Education in the Prevention of Social Exclusion

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**Abstract:** Social exclusion is a frequently used concept in different youth programs in the European

Union. Schools have participated in projects for the prevention of social exclusion. However, the

definition of social exclusion is still unclear and it could be used also as a stigmatising label. In this

article, the nature of social exclusion as a social phenomena and the preventive, non-stigmatising

potential of education will be discussed.

**Key Words:** social exclusion, prevention, special education

Introduction

 Concern over the welfare of children and young people is frequently voiced both in expert forums

and the media. Various programmes to foster their welfare are also being implemented by different

sectors of the government in Finland. In these contexts, the concept of social exclusion is often

used1. The process of social exclusion should be seen as linked to the operating environment in

which the individual exists or from which s/he is excluded. The risk of social exclusion exists for

individuals whose life situation includes serious risk factors for the accumulation of disadvantage,

whereas socially excluded individuals are the ones for which the risks have become a reality. In

discussing, for instance, dropping out from education in the framework of exclusion one should

specify that the concept dealt with is educational exclusion, not social exclusion per se, which is

accompanied by an accumulation of many other elements of disadvantage (such as poverty, health

problems, loneliness, drug problems) (Järvinen & Jah-nu-kai-nen, 2001). Correspondingly,

unemployment can be defined as exclusion from the labour market, which in itself is not a sufficient

condition for social exclusion.

 The prevention of the process of educational exclusion contains several levels. Certain measures

are targeted for entire age groups and thus non-stigmatising. This article deals with these several

levels and conceptually links the prevention of educational exclusion to the wider debate on social

exclusion.

Exclusion from the Societal Context

 According to Tuula Helne, “When speaking of [social] exclusion we always speak of society”

(Helne, 2002). This is a simple but crucial observation: in social exclusion talk we2 very often speak of social exclusion as a characteristic defining the individual, without paying more attention to the crucial role of the operating context in the definition. Community and its norms have a crucial role in

producing social exclusion: without community and society there is no possibility of social exclusion.

By definition, social exclusion is linked to interpersonal relationships, societal actor positions and the

values and norms defined by those representing the dominant culture in society3.

 Thus, as a concept, social exclusion is much more difficult than could be expected when looking at

the word alone (see Järvinen & Jahnukainen, 2001). As it is, social exclusion – and the prevention

(or even eradication) of exclusion – is a catchword employed particularly in projects targeted to the

young, without a more precise definition of the precise nature of the concept itself and the causal

relationships eventually linked to it. In everyday speech certain activities and expression belonging

to youth culture – and consequently regarded as marginal and deviant by adults and proponents of

middle-class lifestyle – are easily seen as characteristics linked to social exclusion on too flimsy

grounds: for instance, tattoos and piercings, heavy black metal music and recreational drug use are

matters of (life) style and cannot serve today as a basis for defining the risk of social exclusion.

Stylistic trends may be outside the mainstream (compared with the arts and the development of

different styles) and challenge the more established concepts on values, norms or aesthetics, but they

do not necessarily have any links with social exclusion in the short or the longer term. As is

suggested by Tuula Helne, the marginal actor position, being at the edge, does not yet signify being

outside (or in the excluded position); instead, ”if someone is at the edge, they are inside, at the

periphery of the centre” (Helne, 2002, 174). Deviation from the mainstream, or marginality, should

actually be distinguished from the concept of social exclusion4, which is a process and leads to a

societal actor position that is unsatisfactory from the viewpoints of both the individual and society

(Jahnukainen, 2001e; Järvinen & Jahnukainen, 2001; Helne, 2002).

Educational System and the Process of Exclusion

 Participation in, or exclusion (voluntary or involuntary) from, education is an exceptionally strong

societal signal, especially in the Finnish culture: a high value is set on acquiring as high a level of

education as possible– even as an end in itself5 – and, on the other hand, dropping out of a course of

study or being pushed to less appreciated fields of education are taken as signs of failure (see, e.g.,

Markku Vanttaja’s 2002 analyses of the “failures” of high achievers). It is the purpose of our

educational system to provide, on the basis of equal opportunity, an education that is of as high a

level as possible to as many citizens as possible. The youngest generation in particular has also been

able to utilise this opportunity to an excellent degree6.

 At the risk of overstating the case one can also say that, applied in their current target scope, the

principles of educating the entire age group and providing them with lifelong learning, while

admirable, may accelerate the birth of an educational lower class of individuals who have, for

instance, severe learning difficulties or a culturally and socially deprived background. Moreover, the

adult population with deficient basic education (as regards foreign languages, for instance) may be

pushed to a secondary position in the labour market due to the lack of formal educational

qualification. If participation in education was less frequent or less typical, being uneducated would

not in itself become a stigmatising factor to the present degree.

 On the other hand it is clear that, at least in the comprehensive school, an attempt is made to

provide everyone with the opportunity to succeed: evaluation is no longer carried out7 in the tight

format of normal distribution (based on the so-called bell curve), but every child has the opportunity

of progress as compared to his or her previous level and as compared to the age group. Teaching

suited to the “good ones” – or to the average at least – has been abandoned in favour of taking

account of the learning capabilities of each individual pupil, thanks to individual study plans and, in

special education, the Personal Plan Covering the Organisation of Education (commonly known by

its Finnish acronym HOJKS).

 Despite the procedures described above, some of our schoolchildren still do poorly in the

comprehensive school (Jakku-Sihvonen & Kuusela, 2002). Actually, gaps in basic knowledge and

skills may be among the primary reasons8 for dropping out of further education or not entering post-

comprehensive education. The crucial division into educational achievers and educational losers

happens at the transition stage between basic and secondary education, even though the roots of the

choices actualised at this stage can be tracked further back, to success during the first years of

comprehensive school and also to the pupils’ family background (Kuusinen, 1986; Kuusela, 2002).

The children of educated parents do better in school than those of uneducated parents, which

continues to be seen in the students’ skills levels and their confidence in their own abilities in

secondary education (Hautamäki et al., 2002).

 Thus, stressing the importance of education is a double-edged sword: when success in school is

linked to family background, it strengthens the cultural capital of the pupils who are capable of

benefiting from education. For a part of the age group, education forms one (more) link in the

process of social exclusion. However, it is to be noted that even though a statistical connection exists

between such factors as education and employment prospects, there are individual exceptions from

the statistical norm both in the positive and the negative direction (e.g., Jahnukainen, 1997, 2004;

Kivirauma & Jahnukainen, 2001). Whether dropping out from school leads into deeper social

exclusion depends on the demands and support provided by the individual’s (close) community

andon the compensating factors in the individual’s life. Thus, what we are dealing with is the

goodness or poorness of fit between the individual’s potential for action and the action expected by

the community and the support available (for more detail, see Thomas & Chess, 1980).

 It is also obvious that school alone cannot influence all factors that affect the process of exclusion.

Nevertheless, school is without doubt in a key position for offering activity that can provide

compensatory experiences to an individual who has landed on an unfavourable track. In preventing

the exclusion process, school has the crucial task of preventing educational dropping out by ensuring

that everyone receives instruction suitable to their level, and of ensuring the acquisition of essential

basic skills and knowledge in particular. These also form the foundation for the students’ subsequent

ability to utilise the channels for further education offered by society (and considered as the default

option, at least latently).

Potential of School to Prevent Exclusion

 With the economic depression of the early 1990s, as the social exclusion of the young began to

receive particular attention, the typical means of prevention that emerged were various activity

projects targeted to young people. To begin with, these project were organised outside the school,

then gradually linked with the educational world, and the target group consisted of what were called

“young people at risk of social exclusion.” The exact definition of the “risk of social exclusion” at

any given instance has remained very vague in practice: what is certain, however, is that the life

situation of some participants has been burdened by a great number of risk factors for a considerable

time, while others have had the good or bad luck of being involved in the project (and being labelled

as being “at risk”) with no more than slight grounds. From the viewpoint of prevention9, this mode

of operation is located in the middle ground between what is called secondary and tertiary

prevention: the members of the target group are affected by some risk factor at least, on the basis of

which so-called remedial activity is considered necessary (secondary) and, in addition, the

difficulties of some are of such a degree or number that a particular mode of operation is applied to

reach a state where the individual could not harm him/herself or others any more than is already the

case (tertiary).

 In fact, prevention is always a relative concept and requires a definition of the thing to be

prevented. Speaking of the prevention of exclusion, development processes need to be looked at in

longer perspective than simply within the comprehensive school. As was stated above, during the

most lively period of youth projects the operating modes in relation to exclusion were located in the

framework of remedial action and even action to minimise the damage. In the context of traditional

school teaching this task has been handled by special education, even though this has only rarely

been defined as prevention (see, however, Ruoho, 1992; Kauff-man, 1999). In addition to these

operating models, targeted at individuals already at risk – and perhaps, in part, instead of them –

special weight should be laid on actual, primary prevention, i.e., on measures affecting the entire age

group. From the point of view of education, primary prevention of exclusion consists particularly of

concentrating on good basic instruction: teachers should make sure that every pupil in the teaching

group acquires the basic knowledge and skills that form the basis of further study. Thus, in the

prevention of exclusion the school should aim to work in the primary field that is its natural domain:

to ensure that the task of educating the entire age group is accomplished for each individual. The

following table lists educational measures to prevent exclusion at different stages of education and

different levels of prevention.

 Thus, the primary-level services concern the entire age group, while the secondary and, where

needed, tertiary services involve a significantly smaller group. In fact, prevention is often described

as a funnel where the primary services are located on the rim and the tertiary services at the narrow

tip of the funnel (e.g., Nuorten huumeiden käytön ehkäisytoimikunnan mietintö, 2000).

 At the primary level exclusion is prevented by arranging the most optimal conditions for growth

for each child, and by investing in good early education and basic education. Afternoon activities

arranged at school can also be included in this category (see Siitari, 2000). Primary-level activity by

individual teachers includes the positions as elected municipal officials held by many professional

educators, through which it is possible to promote operating models targeted to improving the

situation of entire age groups by influencing municipal family, social and educational policy.

 At the secondary level, special support is arranged for the children and young people who exhibit

difficulties related to learning, development and/or behaviour. The measures aim at circum-venting

or eliminating difficulties detected at an early stage so that later stages of development are not

jeopardised. The secondary stage consists of various short-term interventions such as part-time

special education, improved study counselling and transition planning (see Jahnukainen, 2001b and

2001c). Especially at the transition between comprehensive school and secondary education,

anticipating the transition of individuals at risk has been found effective (e.g., Benz et al., 1997).

 At the tertiary level, the activity is targeted to individuals whose development is clearly

endangered. Longer-term, holistic rehabilitation, eventually in co-operation with other authorities,

aims at reaching the development targets of the age group by using individual means. Several

operating models employed at this level require instruction in small groups or even individually, at

least at the beginning or for part of the time; this is in the interests of both the child or young person

and their immediate vicinity. Nevertheless, the permanent goal is to find an operating model that

best avoids any stigmatisation and thus helps to prevent isolation or exclusion from the rest of the

age group.

From Theory to Practice

 As was stated above, a lot is talked about social exclusion and young people threatened by social

exclusion. Since, however, social exclusion is difficult to define on the individual level, it would

make more sense to approach the prevention of social exclusion only as a general principle, but

especially when talking about children and young people, we should focus on the strengths and

development needs in the individual life situation. Thus, I do not consider it appropriate to set up

particular instruction groups for young people “threatened by social exclusion”; instead, I would

welcome discourse that prevents social exclusion also in practical teaching in the general primary-

level activity of the school. Creating a learning climate in which everyone has the opportunity of

studying individually, yet striving to attain the general basic goals, without unnecessary competition

or comparison, is one of the most important starting-points of primary-level prevention. Even if

learning and adaptation problems are undeniably also linked to the process of social exclusion,

schools must primarily target rehabilitative action to whatever problem area is topical, whether this

is dyslexia or unauthorised absences. If the teacher takes the trouble to learn to know the pupils in

his/her class or group as early as possible, s/he can better identify eventual deviations in learning and

behaviour, enabling a rapid intervention and preventing the accumulation of problems. In my

opinion, the true prevention of social exclusion consists in the development of the basic task of

education, that is, the provision of education for the entire age group, into an entity which is as

functional as possible at the level of individual schools and of the municipality. This work has been

badly neglected, with projects funded by special arrangements overtaking the “exclusion market.”

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upper-secondary school graduates]. Suomen kasvatustieteellinen seura. Kasvatusalan

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(Footnotes)

1 The Finnish word used to translate the concept social exclusion does not contain the dimension ‘social’, which is why it can, and often is, linked to any and all kinds of exclusion. In the most typical case it is used without defining the particular nature of exclusion.

2 I include myself in the discussion here, for in my job I deal almost daily with this area, and according to my observation I must all too frequently remind myself and my discussion partners of the complex nature of the definition of social exclusion. It is easy to talk about ”the socially excluded young people in our school…” or ”operating models targeted to young people at risk of social exclusion…” etc. This means that social exclusion is already being constructed in speech, often with too simplistic grounds.

3 At a minimum I should say that social exclusion needs three actors. This makes it possible for two actors to form a core on a majority principle, leaving the third one outside the core, in the margin.

4 It is, however, obvious that the phenomena behind the concepts also have a shared interface; when, for instance, marginality as an individual choice involves the most essential areas of life or covers a sufficient number of less essential social activities, we are coming closer to the definition of social exclusion (for more detail, see Jahnukainen, 2001e, Järvinen & Jahnukainen, 2001, 138 – 144).

5 Also among young people (see Nuorisobarometri, 1999). This presents an interesting paradox, for it has nevertheless been noted that school is often experienced as a highly unattractive environment (see Kauppila, 1995; Jahnukainen, 1998; 2001a and 2001d): one is thus forced to go through education, even if with gritted teeth.

6 In 2000, the proportion of young people between the ages of 15 and 24 that participated in post-comprehensive education was higher in Finland than in the other EU Member States (Järvinen, 2001).

7 At least this should not be the case, see Opetushallitus (1999) Perusopetuksen päättöarvioinnin kriteerit. The criteria for the grade Good (8) in shared subjects.

8 On the secondary level – or as the ”explanations” noted on the student level – the causes may naturally consist of ”frequent absences”, ”behavioural” and ”motivational problems”, when, in fact, the student may not be capable of following challenging instruction even when the field is to his or her liking, though on the other hand, teachers may also not be capable of recognising gaps in basic skills.

9 For more detail on the levels of prevention, see, e.g., Nuorten huumeiden käytönehkäisytoimikunnan mietintö (2000), and in the context of learning difficulties, Ruoho (1992).