-esteem. The study clearly shows that the children from single-parent families are at greater risk of psychic problems, of drug and alcohol abuse and of interrupting their vocational training. A family with both parents present is an important part of success at school and in later vocational education. The results are in accordance with earlier studies (Onatsu-Arvilommi & Nurmi 1997; Pedersen 1996; Hammarström 1994; Hammer 1993, 1992).

Self-administered questionnaires seem to have little validity in discriminating subgroups at this age level. Adolescents do not seem to be aware of their situation, or they are not able to objectively compare themselves with others, as their own reports of psychic symptoms do not correlate with the estimate of the physician.

PUBLIC POLICIES TO COMBAT SCHOOL AND SOCIAL FAILURE IN FINLAND

1. Preface

It has been assumed that education advances the employment conditions of the underprivileged population and improves the living conditions of people in the poorest circumstances. It was suggested, that investing in education system, which is universal and equal for all, increases the welfare of individuals as well as society as a whole. At the same time it was believed to resolve the social problems resulting from citizens' lack of resources. During the past few years, however, this faith in education has been put to a severe test, and even partly lost.

Still, the public discussion about the exclusion of young people is largely about the necessity of education. All the important political parties and the most influential newspapers keep repeating this idea. Especially clearly this belief in education of the public actors (the media, the politics, the economy, etc.) came up related to the change in the unemployment benefits regulations (excluding uneducated under 25-year-olds from the beneficiaries). Even 'obligatory' education was generally seen better than 'idleness'.

From the point of view of the young unemployed, the 'obligatory' education naturally seems quite different. Few young people, who are tired of going to school, consider it meaningful to apply for education, especially if they have to start on a field that does not interest them.

2. The project

The general objective of the project "The Reforms In The Education And Training Systems To Combat School And Social Failure In Europe"¹ is to achieve a comparative analysis of the educational and training public policies specially intended to reform and improve compulsory education and vocational training (first level regulated education and non-regulated education), so as to avoid school desertion of the young without appropriate training or in risk of being excluded socially.

¹ *A detailed description of the project The Reforms In The Education And Training Systems To Combat School And Social Failure In Europe, its objectives, theoretical framework, and methodology, is presented in the tasks book compiled by Grup De Recerca Educació I Treball, March 1996.*

The project was originally part of a 1995 Socrates program. The partners are France, Greece, Portugal, Italy, Belgium, Germany, Great Britain, Spain, the Netherlands, Austria, Denmark, Finland (Research Unit for the Sociology of Education), and Sweden. The network has been coordinated by the Spanish partner, GRET (Grup de recerca educació i treball, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona).

The starting point of the project is a 'European Transitional System' model, built through articulated reforms in formal education, especially at compulsory and post-compulsory stages. This model is also built through non-formal training, active labor-market policies focused on young people, and projects addressed to specific collectivities.

3. The situation in Finland

In Table 1 are listed the public measures implemented in Finland to combat school and social failure. These measures are heavily focused on the individual and mainly connected to labor market policy. However, offering education is the main policy concerning young people.

Table 1. Measures implemented in Finland to prevent the exclusion of young people from the educational system and from the labor market

measure	focus	central problems
remediation	individual	
education of pupils with emotional/behavioral problems (ESY)	individual	
special education of disabled pupils (EMU, EHA1, EHA2, EKV, ENÄ, EVY, PULUKI; MUU)	individual	
special education of immigrants	individual	
vocational guidance	individual	-cannot reach the young people unwilling to continue at school
additional 10th form of comprehensive school (started in 1977)	individual	-danger of being negatively labeled and falling into vicious circle of 'losers'
temporary vocational education (additional places) (started in 1976)	individual	-cannot reach the most excluded young people
special vocational education	individual	
apprenticeships (reforms in 1983 and in 1993)	individual	-cannot reach the most excluded young people
vocational labor market training	individual	-does not apply to young people
guiding labor market training	individual	-not valued on the labor market
workshops	individual/ regional	
temporary employment subsidized by the State and municipalities	individual	
employment obligations of municipalities (started in 1988)	institution	-municipalities could not afford to fulfil the obligations in the unemployment situation of the 1990's -> abolished as impossible to realize in 1993
youth projects	individual/ regional	
reform of the selection criteria in the joint application system: priority given to young people without any vocational qualifications (started in 1993)	institution	
'Relander' -education (additional places) (started in 1993)	individual	
youth salary: possibility for employers to pay young persons lower salary than minimum wages (started in 1994)	institution	-employers do not recruit young people even for a lower salary -> abolished as ineffective in 1995
co-operative societies	regional economy	
condition of granting unemployment benefits for persons under 20 years old (started in 1996)	institution	-makes education 'obligatory'; -prevents young people who are unwilling to continue at school from starting an independent adult life
condition of granting unemployment benefits for persons under 25 years old (started in 1997)	institution	-makes education 'obligatory'; -prevents young people who are unwilling to continue at school from starting an independent adult life

It should be remembered that the objectives or intentions are not the same as the consequences of actions. For example, the effect that lowering employers' social insurance contributions has on employment is not as great as is often implied. According to a study done at the Research Institute of the Finnish Economy ETLA, one per cent increase in company profitability presupposes no less than a 10-percentage point decrease in labor costs.

Experiences of the effects of pay-cuts for young are similar: the possibility of hiring young people with a 'youth pay' has not seemed to attract employers. In other words, employers are not interested in employing young people even below the minimum wage.

Education is a politically expedient measure because it can be used to break up long periods of unemployment, to improve the individual employability of the unemployed and to embellish the unemployment figures, without actually doing anything about employment itself. The issues of job creation and the boosting of purchasing power and consumer demand imply difficult conflicts of political and economic interests. Unemployment can much more easily be reduced by moving, for example, a couple of hundred thousand jobless people into subsidized employment, education and unemployment pension. In comparison with this aspect of education, its content and its benefits to the unemployed or even to the economy as a whole are merely a secondary consideration.

Similarly, the much-publicized promotion of self-employment serves ends, which are mainly political. By marketing the ideology of self-employment, the responsibility for employment is shifted onto the shoulders of the people themselves. Where an ideology of freedom and market forces prevails, citizens are themselves supposed to create the conditions for their own survival.

The motive force behind the continually growing demand for education is the principle that everyone is supposed to participate in the competition for a limited number of jobs - in spite of the fact that all of them cannot possibly succeed. The educational system produced a certain number of dropouts even in the 1980's when the unemployment figures were only a fifth of those for the 1990's. Education is now even less likely to serve the needs of the underprivileged, but the definition of 'educational needs' is still taken as the starting point for addressing the problem.

It should be remembered that education is based on competition, which resembles a knockout game where some are destined to lose. Education consisting of continuous competition between individuals, and constant exposure to evaluation, as well as repeated 'free' choices, leads people to regard the deprivation processes, which later on become realized as different kinds of life histories, as due to individual shortcomings.

4. Education for what?

The public measures, outside the educational system, aiming at preventing the exclusion of young people are mainly connected to the labor market policy. The economic depression and the mass unemployment of the 1990's have changed the basis of the labor market policy in general, and thus also the nature of the measures intended for young people. The emphasis shifted even more from offering employment to offering education. The conditions of the unemployment benefits are restricted and the aim is at removing untrained young people from the labor market altogether.

The essential thing in preventing the exclusion of young people is not the supply of education in itself, more important would be to pay enough attention to the forms

and quality of education. In Finland, there have not been enough models available of education connected to real working life. The 'academic' education in Finland is more valued than the practical skills learned at work. The status of an educated person is higher than of a person who has acquired his/her professional skills by working.

Efficiency and quality of all education should be re-evaluated from fresh points of view. In the situation of financial cuts, education cannot justify its own existence with the fact that as many people as possible stay at school as long as possible. Rational educational policy is achieved only if we abandon the illusion that years spent in educational institutions itself is a sign of the high educational level of a nation or even of the quality of skills and the profundity of education.

QUALITY OF SCHOOL LIFE IN FINNISH SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS (EBD)

1. Preface

The evaluation of education is a very multidimensional task. To assess the outcomes of the education you first have to define what is meant by outcomes. The outcomes might be student's mastering of those skills that were meant to. It could be as well his/her managing at the labor market after schooling or subsequent in the following educational level. (See Norris 1990, Vaherva & Juva 1985, Raivola 1995.)

One approach to this kind of evaluation is to try to understand how the pupils themselves experience the school. The affective field of education is by no means out of interest. (Williams & Roey 1997.) Do the pupils have feelings of support? Does the school increase the motivation to study? One suitable concept in this sense is 'the quality of school life'.

The emotionally/behaviorally disturbed (EBD) pupils are usually the most troublesome persons in the school. They challenge their environment daily with antisocial behavior and they are unmotivated to go to school. How can school successfully cope with them? By letting them drop out? Or by trying to find individual solutions? What is the quality of school life from their point of view?

2. Defining the concept

By the concept 'quality of life' we usually understand individual's general well being in society. The well being is based on the judgment of the individual him/herself, not of an outsider. Gerson (1976) and especially Burt, Wiley, Minor & Murray (1978) summarized the used models in four dimensions, which were general, positive, negative and domain (like housing, family etc.) affect.

This dimensional model was developed, and transferred to school (Williams & Batten, 1981). It was used in the international IEA reading study in 1990's. Linna-kylä (1996, 70) defines the quality of school life (QSL) as *students' general well-being and satisfaction, and from the point of view of their positive and negative experiences, particularly in activities typical of school*. Furthermore, she defines that the typical activities set by individual or society consist of *competence, personal development, social integration and social responsibility*.

It was developed as an instrument to measure the QSL. It has been presented and validated in 30 countries, including Finland. Theoretically, there were six dimensions classified, which were also empirically verified in factor analysis. The six dimensions of the QSL were the following:

- general satisfaction (G)
- teacher relations (T)
- student's status in class (S)
- identity formation (I)
- achievement and opportunity (A)
- negative affect (N)

3. Measuring the quality of school life (QSL) of emotionally/behaviorally disordered pupils

The instrument as a whole consists of a questionnaire with 29 items. It is meant for 14 years old children. In Finland it means mainly 8th graders. In this research of EBD pupils, only 14 items representing all the six dimensions of the QSL were used. The instrument had to be shorter, because it was presented to the pupils as a part of a larger questionnaire, and it was obvious that they would not have responded to a longer version. However, enough data were collected, which enabled to compare regular education students with special education students.

The leading sentence in the beginning of the instrument for the regular students was 'School is a place, where', and for the special students it was formulated as 'Special class is a place, where'. The students had to respond to the statements by using the following scale: I definitely agree (4), mostly agree (3), mostly disagree (2) and definitely disagree (1).

4. Participants of the study

There were selected 100 schools, which had special classes (EBD) among the others. Those types of regular schools in 1995 were about 250 in Finland. Altogether 61 schools of them participated the study and 35 of them represented the upper level of the comprehensive school. 220 pupils from 7th to 9th grades (ages 13-16) of these special classes responded the questionnaire. The population of the study represents mainstreamed pupils, who go to school in regular school but in special class.

The socioeconomic status of the pupils is mainly working class: 75 % of the fathers and 50 % of the mothers were workers unlike among the main population: 53 % men and 25 % of women are classified as workers.

5. Results of the study

The questionnaire was presented to the respondents in March 1995. The results of the study are presented in Figure 1.

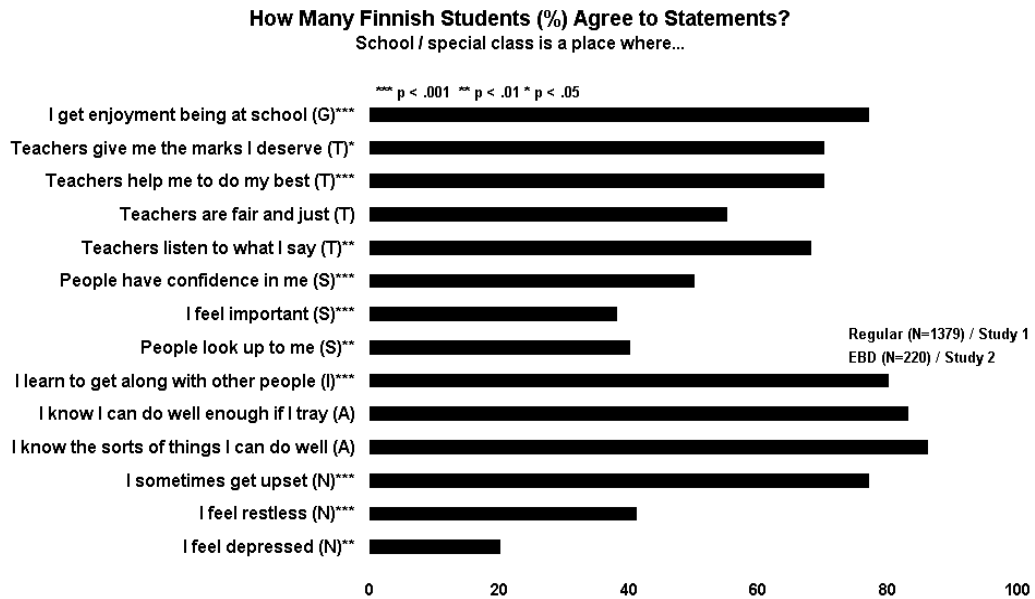


Figure 1: Results of the studies (Kuorelahti 1997 and Linnakylä 1996).

General satisfaction appeared to be higher by students with EBD compared with regular education eighth-graders. The result is very remarkable, because students with EBD were earlier regarded as the most troublesome students in the class. In their earlier school-history, truancy, underachievement, antisocial behavior can be found. All these problems got soothed, when they had started to study in a special class. This was confirmed by parents, who also seen the positive changes in their children.

Teacher-student relations were more positive in the special classes than in regular education. Specialclass students felt that teachers helped them to do their best. This might be a most important factor in turning the school life to a more positive direction.

However, not all the dimensions in the quality of school life had turned from negative to positive. For example, the pupil-pupil -relations was more often negative in the special classes compared with regular classes. Social status in the class was experienced lower and special students felt that they did not obtain any respect or confidence from their peers. And the feelings of achievement were about the same rate as in regular classes, or maybe even lower. This reveals, that the long negative experiences have put the sign in their minds: I cannot work at school, it represents a strange world to me.

6. Conclusions

Teachers often ask, what to do, how to manage social maladjustment in the school. The evidence submitted above shows one effective solution: special classes for EBD children. These classes have very positive consequences to the lives of socially maladjusted children and their families. Parents (80 %) reported only positive changes in their children after they had transferred into a special class. We can clearly state, that the special classes function efficiently and effectively, if we evaluate them by asking the pupils and their parents.

This form of education extends its positive consequences until adulthood (see Kivirauma 1995, Jahnukainen 1997). Former special class (EBD) students have reported later, that time in special educational setting was of great value in their later life. The negative vicious circle of the school and its' demands had been cut and replaced by a more positive relationship with the teachers. After all, we can say, that the special classes are worth the money that is spent on them.

SCHOOL EXPERIMENT TO SUPPORT YOUNG PEOPLE AT RISK OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION

The purpose of this study is to examine the ways in which the school experiment called "Oma ura" (creating your own career) can improve the school performance and life management skills of pupils with different social backgrounds. The projects involve alternate periods of theory and practice and they are carried out in the last grade of nine-year comprehensive school.

The projects are based on a similar experiment being carried out in Germany and the United States. Previously, the Finnish projects were co-ordinated by the Mannerheim League for Child Welfare, until they were taken over by the Oma ura -yhdistys, the association founded for the project in the beginning of the year 1997. At the time of the study, projects were being carried out in ten different localities in Finland.

The study involved three school classes from different localities in Finland. The number of pupils participating in the study was 28. There were 19 boys and 9 girls. The study focused on such issues as support received from home, school performance, life management, career choice and ways of spending free time.

In order to gain an overall view of "Oma ura" -projects, the study also included the compilation of the background information about the participants in such projects during the school year 1995/96. This group consisted of 74 comprehensive school pupils.

The pupils' school performance in spring of the eight school year was compared with the performance in the ninth year (1996), when the "oma ura" experiment terminated. The pupils' grades had risen by 0.4, that is, by 6,5% on the average.

In the study the pupils were divided on the basis of risk factors into two groups: those with favorable family backgrounds (14 pupils) and those with high-risk family backgrounds (also 14 pupils). In the first group the grades rose on average by 0,62, or 9.7%, but in the latter only by 0.23 or 3.7%.

We can say that life management improved already during the "oma ura" -year: for example, 10 out of 28 pupils decreased their alcohol use. Delinquent behavior also decreased. In the autumn of 1995 more than half of the young people had committed some offences or crimes, but in the spring 1996 only 30%.

On the whole, the development was positive in these young people during the "oma ura" year. One important contributing factor was that the group was very small and the relationship with the teacher more positive than at the upper level of the comprehensive school in general.

The main purpose of the study was to find out the improvement that took place in the pupils during the project and eventual positive development at a later stage when they left school and applied to further training or sought jobs.

The interviewing schedule

AUTUMN 1995	JANUARY-MARCH 1996	MAY 1996	AUTUMN 1997
Interview the pupils	interview with the parent and teacher	interview with the pupils and teachers	Interview with the pupils

The risk factors in the study were those used by Markku Jahnuainen (1997, 36-39) in his study. The risk factors included parents'/guardian's low socio-economic status; single parenthood; parents'/guardian's low educational level; divorce; alcoholism; parents' mental health problems, with more than four children in the family; family violence; and long-term unemployment.

Conclusions

It was clearly seen that the "oma ura" -project benefited the pupils. In general, the pupils liked practical work periods more than theory periods. The other clearly positive thing was that they had the same teacher in almost all subjects. Further, since the group was small, the teacher had more time per pupil people than in normal classes.

A TRAINING COURSE FOR TEACHERS WORKING IN THE VOCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

- Experiences, evaluations and opinions -

1. Preface

A 20 credit in-service training course for teachers of vocational schools was held in 1995-1997 by the Department of Special Education. Basis for this training course was realization of coming changes and reforms in vocational education and special education in Finland.

Responsible for the content of the training course was a working group consisting of representatives of vocational schools and the Department of Special Education of Joensuu University. The content was planned to be flexible, in order not to hinder its continuing development, which would not be possible in the case of beforehand planned, detailed content. By using an open frame curriculum, a possibility for personal needs in education of the group and its individuals was given. This article describes the evaluation of the aims of the training course by the participants.

2. The method and target group of the research

At the end of the course, a questionnaire was made to find out how successful and useful the course had been for the teachers. In the questionnaire, teachers' opinion about all modules in their program was inquired. They were asked how each module answered to their expectations. The form was distributed to all participants (n=21) and 19 of them were returned.

Teachers (n=14) taking part in the in-service training course were also interviewed in order to get feedback about the program. The majority of the teachers were female. Six of the teachers worked with students who practiced their vocational skills in the workplace and eight worked in a more ordinary classroom setting with the students and taught them academic skills e.g. foreign languages, mother tongue and maths.

For the results, frequencies were counted to all variables, by which the grade of expectations and usefulness concerning the modules are described. For the

evaluation of total trends, the opinions and evaluations were summarized. The content of qualitative material were recorded and then transcribed on paper and analyzed with grounded theory method using, e.g., ATLAS.ti program.

3. The results

How the content of the training met the expectations of the teachers

In the structured inquiry, teachers were asked how the different modules of the course have responded to the expectations they had before the course. The alternatives for the answers were the following: the course responded to my expectations "fully" (1) and "not at all" (5).

To the question, how the course corresponded to the teachers' expectations, the total mean of all modules was 1,98. The "thesis" had answered best to the participants' expectations. The contents of the project "Own career" and "Experience pedagogy" did not fulfil the expectations which teachers had beforehand. As a whole the result is interesting in that the theoretical subjects and modules of independent work had best met the participants' expectations. On the basis of the result, it can be said that teachers usually estimated the course to have met their expectations well.

The assessment given for the whole training course

The total results of the inquiry show that the members of the training course were very satisfied with the training. The atmosphere, when evaluating with the traditional scale used in Finnish comprehensive schools (4 worst - 10 best), was interpreted excellent (mean 8,8). The teachers felt, too, that the given education was very useful (mean 8,5). The worst mark (mean 7,6) was to the guidance given during the training. There was, however, a wide deviation between the respondents.

Table 1. The evaluation (scale 4 - 10) given to the in-service training by teachers (n=19) who took part in the course.

	Mean	SD
Guidance	7,59	1,46
Content	8,24	0,90
Organization	8,25	0,86
Quality	8,41	0,87
Usefulness	8,53	1,18
Atmosphere	8,82	0,64

The results above tell us that it could perhaps be reasonable in the future to invest more in taking care about individual needs and counseling.

Some features of the training course described by the teachers

To conclude, the evaluation of the training course can be divided into strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats.

Strengths

The open model makes it possible for the teachers to take up questions bothering them and solutions can be discussed together with colleagues and experts. A collaborative expert was liked more than a specialist who only lectured on his or her own field. Furthermore, the training course was a part of a support system the teachers hoped to have. Teachers had a desire to get this kind of help, and the program was held in the right place at the right time.

*"Then I think about the future. We should have something like this going on all the time. I mean one knows there is know-how when you need it."
(Teacher 9)*

"When they talk about specific example cases you can identify with some of your own students." (Teacher 2)

Weaknesses

The example cases in special education often deal with a teacher and one individual or a small group of students. The teachers found it difficult to take the models into their teaching of bigger groups. They also felt that there was a great amount of data about learning difficulties and some of the teachers said that this area was only a part of the challenges they had. These teachers talked quite much of the changing of the systems in school and wanted to develop vocational school in general to meet the needs of the students better. So, maybe they did not get the tools to make these changes and felt that learning difficulties are therefore a minor part in this case. Those who had a very acute and severe problem in their work with students did feel that the program is of no help to them.

"You see. When we have seen these very wise experts and others here, we haven't been able to see how it works in our job." (Teacher 10)

"There is nothing in education, neither in special education." (Teacher 1)

Opportunities

The program was felt to give more faith for some teachers to go on with their work as they have already done. They also noticed that the student behavior has several reasons and they are not only a cause of teacher activities or students' deliberate harmful behavior. Now the teachers have some methods to use in their work and at least the courage to try to do things in an another way than before.

*"Now I have the faith in that what I have been doing has not been wrong"
(Teacher 6)*

"Even though I am not a specialist in reading I could try some exercises in my work also." (Teacher 5)

Threats

The threats were mentioned to be on three levels. If the communities do not accept persons with special needs, the schools will not get support and funding to educate all kinds of students. There are also obstacles in the school. The curriculum is read in a too narrow manner and in some cases a teacher is not allowed to concentrate

on things that are important for the students but not mentioned in the curriculum. The administration in the school is interested in constructing new buildings and by this trying to get a better status for vocational education in the community. This happens at the cost of developing pedagogy for the weak. Good and talented students that show great performance in national vocational contests are considered to give pride for their school. The weak that learn much compared to their talents are forgotten. Even the funding meant for the students with special needs is said to go to other and more important targets. There is also a fear that some colleagues are not interested in educating all students but concentrate on those easy to teach.

"Many of the students have been told already before, that they don't know anything and they can't do anything." (Teacher 3)

"I don't know if it is acceptance or what that when we try to do things in another way, we are told that it always has been done like this. That makes me sick." (Teacher 11)

When trying to think what the program should be like to become better, some issues are mentioned. This program would be even better if it would be split up in branches. A course for the teachers working with metal crafts, one for working with food making and one for the language teachers. It should include lots of examples of how to do things. There is a hope that it should concentrate more on how to communicate with the students. There should be specific training in, e.g., reading and writing. All these put together mean that every teacher has a specific question in their own work needing an answer. This could be achieved by including a larger amount of counseling in the program so that also those struggling with severe acute difficulties in their work could be sure to have their voice better heard.

"The case would have had a better solution if a professional in the field would have believed me right away, would have come to support me and given me some hints."(Teacher 1)

" In my case a course does not help because to be able to make a change in the order the students sit is a question of how to put the students and the sewing-machines into a too small room." (Teacher 12)

4. Summary and conclusions

The evaluative opinions and experiences of the teachers (n=19/ 14) working in the vocational schools were interviewed after they had finished the in-service course. Two kinds of methods were used in gathering the information: qualitative and quantitative.

In general, the teachers seemed to be very satisfied with the course. Especially the expectations of the teachers for the course were fulfilled. Also the benefits for the daily educational teaching were respected high. Teachers felt that they have got new ideas, knowledge and skills during the course. They had teachers had, in spite of the new information, in many cases fears that they cannot use the new skills they have adopted in the course, because of the traditional administrative resistance against new educational streams in vocational schools.

The respondents said that their basic teacher education was not sufficient in order to cope with the regular daily needs of many students. Teachers have tried to

replace this gap by learning from their own work. This has led to one kind of *circulus vitiosus* in the meaning that they have tried to learn about the work which already comprises the problems they try to avoid. In this meaning the in-service training has brought one kind of view of an “outsider” to their own work, which has helped to better reflect and correct their educational activities in the classroom. Many of the teachers felt that they got knowledge and courage to start the renovation in the schools, but in spite of that they had a fear that the learned abilities and skills are going to be useless because of the traditional resistance ruling on the administrative level in the schools.

Many of the teachers taking part in this further education course, waited answers for their individual problems and questions, when they started the course. This is perhaps the reason why the teachers respected better the individual challenges and working (e.g., individual final work) instead of practical demonstrations.

INDIVIDUAL PATHWAYS AND LIFE MANAGEMENT

1. Preface

One main developmental task to a young person is to achieve an educational and professional identity. Modern society's demands in the working life are more complicated than before. Because of that, many young people have a lot of difficulties to find their individual pathway to existing labor markets. During Project Advance (from 1996 to the end of 2000) we have had a lot of opportunities to exchange experiences about young people's problems. Basically, young people do not differ so much in different countries. What makes young people different from each other? Firstly, it is to society with its structures, rewards and penalties. For example, in Finland in the beginning of 1997, a law was passed that everyone under 25 years old has to apply for vocational training. If not, the penalty is to lose the right to get any benefits from employment offices. Secondly, what makes young people's life different in different countries, is culture with its basic values. For example, life can be more family orientated or the culture may encourage individualism?

One important part in people's lives is work and the labor market. A new area in a young person's reality is unemployment. The immediate access from school to a stable work placement is only a dream to most young people. Typically, young people have periods of education, work and unemployment during their early adulthood. It is also typical that young people work short periods with a low pay. They have to be able to move to get work and to face a lot of competition to get these short experiences. In most cases, young people are successful in this. They are interested in new challenges and their future and they create courage and a positive self-confidence to find one's way in this survival game. But in some cases adolescents are not successful. They are not motivated by the key adult roles. They act and think in ways that lead to problems, for example at school and in working life. And in many cases they end up defining themselves in negative ways. Adolescents, who are in danger of dropping out of society, have similar goals as others, but in many cases they think that they are unable to influence on how the goals come true. However, the fact is that unemployment is worst for those young people with previous problems in life management and socialization. Unemployment may accentuate the problems. It may do so by narrowing the options for gaining acceptance and mastery through socially acceptable ways. It may also weaken one's inner resources (such as self-esteem and life management) due to repetitive failures and lack of support.

One of the guiding principles in European Social Fund Employment-Youthstart initiatives is to find new and innovative pathways to employment. It means, for example, stages of development and routing at the level of an individual young per-

son. Project Advance is a project for unemployed young people less than 25 years of age funded by ESF. Project Advance tries to help young people (in Lievestuore area, Central Finland) in a long-term perspective to reach changes in their life management and their future orientation.

The two follow articles are concern about Project Advance. The first article expresses the goals and the ways to reach them. The second article brings out the results of transnational study of young peoples' future orientation. The study has been a part of Advance-project during the years 1997-1998 and it has been done as a master thesis in psychology in the University of Jyväskylä.

2. Individual Pathway to Labor Market in Project Advance

The three main goals and beneficiary indicators in Project Advance are: vocational training, work opportunities and better quality of life. Generally, to reach these goals young person has to match his own worldview with existing society's structures, rewards and penalties. It demands that one has flexibility, can creatively solve problems, has the ability to fit into different roles, can tolerate conflicts and uncertainty, has courage to take risks, etc.

Project Advance has tried to help its beneficiaries in this process. We have developed a training system called Individual Pathway Model during 1996-1997 (Table 1.). It is going to be the basis for developmental work for a further training system in Project Advance during 1998-2000. So far we have tried to give young people the tools for coping, making goals and achieving better life-management. In Lievestuore, we have used psychological and educational schemes, work-practice and the possibility to transnational co-operation and exchanges. We have practiced argumentation, open communication, self-reflection and self-assessment to learn, to listen, to summarize, to evaluate values and to concretize and solve the real problems. We want our beneficiaries to learn the basic connections between feelings, situations, behavior and feedback, so that the young people have opportunities to learn to deal productively with themselves and their environment.

Table 1. Individual Pathway Model in Project Advance.

Making contact

- * employment office recommends a young person to participate in the project
- * information about the project from a young person from previous scheme
- * handouts, newspaper articles...

Indicator: Awaken the young person's interest in the scheme

Induction

- * employment office staff knows the young people personally
 - * Lievestuore is a small village -> young people know each other
 - * Settlement House has central position in the community
- Advance-project has succeeded to achieve a distinguished reputation as a scheme for the young people

Indicator: The young people want to participate and stay in the scheme.

Self-Assessment

- * personal conversation with staff (analysis of past, present and future orientation)
- * planning life, vocation, work
- * realism and commitments

Indicator: The young person becomes more future orientated, want to re-evaluate values, attitudes, hopes...

Developing an action plan

- * written action plan with goals
- * the young person applies for vocational training
- * work practice
- * personal contact with work placements, schools, employers...

Indicator: The young person makes realistic goals, which she/he is motivated to achieve and work for.

Counseling and guidance

- * long-term support system
- * direct intervention
- * regular follow-ups
- * feedback and support

Indicator: the young person learns to evaluate his/her own progress, gets more courage to make decisions and to take risks, learns to trust him/herself and take responsibility of his/her decisions.

Implementation

- * work placement
- * study visits and exchange abroad
- * group work, theme work
- * individual targets etc.

Indicator: The young people get more experience, positive feedback, success and motivation to learn more.

Reviews and action plan development

- * written plans are being checked regularly
- * intervention whenever needed
- * reporting to local steering committee regularly about the young person and scheme

Indicator: The young person learns through regular evaluation to see his/her own progress (strengths and weaknesses) and is able to change the action plan if needed.

Preparing for entry into the labor market

- * labor skills practiced in scheme, work placement and exchange
- * regular contacts and guidance to employers and support for work placements

Indicator: The young people's attitudes toward work become more positive, they feel importance and that they are needed.

Follow-up

- * questionnaires to the young people after leaving the scheme
- * regular feedback and information from employment office and social service

Indicator: The young people are not "alone" after leaving the scheme and return back to scheme is possible.

Re-training scheme

- * The young person has a possibility to return to scheme
- * scheme build more individually, second possibility to find out the real problems which prevent the entry to labor market.

During Project Advance we have learned that if we want to reach these goals, it is important that the young also value their progress and want to change their way of thinking, living and their orientation to future. There are at least four basic issues that we have learned to be important in the work with young people.

1) We need enough time...

- to get to know a single adolescent personally
- to follow each young person's personal development and do intervene when needed
- to maintain long-term support and guidance
- to give a young person tools to plan future and to help, him/her to be motivated to achieve the goals
- to build connections with young people's social network and key authorities

2) *Program and activities in schemes have to have...*

- a lot of functional activities where there is a lot of opportunities to have new experiences so that a young person can feel management in new situations and has the possibility to build up a more positive self-esteem, more courage and better coping strategies
- well-planned and supported work placement experiences
- many opportunities to be together so that young people have time to develop group dynamics and their personal roles in the group

3) *Networking (local and transnational) is absolutely necessary because then...*

- a single young person can be supported better, more individually and more holistically and all the local agencies (working with youth issues, especially local employment office) work together with a true commitment
- young people have interesting and flexible work placement experiences in local SMEs and in partnercountries' projects
- staff has possibility to exchange ideas, methods and material and get support in their work from the multiprofessional and multinational networks

4) *Staff working with young people should be...*

- objective, confidential, equal and with a good sense of humor, etc. - adults who have courage to use their own common sense
- honestly interested of the youth and committed to help and support them
- regularly evaluating the work they are doing and having willingness to learn from failures, which gives possibilities to develop training methods and approaches
- willing to take risks and try new and innovative ways to achieve better results

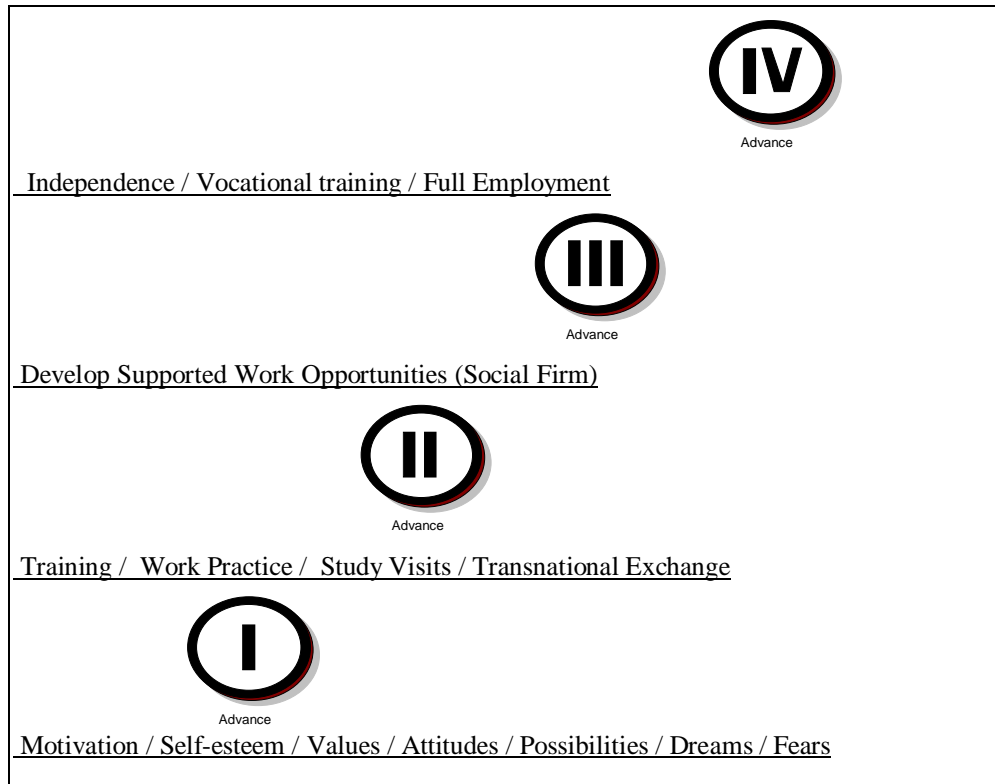
Transition to adulthood, achieving the basic developmental goals in becoming a responsible citizen has become more complicated than ever before. The reality of young people has become so complicated that many of our adolescents do not manage by themselves. What is also important to recognize is that governmental organizations are also powerless when they try to help young people in their problems by themselves. Project Advance has successfully managed to create new ways of helping our young people by local partnerships and networks. By working together we are more than if we work alone. Information and help for young people can then be (at its best) flexible, personal, direct and used at the right time. Because life nowadays is so difficult, we - the ones working in these kinds of projects - can also be key persons when our society tries to help young people and their families. In this kind of projects we can be adults who offer young people the tools to live their life more creatively, to bring out the energy and all the capabilities and capacity they all have. In this work it is, firstly, important to remember that we are working for youth, not for systems and, secondly, as some wise man put it: "There is only hard work - nice talk doesn't work."

In the future, the Project Advance, is meant to go on with this developmental work. A new method for helping this work is a transnationally developed (during 1996-1997) 4-Step Model (table 2.). The idea in this model is to give more individualized and more flexible guidance, training and support to a beneficiary.

The main goal in the future as well is that beneficiaries attending the project become more independent than before, achieve a vocational training placement and a stable job. The new innovative part in future Project Advance is the possibility to

offer a beneficiary supported work opportunity in Social Firm, which is going to be established in cooperation with Lievestuore Settlement House. The 4-Step Model is "a pathway" where the young person can climb up and step down the stairs according to one's own individual timetable. Using the 4- Step Model as a guiding principle simultaneously with the Individual Pathway Model, we have a possibility to offer a longer-term, more holistic and more supported pathway to a beneficiary attending Project Advance.

Table 2. Advance - 4 Step Model. Flexibility of Structure/Content Essential Relative to feedback from Adjacent Steps Above and Below:



3. A Transnational Study of the Youth's Future Orientation

Future orientation is an essential part of life-management. It has influence on individual's life planning, decision-making and behavior on the whole. Future orientation includes events, which an individual anticipates and connects with his or her own future. Future orientation includes also the plans, goals, expectations, hopes and fears connected to these events by the individual. One part of future orientation is also extension, that is, how far an individual is able to anticipate the future. In adolescence, the future orientation plays a central part in life-management. An adolescent stays for years in a situation where he or she has to compare different alternatives and opportunities concerning his or her very own life. The choices made in adolescence may even have long-term effects on one's life and are therefore important.

It has been assumed that unemployment would have some influence on how the future orientation develops. Being unemployed might have an effect on how adolescents construct their future and their own possibilities direct their lifepath. It has also been assumed that unemployment would increase depression and decrease self-esteem. Cultural influences have also been found to have an impact on the development of individual's future orientation.

The study was carried out in the four countries participating in the project: Finland, Italy, Sweden and the United Kingdom the adolescents who participated were 16-24 year-old unemployed, or school attending young people. In full, 249 adolescents participated in the study. The unemployed adolescents were the beneficiaries from each project, and the control group of school attending adolescents was chosen from vocational training in the same area. They participated by filling in a questionnaire, which has been formed on the basis of a previously used transnational Future orientation -questionnaire. The study concentrates on the content of future orientation by asking adolescents about their hopes and fears for the future. It also concentrates more deeply on adolescents' thoughts of education, work, and family, which have been found to be central themes when an adolescent considers his or her future. The questionnaire included also depression and self-esteem scales and background questions.

The study was to explore the differences in adolescents' future orientation between the four countries. It also focused on finding out differences (in future orientation) between unemployed and school attending adolescents, as well as between genders. Only parts of the study results were presented in this article.

The Hopes and fears -questionnaire included two open questions: "People often think about the future. In the lines below, please write down the hopes you have for the future." And exactly the same question was asked about the fears. The answers were analyzed by categorizing them into 13 categories (see Table 1). The reliability of categorization was checked by inter-rater categorization. The raters agreed in 96,4% of the cases. For more detailed analysis, every category's relative frequency was counted. Relative frequency shows, how large a part, for example hopes concerning education, played in each subject's answer. With relative frequency it is also possible to exclude the effects of verbal fluency in answering open questions.

Table 1.

Means for Relative Frequency of Hopes by Country						
Hopes	Over all	Finland	Sweden	Italy	England	P
Occupation	29.62	28.54	30.49	34.88	25.98	ns.
Family	23.25	26.01	18.60	25.38	23.38	ns.
Education	14.52	20.53	16.18	10.18	7.76	0.001
Property	14.22	10.66	20.38	2.03	21.16	0.001
Others	5.63	4.82	4.24	5.92	8.15	ns.
Leisure	3.90	1.61	3.66	4.81	6.60	0.05
Health (own)	1.98	3.09	0.84	3.94	0.31	0.01
Global	1.64	1.04	2.12	0.70	2.60	ns.
Military	1.46	0.69	1.38	0.61	0.63	ns.
Parents	1.26	0.13	0.00	3.57	2.50	0.001
Friends	0.65	0.20	0.00	2.44	0.00	0.001
Health (parents)	0.52	0.28	0.00	2.40	0.00	0.001
War/Peace	0.49	0.00	0.53	0.70	0.94	ns.

In Table 1 is presented, how the hopes were distributed. The categories are listed in the order of their relative frequency. Occupation, family, education and property were clearly more frequently mentioned than the others. In the hopes concerning occupation and family, there were no differences between countries, but in education and property the differences are clear. As clear differences were also found in the hopes concerning social relations with parents and friends, and also in parents' health. Regarding adolescents' fears, occupation was also the most frequently mentioned, but after that came fears concerning subjects' own health and property. Finnish adolescents were most concerned about their future occupation, while Swedish adolescents cared least about it. Regarding the fears concerning property, the Italians were least worried about while English adolescents were the most worried. On the whole, adolescents mentioned fewer fears than hopes.

In Table 2, the whole sample is divided in unemployed and school attending groups, and we can see how these two groups differed without thinking about differences between countries. This table includes only those categories where statistically significant differences were found.

Table 2.

Means for Relative Frequency of Hopes and Fears by Status, the whole sample (statistically significant differences)			
Hopes	At school	Unemployed	P
Occupation	24.87	36.20	0.001
Family	25.09	20.70	0.05
Education	16.23	12.15	0.05
Property	10.93	18.78	0.05
Leisure	4.68	2.82	0.05
Health (own)	2.99	0.58	0.01
Health(parents)	0.89	0.00	0.05
Fears			
Education	5.13	1.60	0.05
Health(parents)	5.59	2.45	0.01

It seems that there are differences between unemployed and school attending adolescents. The clearest difference was found in the hopes concerning occupation and unemployed were the ones to worry more about it.

In Table 3, we see how the groups of unemployed and school attending adolescents differed between countries. (Again, only those categories are included where statistically significant differences were found.) First of all, there were more differences between school attending adolescents than between unemployed adolescents in different countries. We were, however, more interested in unemployed adolescents. They differed in the hopes concerning education and property, so those English adolescents were most interested in property, but least interested in education.

Table 3.

Means for Relative Frequency of Hopes and Fears by Status and Country (Statistically significant differences)											
	Over- All	At school					Unemployed				
Hopes		Fin	Swe	Ita	Engl	P	Fin	Swe	Ita	Engl	P
Occupation	29.62	24.42	24.04	33.44	17.16	0.05	36.51	38.05	37.99	33.28	ns.
Education	14.52	23.31	13.31	8.03	16.09	0.05	15.30	19.54	14.82	0.86	0.001
Property	14.22	7.65	24.98	1.79	8.12	0.001	16.33	15.00	2.56	31.95	0.01
Leisure	3.90	1.76	4.00	5.82	10.06	0.01	1.33	3.28	2.64	3.74	ns.
Health (own)	1.98	4.74	0.49	5.05	0.69	0.05	0.00	1.25	1.54	0.00	ns.
Parents	1.26	0.00	0.00	3.82	2.94	0.001	0.36	0.00	3.02	2.13	ns.
Friends	0.65	0.50	0.00	2.55	0.00	0.01	1.00	0.00	2.20	0.00	0.05
Health (parents)	0.52	0.43	0.00	2.98	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	ns.
Fears											
Occupation	24.88	34.74	19.07	33.57	14.51	0.05	28.40	5.17	21.41	34.20	0.001
Property	9.67	7.56	12.84	2.98	10.03	ns.	8.93	6.90	3.85	21.55	0.01
Global	6.89	4.61	8.33	1.19	6.94	ns.	9.33	17.53	10.38	0.00	0.05
Parents	0.85	0.00	0.98	0.00	4.31	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.01	ns.

What is also interesting, is how the unemployed and school-attending adolescents differed from each other in each country. In Italy, there were no statistically significant differences found between those two groups. In the Swedish sample the only difference was that school-attending adolescents were interestingly more worried about future occupation than the unemployed group. In the Finnish sample, school-attending adolescents had significantly more hopes concerning family, education and own health than the unemployed group. In the English sample, unemployed adolescents had significantly more hopes concerning occupation and property than school attending adolescents who had clearly more hopes for education.

One point that is interesting in this study is the way how property and money were represented in adolescents' hopes and fears. Is it influencing of the current market economy and materialistic thinking? The importance of property compared to other softer values, such as friends, seemed also a bit frightening. The results also show that the adolescents in European countries are interested in the same areas of life and directing their future into the "adult-world".

Why the unemployment young people hopes of the future differ from school attending young people's? What is the main question in this issue? Is the point, for example with English young persons as simple as their socio-economic positions? In hopes of English unemployment young people emphasize occupation and property, so their hopes consist the wishes about better economic situation now and in future. And hopes of those who are at school are concerning family and education. The education is equipment to gain economic safety, so they can orientate to other areas of life. From this point of view it seems that young people still trust for education and qualification, which it gives.

FUTURE ORIENTATIONS AND LIVING CONDITIONS OF YOUNG PEOPLE

1. Preface

In this article, the authors attempt to describe what was discussed by the participants in the workshop "Future Orientations and Living Conditions of young people" in the four given presentations. The main topics of the discussion were introduced to the participants in the conference not as results, but rather as questions and challenges which need to be taken seriously, decided upon, and put into action. The authors focus on these issues more thoroughly and draw some further notions and conclusions on the themes that were touched upon.

This article covers the five main points of the discussion: firstly, the results of a research, presented to the workshop participants, indicate that the social transition¹ young people are now facing between the modern and post-modern phase of social development affects their images of the future both at the individual and social level. Secondly, the need for coping in this transition might result in the use of harmful or marginalizing practices, even among privileged young people, if their images of the future remain contradictory or discontinuous. This calls for more flexible and open models and strategies to assist young people -- especially those with the poorest life-management skills -- in coping with and making plans for the future from a realistic base in this situation. This is our third point.

The fourth point emphasizes practical experience: the workshop participants introduced some models, which they were conducting or in which they were taking part in their own communities in order to help the young people. Since these endeavors have been very different both in nature, conduct, expectations and actual results, they do not seem to be clearly commensurate, due to social, economic and cultural differences in different societies and countries.

It seems that in several cases there has not been any organized follow-up of the participants' lives after the actual project has been carried out. It also seems very difficult to spread the information gathered from research and projects to those who are in charge of making social or political decisions on youth-related issues, such as education, employment, and social services. Therefore, our fifth point empha-

¹ Transition is understood here in the social context: Western socio-cultural rationality is undergoing a shift from the determination of modernity (industrialism) to the determination of post-modernity (post-industrialism). The shift phase is called late-modernity or transition, and it consists of features, values, attitudes, and practices that in part still derive from modernity and reflect its needs, and in part already from post-modernity, reflecting new needs, largely still undefined. Thus "modern" and "post-modern" are understood as the varying aspects of the present reality, or rather, as the ways of grouping contemporary social phenomena which exist at the same time and which can result from each other in a dialectic process.

sizes the need for independent research and effective networking both on the conduct and on the lasting effects of these projects. This kind of research and building up of networks is largely lacking, and is thus a problem that needs to be addressed.

2. Young people in transition

The findings of a study, based on research in Finland and dealing with the future images of young Finnish people (10-22 years of age) (Rubin 1998a, b) was presented to the workshop participants. The empirical data were collected between 1994 and 1995 at 12 Finnish schools, vocational institutes and AMK-institutions and it is composed of a questionnaire (open and structured questions) and structured thematic interviews. The following descriptions are based both on the answers to the open questions of a survey questionnaire and on thematic interviews.

When the respondents were asked to describe the images that they have of their own personal future 50 years from now, they told success stories about their career and happy family life with their future spouse and two children -- usually a daughter and a son. They described a nuclear family living in a suburban house owning two cars, a summer cottage and a boat by a lake or in the archipelago. Among the most important things in one's own future were his/her success at school and career, wealth and health. The order of these things changed with age groups and gender, but the main expectations remained more or less the same. The only really "future-like" thing was that the cars were described as electric cars.

In the interviews, the respondents told that in the future, they had managed to get single job and single route careers with good prospects in the middle-class professions as doctors, entrepreneurs, teachers or lawyers, and they appeared to have no fear of unemployment, unless they were specifically asked. If the possibility of not getting a job was suggested, they mentioned that they might have a short period of unemployment right after graduation, but that it wouldn't last for long. However, when asking young people to list their main future concerns in the questionnaire, the threat of unemployment was mentioned both on a personal and on a national level. They also said to the interviewer that they would travel abroad, but not to stay there. When the interviewer touched on the possibility of living abroad, they said that perhaps a short period of foreign experience was needed for their career, but after that most of the interviewees would return home (for similar results, see e.g. Saarela 1998).

The values and attitudes in these images can be seen as deriving from the "model of the good life", the expectations and values of the 1950s and 1960s, which was the goal towards which their own parents and grandparents struggled. These values, preferences and attitudes arose from the concept of the modern era and industrialism. Thus also young people's pictures of what happy life and success is about were still based on the same values, preferences and evaluations as that of their parents' and grandparents'. (For similar results, see also Lähteenmaa & Siurala 1991, 203-210.)

When the young people described the future of their society and the world in general, the images grew more frightening. The big problems on a global level became evident. They spoke of the possibility of war, either on a national or on a global level, of nuclear catastrophes, of huge numbers of refugees wandering around Europe, and of growing crime and violence. In their open answers they wrote about eco-catastrophes and pollution, of extreme hunger, especially in the developing world, and of global diseases like AIDS which spread without limits.

Surprisingly, however, very few mentioned the possibilities of networking and computers, let alone information highways, etc. In a way it seems that the new media and the computerized world were taken for granted. These images, and the value structures behind them, derived from the post-modern concept and they reflect the present late-industrial phase that is dealing with the world level problematic, globalization, networking, information technology and so on.

When the young people were asked about their ideas of how they themselves can affect the future, 65-90 per cent thought that they can affect their own future through their decisions and by doing well at school. The youngest age group of comprehensive school students indicated the lowest, and the oldest group, vocational students, the highest level of belief. However, when it comes to the future of their society, approximately 1/3 of the girls and 1/4 of the boys thought that they could not have any say at all in what happens. Finally, nearly 90% of the young people did not think that they could affect anything at all on a global level. On the other hand, a great majority of all young people said that they would want to affect the future of their society and the global future. Their willingness to influence (the feeling of responsibility) was strong, but they did not seem to find the "traditional" ways of participating in the processes of a democratic society useful, influential enough or reliable (for young Finnish people's attitudes towards voting and citizen rights, see, e.g., Saarela 1998).

The theme interviews showed a tendency towards confusion in the situation when these images were confronted: the respondents had never thought about how it would be possible to build this happy life they dreamed about in a world that would be as full of destruction as the one they had just described. The optimistic image of one's own personal future that is built on hopes and dreams, did not have anything to do with the pessimistic visions of the future of one's environment and the world, built on the material that the media and also school education provides.

Firstly, the mass media concentrates mainly on global problems and disasters, not on achievements and possibilities, and this message has fallen on fertile ground among young people. Secondly, during the last ten to fifteen years, environmental concern, the concept of sustainable development and ecological awareness have been introduced in school education as a penetrating principle (see, e.g., Board of Education 1994 a, b, c.) This development emerges in the changing attitudes of young people, both in Finland and elsewhere (see, e.g., Ministry of the Environment 1995; Hutchinson 1996).

One's image of the future, however, is one of the decisive factors in his/her decision-making and ways to react to the challenges of the present. It can be argued that the ideas and visions of the future a person has more or less determine his/her present state of mind, and through that, his/her decision-making abilities and choices of action (see, e.g., Inayatullah 1993). In this way, the images of the future are closely linked to the concept of life management. If there is a large gap between the images -- in this research, they were contradictory and there was no continuity between them -- this fact itself can cause a dilemma. A similar source of problems was that neither the images of personal happiness nor the images of national and global misery were realistic.

It seems that the personal images of one's future were built more on hopes and dreams of happiness than on the consideration of realistic possibilities. Similarly, the images of the future of one's country or the global future were built on wide, but shallow information on global threats. This can also be seen as a manifestation of late-modernity -- a difficulty to see or recognize what is realistic and truly achievable for an individual among all possible futures, and/or to explore one's personal capacities and abilities and confront them with the possibilities that society provides in the future.

3. Strategies for coping in transition

Eventually, a young person will inevitably discover that his/her image of personal happiness cannot be made true as such in the changing world and in these times of transition. Sooner or later he/she will face the fact that his/her images of the future are not possible to be set as a goal in life, and that in order to cope, he/she either has to change the image or he/she will get into a state of confusion. Most young people probably solve this problem by changing the images and expectations for more realistic ones and then reform their plans in such a way that it is possible to gain what is needed for a happy and successful life. However, there is also the minority that cannot do this, and this minority cannot necessarily be traced by the phenomena which traditionally carry a social risk -- the disadvantaged or underprivileged young people (see, e.g., Bynner 1997). The respondents of this research were chosen among those who go to school and study -- they were not any more vulnerable to exclusion or marginalization than the average young Finnish person.

The main concern here is that according to their contradictory images of the future, the obsolete picture of what good and successful life looks like, and the feelings of the lacking abilities to affect the future of society and the environment, there also seems to be a danger among some "privileged" young people to drop out, to lose hope, or turn to life strategies that are not good, social or sustainable in the long run (see also Chisholm 1997). This minority might end up in a state that emerges in at least four patterns of behavior, or strategies for coping, which can also lead to, in the end, marginalization, exclusion or self-exclusion.

Firstly, according to this research (Rubin 1998a), there seems to be a tendency among some respondents to give up when faced with a future that seems only to bring deepening global problems and disasters. Instead, many choose to have fun now as long as it is possible and not to care about the future or to make decisions. This attitude appears also as a tendency to what is regarded in public discussion as a seemingly indifferent attitude towards common social issues, or as young people's lack of responsibility. (Furlong & Cartmel 1997, 96-108.)

Secondly, this confusion might lead to problems in building one's life-strategies and abilities for coping (e.g. Nurmi 1989). This can bring about anti-social behavior and carelessness or neglect to one's own health and welfare, like e.g. skipping school or dropping out permanently, using alcohol and/or drugs in a heedless and indifferent way, or knowingly not protecting oneself in sexual relations. Also some psychosomatic symptoms and patterns of behavior might be partly explainable this way, e.g., the growth of eating problems and depression among young people.

The third kind of reaction is to turn towards "the good old days", to take a strong stand against all changes, people and phenomena which seem to signal the transition, and instead search for somebody else to be blamed for one's oppressive feelings, life conditions, and lack of possibilities and visions. Joining groups like skin-heads or neo-nazis, taking up with racist groups and neo-Fascist ideals, etc., can be seen as deriving from this kind of a life strategy. (See, e.g., Lähteenmaa 1991; Puuronen 1998.)

A fourth way to react comes out as the need to find groups or organizations which would give a person a feeling of discipline and order, strict rules and help to draw steady and clear lines between what is right and wrong, good and evil. An interest in new cults and religious fundamentalism on the one hand, and Satanism, violent ecology groups like the animal liberation front, etc. on the other, may be

symptoms of this search. All of these provide their followers with a rigorous set of rules and norms.

It can be considered also, whether the success of role-playing, LARPing, and perhaps also computer games, etc., indicate a tendency for coping in transition. A late-modern way of life requires new abilities, and the identity of a young person has to be more flexible and ready for changes in the social environment than before. This calls for a need to learn to adopt different roles and characteristics, an ability for rapid responses and reactions, productivity and also skills to act and work in a group. Role-playing may be an excellent teacher in requiring those life management skills.

4. A call for more flexible and open approaches

The compulsory education system that is largely still based on the needs and requirements of modernity, seems to fall short of providing everyone with what they need for coping in the changing world and late-modern society. Paakkunainen (1998, 143) remarks that the traditional modes of participation, as they existed in the 1970s and 1980s and which were based on (political) organizations, parliamentarianism (Youth Council) and local action (youth committees), no longer respond to the needs of today's society. In the transition described above, in which young people might find themselves lacking life-management skills, society and education should develop new approaches to tackle these problems.

However, there is no need to forget that the role and practice of education and youth work are in the process of changing from social control and socialization to more liberating and empowering models and ideals (Williamson 1997), but somehow this change seems very painful and takes a long time. This is perhaps due to the fact that one of the characteristics of this present transition is that the contents, ideals, aims and everyday practices of social institutions -- such as education, or youth work -- identify the needs of change and react to them more rapidly than their structures -- in these cases, school and youth work organizations -- that are still stuck with their forms, administrative laws, norms and directions, hierarchies, and especially power interests of the people who run them (Rubin 1997).

Mentoring, tutoring and peer education have been identified by many young people and youth workers as very welcome new approaches to help young people -- not only those who are vulnerable to marginalization and exclusion in its traditional meaning, but also the so-called privileged young people (see above) -- with their coping and taking their lives in their own hands. These models and community-based support networks which back up young people at school help them become integrated into the employment sector and assist them in combating mental health, drug and alcohol problems.

These models and networks are alternatives to the route of helping young people to get qualifications outside the traditional education process. They include learning-by-doing programs and systems where children from families, that can provide them only with little support for education, are supported so that they do not necessarily end up in jobs that require little or no education. Willis (1994) describes how it is almost impossible for this kind of young people to make a choice other than the traditional route, and similar results were also found in Finland (Ahola 1995; Käyhkö & Tuupanen 1997).

As an example introducing something new for the young people, a community theatre, organized by and for young people, has been set up in Leeds, UK. The effects of programs like this can be multiple. The community may improve in a

therapeutic way, bringing different parts of it together and breaking down barriers which may have divided them. The young people may also profit socially and this activity has a positive psychological effect: the younger members of the community can identify their own needs and feel that they are taking part in something constructive. They can also feel part of an integrated community: they have the chance to take part in something that is benefiting also others than just themselves. Moreover, young people also tend to learn more from each other than from adults. Thus in a system of peer education, where the educators come from the same background as the young people, their advice has proven useful.

This idea comes close to the idea of what citizenship in contemporary societies could mean. Firstly, according to Williamson (1997), citizenship is not only about participation, but also a state where everyone can have real capacities for participation -- the practical abilities to exercise citizenship rights, be they civil, political or social. This provision of social rights means providing the material and cultural conditions for social inclusion and participation in the recreation of the society. Secondly, citizenship is composed of both social rights and social duties of an individual in order to "establish shared moral responsibilities and a sense of mutuality" ... "based on practical endeavors to re-connect local people," as Williamson said (1997, 200). Thirdly, democratic citizenship should be directed to the social development of all members of society, including young people.

Models other than those mentioned here exist within the European Union and elsewhere, and the call for greater co-operation within the international community could go some way to help tackle the dilemma.

5. *Scientific independent research and empowerment evaluation*

In otherwise successful youth projects, there are two big problems: firstly, once the winding-down process of a project is in effect, the conditions that were prevalent amongst the youth concerned before the project become apparent once more. This is unfortunately the final result of many well-meaning youth projects, since too often there is no follow-up. Secondly, it seems that the distribution of useful knowledge that is based on the experiences and findings of these youth projects -- not only to decision-makers, but also to those in charge of other similar projects -- is also very problematic.

Because of the lack of an effective follow-up, no one seems interested in the lives and situations of the former participants anymore when the project is over and the reports have been written and distributed. After being left on one's own like this, it might be much more difficult to get these young people interested and motivated in doing anything new anymore and one is not really able to blame them -- they have learned their lesson and lost their belief in any endeavor of this kind.

The main purpose of a follow-up strategy and study should not solely be to provide material for projects. It could also be used to great effect in order to provide a research opportunity for analysis of the results and a critical evaluation of the processes employed in the project. A better planned, more cohesive and in-depth follow-up program is essential, if both the positive and negative outcomes of the projects as a whole are to be capitalized upon. It appears that this is basically lacking and it makes the effort of the project planners and the young people involved inconsequential. It is clear from the evidence, that a more critical analysis of the conduct and results of different youth projects is necessary, as is a more scientific follow-up for projects, which will be carried out by independent bodies.

The follow-up strategy should be included as a fundamental part of the original project plan, and it should include long-term evaluation of the projects. By long-term projects the authors mean, that the follow-up could legitimately be carried out for up to fifteen years after the practical conclusion of the program. In addition, it would be beneficial for the project participants, if independent, objective bodies carried out the follow-up evaluation. One of the most important aspects of the evaluation should include the opinions, feelings and wishes of the young people themselves. This process has been dubbed 'empowerment evaluation'.

According to Fetterman et al. (1996), empowerment evaluation has been developing in the USA over the last ten years and it has primarily been employed in drug, health, rural development and youth projects. The main idea is that no 'outsider' is able to empower the local actor. Instead, the target group or individuals can only do the job themselves. The target group produces the evaluation criteria, which is used in the research. The aim is to develop the target group and the individuals' ability to empower themselves, by supporting participation and therefore going some way to achieving democracy.

Within empowerment evaluation, qualitative and quantitative methods are combined to develop tools for self-evaluation among individuals, communities, organizations and cultures. It has been determined that the young people involved in the projects not only wish to be included in the evaluation of the projects, but also that, according to the principles of citizenship (Williamson 1997), they have a legitimate right to be involved, and they are both willing and able to do so. This should be seen as an essential part of the follow-up.

It has been discovered on several occasions that the same research is being replicated in more than one place. In many cases, the same basic groundwork and background research would not be necessary to be carried out over and over again in different projects. If the people who conduct these projects are not aware of each other, a lot of resources is being wasted.

One problem is how to disseminate information provided by the projects to the policy makers and how to share the results. How to influence decision-makers and national policy with the results should be considered as part of every project plan. However, social policy in general -- especially that, which deals with youth unemployment -- and education policy, should benefit from research and actual practical results of different projects.

Yet another problem altogether is that there is a universal difficulty in finding people who are able to carry out or coordinate the research necessary in these projects.

One way to overcome at least some of the problems stated above would be to build effective research and project networks on a European level. They should include both project personnel, researchers and research institutions, evaluators and decision-making bodies both on local, national and international (EU) level, such as ministries, social security offices and boards of education and employment. Through the use of these networks, the problem of distributing knowledge could be eradicated and the programs could be made more evaluative, and perhaps also more effective. This would also give a channel for the young people themselves to get their voice heard in issues that deal directly with their life situation. It might also be of help in finding and recruiting people with experience and interest in research and practical youth projects throughout the continent.

References

- Albee, G. W. & Gullotta, T. P. (eds.) (1997) *Primary Prevention Works. Issues in Children's and Families' Lives Series, Vol. 6.* Sage: London.
- Anttila, A. (1998) *Kuilun yli kunnialla. Vertaiskasvatuksen ja mentoroinnin mahdollisuuksista tukea nuorten siirtymistä koulusta työelämään.* [Creditable Leap Over the Abyss. The Possibilities of Peer Education and Mentoring in Supporting a Young Person's Transition from School to Work. University of Oulu. Faculty of Education. Department of Behavioral Sciences. Graduate Thesis. Unpublished. In Finnish.]
- Ahola, S. (1995) *Eliitin yliopistosta massojen korkeakoulutukseen. Korkeakoulutuksen muuttuva asema yhteiskunnallisen valikoinnin järjestelmänä.* [From Elite to Mass Higher Education. Changing Structures of Selection in Finnish Higher Education. Research Unit for the Sociology of Education. Reports 30. University of Turku.]
- Back, L. (1996) *New Ethnicities and Urban Culture. Racisms and Multiculture in Young Lives.* UCL Press: London.
- Baker, M. & Elias, P. (1991) *Youth Unemployment and Work Histories.* In: Dex, S. (ed.) *Life and Work History Analyses: Qualitative and Quantitative Developments.* Routledge: London.
- Bauman, R. (1986) *Story, Performance and Event. Contextual Studies of Oral Narrative.* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Beck, U., Giddens, A. & Lash S. (1994) *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Esthetics in the Modern Social Order.* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Board of Education (1994a) *Peruskoulun opetussuunnitelmatyön perusteet.* [Basics of the Curriculum Working in Comprehensive Schools. Publication Series of the Board of Education. Helsinki. In Finnish.]
- Board of Education (1994b) *Lukion opetussuunnitelmatyön perusteet.* [Basics of the Curriculum Working in High-schools. Publication Series of the Board of Education. Helsinki. In Finnish.]
- Board of Education (1994c) *Ammatillisen koulutuksen opetussuunnitelmauudistus.* [Renovation of the Curriculum Working of Occupational Education. Publication Series of the Board of Education. Helsinki. In Finnish.]
- Bourdieu, P. & Passeron J-C. (1977) *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture.* R. Nice (trans.) Sage Studies in Social and Educational Change, Vol. 5. Sage: London.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990) *In Other Words. Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology.* M. Adamson (trans.) Polity Press: Cambridge.
- Burt, R.S., Wiley, J.A., Minor, M.J. & Murray, J.R. (1978) *Structure of Well-being: Form, Content and Stability Over Time.* *Sociological Methods and Research* 8, 111—120.
- Bynner, J. (1997) *Agenda for Youth Research in the Next Century: A British perspective.* *Young* 5 (4), December 1997, 34—49.
- Böhm, I. & Schneider, J. (1996) *Productive Learning – An Educational Opportunity for Young People in Europe.* Milow: Berlin.
- Chisholm, L. (1997) *Sensibilities and Occlusions: Vulnerable Youth Between Social Change and Cultural Context.* In: Bynner, J., Chisholm, L. and Furlong, A. (eds.) *Youth Citizenship and Social Change in a European Context.* Ashgate Publishing: Hants and Vermont, 103—118.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1990) *Flow: The Psychology of Optimal Experience.* Harper & Row: New York.

- Deakin, N., Davis, A. & Thomas, N. (1995) *Public Welfare Services and Social Exclusion: The Development of Consumer-oriented Initiatives in the European Union*. Office for Official Publications of the European Communities: Luxembourg.
- Dietz, M. L., Prus R. & Shaffir W. (eds.) (1994) Introduction in Chapter 2.1: Getting Involved: Initial Involvements, Continuities, Disinvolvements, and Reinvolve-ments. In: Dietz, M. L., Prus, R. & Shaffir W. (eds.) *Doing Everyday Life: Ethnography as Human Lived Experience*. Copp Clark Longman: Mississauga, Ont., 63—65.
- Dogan, M. & Pahre, R. (1990) *Creative Marginality: Innovation at the Intersections of Social Sciences*. Westview Press: Boulder.
- European Opinions of Poverty and Social Exclusion. (1995) Themes 4. National Research and Development Center for Welfare and Health. Helsinki.
- Fernandez, J. W. (1986) *Persuasions and Performances. The Play of Tropes in Culture*. Indiana University Press: Bloomington, Ind..
- Fetterman, D. M., Kaftarian, S. J. & Wandersaman, A. (eds.) (1996) *Empowerment Evaluation*.
- Finnish Labor Review (1997/1) Ministry of Labor. Helsinki.
- Furlong, A. & Cartmel, F. (1997) *Young People and Social Change. Individualization and Risk in Late Modernity*. Open University Press: Buckingham and Bristol.
- Geyer, R. F. (1980) *Alienation Theories. A General Systems Approach*. Pergamon Press: Oxford.
- Goffman, E. (1990) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Penguin Books: Harmondsworth.
- Halonen, P. & Karvonen, T. (1998) *Naisten vapaaehtoinen asepalvelus. Naisten palvelukseen hakeutumisen syyt, odotukset ja asenteiden muutokset. [Voluntary Military Service of the Women. The Reasons, Expectations and Changes in Attitudes Within the Recruitment to Service. University of Oulu. Faculty of Education. Department of Behavioral Sciences. Graduate Thesis. Unpublished. In Finnish.]*
- Hammarström, A. (1994) Health Consequences of Youth Unemployment. *Public Health* 108, 403—412.
- Hammer, T. (1992) Unemployment and Use of Drug and Alcohol Among Young People: A Longitudinal Study in the General Population. *British Journal of Addiction* 87, 1571—1581.
- Hammer, T. (1993) Unemployment and Mental Health Among Young People: A Longitudinal Study. *Journal of Adolescence* 16, 407—420.
- Hammer, T. (1996) Consequence of Unemployed in the Transition from Youth to Adulthood in a Life Course Perspective. *Youth & Society* 27 (4), 450-468.
- Hobsbawm, E. & Ranger, T. (eds.) (1983) *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press: New York.
- Hokkanen, P. & Nevalainen, T. (1998) "Minä nyt elän tätä päivää ja sitte huomenna on seuraava". Koulukotinuoren tulevaisuuden perspektiivi. ["I Just By the Day and Then Tomorrow is the Next". Community Home Youngster's Future Perspective. University of Oulu. Faculty of Education. Department of Behavioral Sciences. Graduate Thesis. Unpublished. In Finnish.]
- Hutchinson, F. P. (1996) *Educating Beyond Violent Futures*. Routledge: London & New York.

- Ihatsu, M. & Ruoho, K. (1997) Ammatillisen syrjäytymisen lähteillä. Opettajien käsityksiä ammatillisissa oppilaitoksissa esiintyvistä käyttäytymisongelmista. In: Ruoho, K. & Ihatsu, M. (eds.) Kasvatuksellisia ja kuntoutuksellisia katsauksia nuorten syrjäytymiseen. [In Search of the Roots of Vocational Exclusion. Behavioral Disorders in Vocational Schools from the Perspective of Teachers. In: Ruoho, K. & Ihatsu, M. (eds.) Educational and Rehabilitational Views to the Social Exclusion of the Youth. The Ministry of Education. Advisory Council for Youth Affairs (NUORA) Publications of NUORA 4/1997. Mannerheim League for Child Welfare. Helsinki. 25—45. Abstract in English.]
- Ilves, K. (1998) Stadi ja sen nuoret. Nuorisotyötä Helsingissä 1948—1997. [City and its Youth. Youthwork in Helsinki 1948—1997. City of Helsinki. Center for Youth Affairs. Edita: Helsinki.]
- Inayatullah, S. (1993) From 'Who Am I?' to 'When Am I?' Framing the Shape and Time of the Future. *Futures* (April), 235-253.
- Jahnukainen, M. (1996) Lisäluokka siltana tulevaisuuteen. Vantaan kymppiopettajatutkimus 1996—2000. [Additional Class as a Bridge to Future. Tenth Grade Research 1996—2000, Vol 1. Vantaa City Office of Educational Affairs. Publications 1.]
- Jahnukainen, M. (1997) Koulun varjosta aikuisuuteen. Entisten tarkkailuoppilaiden peruskoulun jälkeiset elämänvaiheet. [From the Shadow of the School to Adulthood. Post-school Adjustment and Life-course of Students Who Have Attended Special Classes for the Emotionally and Behaviorally Disordered. University of Helsinki. Research Reports 182. Academic Dissertation. Abstract in English.]
- Jehoel-Gijsbers, G. & Groot, W. (1989) Unemployed Youth: A Lost Generation? *Work, Employment & Society* 3 (4), 491-508.
- Jordan, B. (1996) *A Theory of Poverty and Social Exclusion*. Polity Press: Cambridge.
- Kajava, M. (1997) The Welfare of the Child in the Process of Taking into Care. Research on Cases of Taking into Care Without the Parents' Consent. Department of Behavioral Sciences. University of Oulu. Acta Universitatis Ouluensis, Series E, Scientiae Rerum Socialium 26. Oulu University Press. Academic Dissertation. Abstract in English.
- Kallunki, A. & Kangaskesti, A. (1996) "Jokkainen rakentaa sen tien sitte ite". Tutkimus yhdeksän oululaisnuoren koulun keskeyttämisestä ja suhtautumisesta koulutukseen. ["Everybody's Gotta Make His Own Way". A Study of a School Drop Out and Attitudes Towards Education of a Nine Adolescent's in Oulu. University of Oulu. Faculty of Education. Department of Behavioral Sciences. Graduate Thesis. Unpublished. In Finnish.]
- Kiljala, S. (1997) Maahanmuuttajat opintiellä – kulttuurit kohtaavat ammatillisessa koulutuksessa. [Immigrants on the Way of Schooling – The Cultures Meet at the Occupational Education. University of Oulu. Faculty of Education. Department of Behavioral Sciences. Graduate Thesis. Unpublished. In Finnish.]
- Kimball, S. T. (1974) *Culture and the Educative Process. An Anthropological Perspective*. Teachers College Press: New York.
- Kivirauma, J. (1995) Koulun varjossa. Entiset tarkkailuoppilaat kertovat koulukokemuksiaan. [In the Shadow of the School. Former Special Education Pupils Tell About Their School Experiences. Department of Special Education. Research Reports 53. University of Jyväskylä.]
- Kronqvist, E-L. (1996) Identiteetin kehitys kaksikulttuurisessa kontekstissa – tutkimus saksalais-suomalaisten nuorten identiteetistä. [The Development of Identity in Bicultural Context – A Study on the Identity of the German-Finnish Youth. University of Oulu. Faculty of Education. Department of Behavioral Sciences. Licentiate Thesis. Unpublished. In Finnish.]

- Kuorelahti M. (1997) Luokkamuotoisen erityisopetuksen tuloksellisuus. Sopeutumattomat oppilaat, vanhemmat, opettajat ja rehtorit arvioivat. [Efficiency and Effectiveness in Special Classes for Students with Emotional/Behavioral Disorders. University of Jyväskylä, Department of Special Education.]
- Käyhkö, M. & Tuupanen, P. (1997) A Life History Approach to Social Reproduction – Educational Choices Among Young Working Class Finns. *Young 5* (1, February), 39–54.
- Laapio, M-L. (1994) Vietnamilaisnuori kasvatuskulttuurien yhteentörmäyksessä. Kvalitatii-vinen tutkimus vietnamilaisesta kasvatusperinteestä Joensuussa. [Vietnamese Youth in Collision of Educational Cultures. Qualitative Research on Vietnamese Educational Tradition in Joensuu. University of Joensuu. Faculty of Education. Graduate Thesis. Unpublished. In Finnish.]
- Laukkanen, R. & Lindström, A. (1996) A Comprehensive Evaluation of Special Education in Finland. National Board of Education. Helsinki.
- Linnakylä, P. (1996) Quality of School Life in the Finnish Comprehensive School: A Comparative View. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research* 40 (1), 69–85.
- Lynch, L. (1985) State Dependency in Youth Unemployment. A Lost Generation? *Journal of Econometrics* 28 (April), 72–84.
- Lynch, J. (1986) *Multicultural Education: Principles and Practice*. Routledge and Kegan Paul: London.
- Lynch, L. (1989) The Youth Labor Market in the Eighties: Determinants of Re-employment Probabilities for Young Men and Women. *Review of Economics and Statistics* 71 (1), 37–45.
- Lähteenmaa, J. (1991) Näkyvä nuorisokulttuuri – 50-luvulta tämän päivän ilmiöihin. In: Lähteenmaa, J. & Siurala, L. (eds.) *Nuoret ja muutos*. [Visible Youth Culture – From the 50's to Today's Phenomena. In: Lähteenmaa, J. & Siurala, L. (eds.) *Young People and Change*. Statistics Center of Finland & The Finnish Youth Research Society. *Studies* 177. Hakapaino: Helsinki, 93–103.]
- Lähteenmaa, J. & Siurala, L. (1991) *Nuoret ja muutos*. [Young People and Change. Statistics Center of Finland & The Finnish Youth Research Society. *Studies* 177. Hakapaino: Helsinki.]
- MacAloon, J. J. (ed.) (1984) *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle. Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance*. Philadelphia Institute for the Study of Human Issues: Philadelphia.
- Matilainen, K. & Pelkonen, R. (1998) Joka neljännellä ammattiin opiskelevalla heikko lukutaito. [Every Fourth Who Are in Occupational Training Have Weak Skill of Reading. *Opettaja* 12, 16–18. In Finnish.]
- Murto, P. (1997) *Kuntouttava integraatio*. Kasvatuksellinen kuntoutus vammaista oppilasta tukemassa. [Rehabilitative Integration. Educational Rehabilitation in Supporting the Disabled Young Student. University of Oulu. Faculty of Education. Department of Behavioral Sciences. Licentiate Thesis. Unpublished. In Finnish.]
- Mäkelä, U. (1998) *Yläastelainen ja koulu*. Koulussa viihtyminen ja koulun merkitys. [Upper Level Comprehensive School Pupil and School. School Satisfaction and Meaning of the School. University of Oulu. Faculty of Education. Department of Behavioral Sciences. Graduate Thesis. Unpublished. In Finnish.]
- Norris, N. (1990) *Understanding Educational Evaluation*. Kogan Page: London.
- Nurmi, J. (1989) Adolescent' Orientation to the Future. Development of Interests and Plans, and Related Attributions and Affects, in the Life-Span Context. *The Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters. Commentationes Scientiarum Socialium* 39. Helsinki.

- Nygren-Nieminen, M. (1997) "Nuoruus on etsimistä" – ammattioppilaitoksessa opiskelevien nuorten ammatillisen identiteetin tarkastelua. ["Youth is a Quest" – Examining the Occupational Identity of the Young Students in Vocational Education Institution. University of Oulu. Faculty of Education. Department of Behavioral Sciences. Graduate Thesis. Unpublished. In Finnish.]
- Offord, D. R., Poushinsky, M. F. & Sullivan, K. (1978) School Performance, IQ and Delinquency. *British Journal of Criminology* 18 (2), 110—127.
- Onatsu-Arvilommi, T. P. & Nurmi, J-E. (1997) Family Background and Problems at School and in Society – The Role of Family Composition, Emotional Atmosphere and Parental Education. *European Journal of Psychology of Education* 12, 315—330.
- Paakkunainen, K. (1998) Commodification and Professionalisation of Youth Policy. In: Helve, H. (ed.) *Unification and Marginalization of Young People. Youth Research 2000 Programme.* The Finnish Youth Research Society. Hakapaino: Helsinki, 136—150.
- Pedersen, W. (1996) Marginalitetens reproduksjon. *Tidsskrift for Samfunnsforskning* 37, 3—27.
- Pehkonen, A. (1997) Miksi? Kriittinen reflektio ja kommunikatiivisen toiminnan piirteet opiskelutoiminnassa. Opiskelunsa päättäneiden sairaanhoitajien käsityksiä kommunikatiivisen toiminnan ja kriittisen reflektion mahdollistumisesta opiskeluaikana. [Why? Critical Reflection and the Features of Communicative Action in Studies. The Trained Nurses' Ideas on the Possible Existence of Communicative Action and Critical Reflection During the Nurse Training Program. University of Oulu. Faculty of Education. Department of Behavioral Sciences. Graduate Thesis. Unpublished. In Finnish.]
- Peltola, U. (1997) Lastenkotilapsi – koulu. Lastenkotilapsen koulukokemuksia, -toiveita ja -odotuksia syrjäytymisteeman valossa. [Children's Home Child – School. Children's Home Child's School Experiences, Wishes and Expectations in the Light of Social Exclusion Theme. Department of Teacher Education Oulu. Graduate Thesis. Unpublished. In Finnish.]
- Piri, M. (1996) Johdanto lukuun 4. Käytännön toimintaprojektien esittelyä. In: Siljander, P. & Ulvinen, V-M. (eds.) *Syrjäytymisestä selviytymiseen – vaikeuksien kautta elämäntaitaan.* [Introduction in Chapter 4. Demonstrations of the Action Projects in Practice. In: P. Siljander & V-M. Ulvinen (eds.) *From Social Exclusion to Survival – The Development From Life Difficulties to Life Control.* University of Oulu. Faculty of Education. Teaching Stencils and Reports 66/1996, 112—115. In Finnish.]
- Prus, R. (1994) Approaching the Study of Human Group Life: Symbolic Interaction and Ethnographic Inquiry. In: Dietz, M. L., Prus, R. & Shaffir W. (eds.) *Doing Everyday Life: Ethnography as Human Lived Experience.* Copp Clark Longman: Mississauga, Ont., 10—29.
- Purola, H. (1997) "Sitä on vain selvitävä päivä kerrallaan" – Ammattikorkeakoulun opettajien kokemuksia työssä jaksamisesta. ["You've Just Gotta Survive Day by Day" – The Polytechnic Institute Teachers' Experiences on Coping with Work. University of Oulu. Faculty of Education. Department of Behavioral Sciences. Graduate Thesis. Unpublished. In Finnish.]
- Puuronen, V. (1998) Marginalization and Youth Sub-cultures. In: Helve, H. (ed.) *Unification and Marginalization of Young People. Youth Research 2000 Programme.* The Finnish Youth Research Society. Hakapaino: Helsinki, 161—171.
- Raivola, R. (1990) Koulutuksen vaikuttavuuden problematiikasta. In: Lehtisalo, L. (eds.) *Vaikuttaako koulutus.* [About the Difficulties of Evaluating the Effectiveness of Education. In: Lehtisalo, L. (eds.) *Does Education Influence.* Helsinki: Valtion painatuskeskus.]
- Rifkin, J. (1997) *The End of Work: The Decline of the Global Labor Force and the Dawn of the Post-Market Era.* WSOY: Helsinki.

- Riggins, S. H. (ed.) (1997) *The Language and Politics of Exclusion: Others in Discourse*. Sage: Thousand Oaks, Calif.
- Rinne, R. (1997) Koulutus ja työ jälkimodernissa yhteiskunnassa. [Education and Work in Postmodern Society. *Kasvatus – The Finnish Journal of Education* 28 (5), 450 - 461. Abstract in English.]
- Roberts, K. (1995) *Youth and Employment in Modern Britain*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Roseberry, W. (1992) Multiculturalism and the Challenge of Anthropology. *Social Research* 59 (4), 841—858.
- Rubin, A. (1997) Arvot ja murros. In Huopainen, R. (ed.) *Tulevaisuuden museossa*. [Values and Transition. In: Huopainen, R. (ed.) *In the Museum of the Future*. Museovirasto: Helsinki, 9—19.]
- Rubin, A. (1998a) *The Images of the Future of Young Finnish People*. University of Turku. Department of Sociology. Licentiate thesis. Unpublished.
- Rubin, A. (1998b) The Future and Finnish Youth. Personal hopes and global fears. In Helve, H. (ed.) *Unification and Marginalization of Young People*. Youth Research 2000 Programme. The Finnish Youth Research Society. Hakapaino: Helsinki, 222—234.
- Saarela, P. (1998) *Youth Barometer 1998/1*. Nuora Publications No. 7. Ministry of Education. Helsinki.
- Salminen, J. (1996) Miten ammatilliset oppilaitokset toteuttavat erityisopetusta? In: Blom, H., Laukkanen, R., Lindström, A., Saresma, U. & Virtanen, P. (eds.) *Erityisopetuksen tila*. [How The Occupational Schools are Making Special Education? In: Blom, H., Laukkanen, R., Lindström, A., Saresma, U. & Virtanen, P. (eds.) *Situation of Special Education*. Opetushallituksen arviointi 2. In Finnish.]
- Santamäki-Vuori, T. & Sauramo, P. (1995) Nuorten työttömyys Suomessa vuosina 1993—94. [Youth Unemployment in Finland in 1993—1994. *Studies in Labor Policy* 107. Ministry of Labor. Helsinki.]
- Schacht, R. (1971) *Alienation*. With an Introductory Essay by Walter Kaufmann. George Allen & Unwin: London.
- Sibley, D. (1995) *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West*. Routledge: London.
- Siljander, P. & Ulvinen, V-M. (eds.) (1996) *Syrjäytymisestä selviytymiseen – vaikeuksien kautta elämänhallintaan*. [From Social Exclusion to Survival – The Development From Life Difficulties to Life Control. University of Oulu. Faculty of Education. Teaching Stencils and Reports 66. In Finnish.]
- Siurala, L. (1994) *Nuoriso-onglemat modernisaatioperspektiivissä*. [Problems of the Youth From the Point of View of Modernisation. City of Helsinki. Publications 3.]
- Social Exclusion in Europe*. (1995) Themes 2. National Research and Development Center for Welfare and Health. Helsinki.
- Social Exclusion: A Major Challenge for Public Welfare Services*. (1996) European Conference Report. Santiago de Compostela, 18—20 October 1995. Office for Official Publications of the European Communities: Luxembourg.
- Ulvinen, V-M. (1993) Does Being Labelled Deviant at School Mean Displacement in Society? *Nuorisotutkimus – The Finnish Journal of Youth Research* 11 (2), 18—27. Abstract in English.
- Ulvinen, V-M. (1994) From Cultural Education to Student Culture: Anthropology, Multiculturalism and School World. *Kasvatus – The Finnish Journal of Education* 25 (5), 510—517. Abstract in English.

- Ulvinen, V-M. (1996) The Educational Regions of Prison Life in a Setting Provided with Objectives of Correctional Treatment – Pictures at an Inhibition? Department of Behavioral Sciences. University of Oulu. Acta Universitatis Ouluensis, Series E, Scientiae Rerum Socialium 22. Oulu University Press. Academic Dissertation. Abstract in English.
- Ulvinen, V-M. (1997) Nuorten yhteisöt ja elämänhallinnan problematiikat. In: Ruoho, K. & Ihatsu, M. (eds.) Kasvatuksellisia ja kuntoutuksellisia katsauksia nuorten syrjäytymiseen. [The Youth Communities and the Problem of Life Control. In: Ruoho, K. & Ihatsu, M. (eds.) Educational and Rehabilitational Views to the Social Exclusion of the Youth. The Ministry of Education. Advisory Council for Youth Affairs (NUORA) Publications of NUORA 4/1997. Mannerheim League for Child Welfare. Helsinki. 9—24. Abstract in English.]
- Ulvinen, V-M. (ed.) (1998a) Lasten ja nuorten syrjäytymistä koskevan tutkimuksen mahdollisuudet [Possibilities of the Research on Social Exclusion of the Children and Youth. The Ministry of Education. Advisory Council for Youth Affairs (NUORA) Publications of NUORA 6/1998. Mannerheim League for Child Welfare. Helsinki. In Finnish.]
- Ulvinen, V-M. (1998b) Prison Life and Alienation. In: Kalekin-Fishman, D. (ed.) Designs for Alienation: Exploring Diverse Realities. SoPhi, University of Jyväskylä: Saarijärvi, 246—266.
- Vaherva, T. & Juva, S. (1985) Koulutuksen talous. [The Economy of Education. Tammi: Helsinki.]
- Vandenberg, D. (1974) Phenomenology and Educational Research. In: Denton D. E. (ed.) Existentialism and Phenomenology in Education. Collected Essays. Teachers College Press: New York, 183—220.
- Veivo, L. (1997) Syrjäytymisvaarassa olevien nuorten integroituminen yhteiskuntaan AKVA intervention avulla. [Young Persons', Who are At Risk of Being Socially Excluded, Integration into Society with the Aid of AKVA Intervention. University of Oulu. Faculty of Education. Department of Behavioral Sciences. Graduate Thesis. Unpublished. In Finnish.]
- Virtanen, P. (1995) "Tomorrow Might Bring Something New..." A Study of Employing the Young Long-Term Unemployed and of the Nature of the Problematics Concerning Their Social Exclusion. Ministry of Labor. Labor Policy Studies 96. Helsinki. Abstract in English.
- Virtanen, P. (1996) The Making of a New Underclass Among the Unemployed Youth? Emerging Social Exclusion, the Mechanisms of Integration and the Need for Active and Network-Based Employment Strategies. Ministry of Labor. Labor Policy Studies 150. Helsinki.
- Vähätalo, K. (1996) Pitkäaikaistyöttömät ja lamasta selviytyminen. [Long-term Unemployment and Recovering from the Recession. Studies in Labor Policy 132. Ministry of Labor. Helsinki.]
- Williams, T. & Batten, M. (1981) The Quality of School Life. Australian Council for Educational Research: Hawthorn, Victoria.
- Williams, T & Roey, S. (1997) Consistencies in the Quality of School life. In: Binkley, M., Rust, K. & Williams, T. (eds.) Reading Literacy in an International Perspective. Collected Papers from the IEA Reading Literacy Study. National Center for Education Statistics 97 - 875. U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement.
- Williamson, H. (1997) Youth work and citizenship. In: Bynner, J., Chisholm, L and Furlong, A. (eds.) Youth Citizenship and Social Change in a European Context. Ashgate Publishing: Hants and Vermont, 196—213.
- Willis, P. (1984) Koulun penkiltä palkkatyöhön. [Learning to Labor. How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs. Gummerus: Jyväskylä.]

- Ylitalo, N. (1997) Vallan haltijat? Vallan muodot ja niiden tiedostaminen Raahe Steelin kolmella osastolla. [The Holders of Power? The Forms of Power and Awareness of Them in the Three Departments of Raahe Steel. University of Oulu. Faculty of Education. Department of Behavioral Sciences. Graduate Thesis. Unpublished. In Finnish.]
- Ympäristöministeriö (1995) Viestejä ylioppilaskokelaiden ympäristöarvostuksista. Vuoden 1993 ylioppilasaineiden sanomaa. [Messages About Evaluation of the Environment of the Candidates for the Matriculation Exams in 1993. Account 3. Ministry of the Environment.]
- Öhlund, T. (1998) Normaliseringpraktiker i det moderna samhället. En diskursanalys av åtta sociala ungdomsprojekt. Institutionen för socialt arbete. Umeå universitet. Avhandling nr 24 skriftserien. WSOY: Helsinki.

Contact addresses:

Anu Anttila, MEd
Riihikatu 21 as 3, 90140 Oulu,
FINLAND
Tel: +358-8-530 4381
Email: anuantti@paju.oulu.fi

Sari Autio
Advance-Project, Settlement
of Lievestuore
BOX 14, 41401 Lievestuore,
FINLAND
Tel: +358-14-861 266
Fax: +358-14-862 201

Miia Hänninen
Laivurinkatu 8 B 60, 20810 Turku,
FINLAND
Tel: +358-2-469 8115

Markku Ihatsu, Ed.D.
University of Joensuu
Department of Special Education
BOX 111, 80101 Joensuu, FINLAND
Tel: +358-13-2511
Fax: +358-13-251 4049
Email: markku.ihatsu@joensuu.fi

Markku Jahnukainen, Ed.D.
University of Helsinki
Teacher Education
BOX 32, 00014 University of Hel-
sinki, FINLAND
Tel: +358-40-5624012
Fax: +358-9-191 7043
Email:
markku.jahnukainen@helsinki.fi

Antero Johansson
Institute of Occupational Health
Topeliuksenkatu 41 A 4,
00250 Helsinki, FINLAND
Tel: +358-9-474 7648
Fax: +358-9-2413496
Email: antero.johansson
@occuphealth.fi

Hannu Koskela
University of Joensuu
Department of Special Education
BOX 111, 80101 Joensuu, FINLAND
Tel: +358-13-2511
Fax: +358-13-251 4590
Email: hannu.koskela@joensuu.fi

Matti Kuorelahti, MA
University of Jyväskylä
Department of Special Education
BOX 35, Fin-40351 Jyväskylä,
FINLAND
Tel: +358-14-601 623
Fax: +358-14-601 621
Email: makaku@campus.jyu.fi

Kari Nyyssölä, PhD, Researcher
University of Turku
Research Unit for the Sociology
of Education
Hämeenkatu 1, 20014 Turku,
FINLAND
Tel: +358-2-333 6522
Fax: +358-2-333 6524
Email: karnyy@utu.fi

Johanna Palovaara
Advance-Project, Settlement
of Lievestuore
BOX 14, 41401 Lievestuore,
FINLAND
Tel: +358-14-861 266
Fax: +358-14-862 201

Pia Puustelli
University of Turku
Hämeenkatu 1, 200014 University of
Turku, FINLAND
Tel: +358-2-333 6541
Fax: +358-2-3336524
Email: pia.puu@utu.fi

Anita Rubin
University of Turku
Finland Futures Research Centre
BOX 110
20521 Turku, FINLAND
Tel: +358-2- 338 3533
Fax: +358-2-233 755
Email: arubin@tukkk.fi

Kari Ruoho, Ed.D.
University of Joensuu
Department of Special Education
BOX 111, 80101 Joensuu, FINLAND
Tel: +358-13-251 2356
Fax: +358-13-251 4049
Email: kari.ruoho@joensuu.fi

Heikki Silvennoinen
University of Turku
Hämeenkatu 1, 200014 Turku,
FINLAND

Veli-Matti Ulvinen, Ed.D., Senior
Assistant
University of Oulu
Department of Behavioral Sciences
BOX 222, 90571 Oulu, FINLAND
Tel: +358-8-553 3655
Fax: +358-8-553 3600
Email: vulvinen@ktk.oulu.fi

Anu Uusitalo, MEd
Sihtikatu 6 A 19, 90520 Oulu
FINLAND
Tel: +358-8-554 3988
Email: anu.uusitalo@tiimi.merikoski.fi

Elsi Veijola
Ministry of Education
BOX 293, 00171 Helsinki, FINLAND
Tel: +358-9-134 172 75
Fax: +358-9-134 169 67
Email: elsi.veijola@minedu.fi

Jukka Vuori
Institute of Occupational Health
Topeliuksenkatu 41 A 4,
00250 Helsinki, FINLAND
Tel: +358-9-474 7206
Fax: +358-9-241 3496
Email: jukka.vuori@occuphealth.fi

Nuorisoasiain neuvottelukunnan julkaisut

1. *Saarela, Pekka*: Nuorisobarometri 1/97.
2. *Kärkkäinen, Veli-Matti*: Korkeakouluopiskelijat ja nuoret tilastojen valossa vuonna 1994.
3. *Saarela, Pekka*: Nuorisobarometri 2/97.
4. *Ruoho, Kari & Ihatsu, Markku (toim.)*: Kasvatuksellisia ja kuntoutuksellisia kat-sauksia nuorten syrjäytymiseen.
5. *Nurmela, Sakari*: Nuorten järjestökiinnittyneisyys. Yhteenvetoraportti 1998.
6. *Ulvinen, Veli-Matti (toim.)*: Lasten ja nuorten syrjäytymistä koskevan tutkimuk-sen mahdollisuudet.
7. *Saarela, Pekka*: Nuorisobarometri 1/98.
8. *Cederlöf, Petri*: Nuorisotyön yhteiskunnallinen merkitys.
9. *Saarela, Pekka*: Nuorisobarometri 2/98.
10. *Anttila, Anu & Uusitalo, Anu (toim.)*: Contemporary Marginalization and Exclu-sion of Young People - Whose Reality Counts?

Julkaisut löytyvät Nuoran www-sivuilta osoitteesta:

<http://www.minedu.fi/nuora>

ja niitä voi tiedustella Nuoran toimistosta

p. 09 –134 171.