CONSTRUCTING LIFE COURSES IN TIMES OF UNCERTAINTY

Individualisation and Social Structures
in the Context of Finnish Education

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Dedicated to Sampo and Kerttu
*May the paths you take in life be filled with
adventures to embark upon, challenges to embrace,
triumphs to celebrate, and love to carry you through it all.
Remember that the bumps and turns along the journey
are what make you who you are.*

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines how the processes of social change and social reproduction are reflected in education and, hence, in the prerequisites of young people's life course construction. Extensive structural, cultural, and economic changes in Western societies have created an increasingly complex and insecure world, which young people must navigate as they transition to adulthood.

The study draws upon and contributes to scholarly discussions that aim to integrate theorisations of late modern individualisation (social change) and 'traditional' social structures (social reproduction). The premise of the study is that both of these perspectives are essential for understanding the circumstances of young people today. The empirical findings are interpreted through a life course framework that helps to depict how, in the context of education, current societal conditions shape the construction of young people's future lives.

The data come from a European research project, *Governance of Educational Trajectories in Europe*. The study is based on four research articles, which examine and discuss the effects of late modernity and the ruling neoliberal policy ideology in education, the mechanisms and impacts of educational segregation, and the roles of social structures and forms of capital in the formation of educational trajectories. These topics are approached from four viewpoints: national education systems, educational institutions, families, and individuals. While the first two articles are comparative, involving eight European countries, the latter two articles centre on Finland and Finnish education, the latter of which is also the focus of this study.

The results show the high significance of late modern individualisation, which is inseparably intertwined with neoliberal ideology, and the continued, or even increased, influence of social structures on young people's life course construction in the context of Finnish education. Those with the privileged social backgrounds and high levels of capital needed to reflexively manoeuvre in complex and risk-fraught late modernity gain further advantages in their lives.

KEYWORDS: Educational equality, segregation of education, life course, individualisation, social structures, late modernity, neoliberalism, reflexivity, forms of capital, Finnish education, European education

TIIVISTELMÄ

Tämä väitöstutkimus tarkastelee sitä, miten sekä sosiaalinen muutos että sosiaalisten erojen uusintaminen heijastuvat koulutukseen ja siten elämänkulkujen rakentamisen reunaehtoihin. Länsimaisissa yhteiskunnissa tapahtuneet mittavat rakenteelliset, kulttuuriset ja taloudelliset muutokset ovat luoneet aikaisempaa monimutkaisemman ja epävarmemman maailman, jossa nuoret navigoivat siirtyessään kohti aikuisuutta.

Tutkimus pohjautuu ja ottaa osaa niihin tieteellisiin keskusteluihin, joiden tavoitteena on yhdistää myöhäismodernia elämänurien individualisaatiota (muutos) ja "perinteisiä" sosiaalisia rakenteita (uusintaminen) koskevia teoretisointeja. Molemmat näistä perspektiiveistä ovat välttämättömiä nykynuorten olosuhteiden ymmärtämiseksi. Tulosten tulkinnassa hyödynnetään elämänkulun periaatteita, jotka auttavat hahmottamaan sitä, miten vallitsevat yhteiskunnalliset ja sosiaaliset olosuhteet vaikuttavat elämänkulkuihin koulutuksen kontekstissa.

Tutkimusaineistot ovat peräisin eurooppalaisesta Governance of Educational Trajectories in Europe -tutkimusprojektista. Tutkimus perustuu neljään artikkeliin, jotka tarkastelevat myöhäismodernin ajan ja siinä vallitsevan uusliberalistisen poliittisen ideologian vaikutuksia koulutukseen, koulutuksellisen eriytymisen mekanismeja ja vaikutuksia, sekä sosiaalisten rakenteiden ja pääoman muotojen merkitystä koulutuspolkujen muodostumisessa. Aiheita lähestytään koulutusjärjestelmien, koulujen, perheiden ja yksilöiden näkökulmista. Kaksi ensimmäistä artikkelia vertailevat eurooppalaisia maita, kun taas kaksi jälkimmäistä keskittyvät Suomeen ja suomalaiseen koulutukseen, joka on väitöskirjan keskeisin viitekehys.

Tutkimuksen tulokset kertovat erottamattomasti uusliberalismin kanssa yhteenkietoutuneen myöhäismodernin individualisaation keskeisestä merkityksestä suomalaisten nuorten koulutuspolkujen ja elämänkulkujen muodostumisessa. Toisaalta tulokset osoittavat myös sosiaalisten rakenteiden edelleen jatkuvan tai jopa lisääntyneen tärkeyden. Niillä nuorilla, joilla on hyväosaisen taustansa ansioista runsaasti pääomaa, on paremmat mahdollisuudet sellaiseen refleksiivisyyteen, jota kompleksisessa ja riskialttiissa ajassa menestyminen edellyttää.

ASIASANAT: Koulutuksen tasa-arvo, koulutuksen eriarvoistuminen, elämänkulku, individualisaatio, sosiaaliset rakenteet, myöhäismoderni aika, uusliberalismi, refleksiivisyys, pääoman muodot, suomalainen koulutus, eurooppalainen koulutus

Acknowledgements

This is it: writing the final words of this dissertation marks the end of my educational trajectory progressing through which has really taken its sweet time. Nevertheless, here I am now, saying my thank yous to the brilliant, inspirational women and wise, patient men who have guided and supported me throughout my dissertation process. I am very happy to have this chance to express my deep appreciation and gratitude to them.

Firstly, I want to thank my three supervisors, to whom I owe so much. Without my first supervisor, Professor Risto Rinne, my life would be much different than it is now. Thank you, Risto, for seeing something in me that I did not see in myself and for giving me the opportunity to pursue doctoral studies. I am also eternally grateful that despite the countless deep, frustrated sighs and eye rolls I must have caused with my antics, you patiently trusted me to take quite a few detours from my dissertation and run around the world developing my professional skills and learning about academic work in other ways. To my second supervisor, Professor Tero Järvinen, I must express my gratitude for all of your guidance, which has been nothing but kind, supportive, and always on point. With your level-headed attitude towards work, you helped me put things in perspective when I was overwhelmed and anxious due to the often conflicting demands of work and personal life. I am absolutely convinced that each doctoral student should have a Tero of their own, because they all deserve to have someone giving them relevant advice and thorough feedback with exceptional generosity and kindness. I am indebted to my third supervisor, Assistant Professor and Counsellor of Education Niina Junttila, for her willingness to share her expertise with highly contagious enthusiasm. Thank you, Niina, for all the encouragement you gave me, especially at the beginning of the dissertation process. You set an empowering example and gave me the confidence not only to make my own choices, but to stand firmly behind them.

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and that you have also agreed to act as an opponent at the public defence of my dissertation. It is humbling to have someone so knowledgeable, established, and insightful with whom to take the final step of this process. Professor Räty, I thank you for your thorough and thoughtful as well as fair and kind review of my work. Its value extends far beyond improving this dissertation, as it has also helped me to critically examine my academic writing in general.

I want to thank everyone involved with the *Governance of Educational Trajectories in Europe* project for making this dissertation, a small by-product of the much larger project, possible. Of course, this includes most importantly all the school principals, parents, and students who gave their time and participated in surveys sharing their valuable views, concerns, and hopes. A special thank you goes out to the co-authors of the first two articles of the dissertation. Regarding funding, in addition to the GOETE project and the Department of Education at the University of Turku, I would like to thank the Academy of Finland for providing project funding that enabled me to finish my dissertation.

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On Finland's Independence Day
the 6th of December 2019
Jenni Tikkanen

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List of Original Publications

This dissertation is based on the following original publications, which are referred to in the text by their Roman numerals:

I   Tikkanen, J., Bledowski, P., & Felczak, J. Education systems as transition spaces. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 2015; 28(3): 297–310. DOI: 10.1080/09518398.2014.987853

> Tikkanen contributed to the conception and design of the study; the data collection, analysis, and interpretation; and writing and revising the manuscript. Bledowski and Felczak contributed to the writing of the manuscript.

II   Rinne, R., Järvinen, T., Tikkanen, J., & Aro, M. Changes in education policies and the status of schools in Europe: The views of school principals from eight European countries. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 2016; 46(5): 764–788. DOI: 10.1080/03057925.2015.1086631

> Tikkanen contributed to data analysis and interpretation as well as to the writing and revising of the manuscript. Rinne and Järvinen contributed to the conception and design and to the writing and revising of the manuscript. Aro contributed to data collection, analysis, and interpretation.

III Tikkanen, J. Parental school satisfaction in the context of segregation of basic education in urban Finland. *Nordic Journal of Studies in Educational Policy*, 2019. DOI: 10.1080/20020317.2019.1688451

IV   Tikkanen, J. Concern or confidence? Adolescents' identity capital and future worry in different school contexts. *Journal of Adolescence*, 2016; 46(1): 14–24. DOI: 10.1080/09518398.2014.987853

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1 Introduction

This doctoral dissertation, which is positioned in the fields of sociology, education, and youth studies, sets out to examine how both social change and social reproduction, as well as their interplay, are reflected in the field of education, which is one of the most important contexts in which young people build their future lives. In Europe, as elsewhere in the Western world, societies have undergone significant structural, cultural, and economic changes over the last decades, and young people who are in the middle of constructing their identities and lives are the ones most affected by the shifting societal surroundings. While youth and young adulthood are periods of several life course events and transitions to new roles and positions involving, therefore, inherently some level of uncertainty and risk, the challenges the contemporary youth face in their transitions to adulthood are unprecedentedly demanding as they have to navigate in an increasingly complex, insecure, and globalised world. (Aapola-Kari & Wrede-Jäntti, 2017; Hamilton, Antonucci, & Roberts, 2014; Ilmakunnas, 2019.) The fundamental changes that have taken place in Western societies and, more broadly, in the nature of the modern age have been famously theorised by Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens, and Zygmunt Bauman. They have argued that a transition from 'simple' modernity and traditional industrial society to second modernity and risk society (Beck, 1992), high modernity and post-traditional society (Giddens, 1990), or liquid modernity and consumer society (Bauman, 2000)[1] has taken place.

For Beck, Giddens, and Bauman, the contemporary modern condition is characterised by increased risks and processes of individualisation in which traditional social certainties of simple modernity become replaced with choice, fluidity, and fragmentation. As the previously stable and coherent roles and positions

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[1]   Various other concepts have also been used for the contemporary phase of historical time and society by Beck, Giddens, and others, such as reflexive, late, and global modernity (see Heaphy, 2007), and post-industrial, post-traditional, knowledge, and information society.

are breaking down, identities and biographies[2] are transformed from being prescribed by social structures to a project for individuals to create themselves (Giddens, 1991, p. 32). Individualisation is, hence, characterised by an increasing individual freedom – but also obligation – to take an active role in making life course choices and constructing one's own identity being neither bound nor guided by the social roles and constraints of industrial society. At the same time, individuals are not only expected to seek biographical solutions to society's structural problems but also considered personally responsible of their successes and failures in this task (Bauman, 2007a, pp. 3–4). Therefore, individuals are freed only to the turbulence and risks of contemporary society in which institutions impose new and often contradictory demands and controls on them. To cope with the changing institutional constraints and ever-present risks and uncertainties, individuals need to be reflexive in building and adjusting their identities and biographies. Instead of deriving from individuals' conscious choice or preference, individualisation is imposed on them by modern institutions, and individual reflexivity, which emerges as a response to structural contradictions and insecurities, does not offer individuals autonomy or freedom from institutional structures. (Beck, 1992; Beck, Bonss, & Lau, 2003.) As individualisation liberates people from the traditional social ordering, it is argued to lead to nationally fixed social categories of industrial society being culturally dissolved or transformed because the traditional social roles also become a matter of choice (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 49). The meaning of traditions and social groups for individuals is, therefore, no longer an external imposition but rather a deliberate action or affiliation. What follows, according to this view, is that the sociological categories, which were relevant in simple modernity, such as social class, gender, and family, have lost their significance.

Despite the remarkable influence of the works of Beck, Giddens, and Bauman, they have also been subjected to considerable criticism. This is particularly the case with Beck's infamous argument about social class having become a 'zombie' category, void of meaning but kept artificially alive by sociologists insisting on still using it. While Beck's claim is not that the end of social class means the end of social inequality (e.g. Beck, 1992, p. 35), he has faced vehement criticism from those who assert – drawing often on the work of Pierre Bourdieu – that inequality is still very much determined by structural factors instead of depending only, or even mainly, on individual actions and decisions (see Dawson, 2012; Howard, 2007a). In addition to these two contrasting approaches, there are also theoretical attempts in contemporary sociology to combine the 'sociology of individualisation', which focuses more on

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[2] Whereas the concept of life course refers to an institutionalised construction of culturally defined patterns of life, biography can be regarded as the subjective meaning-making with regard to one's individual life course (Stauber & Ule, 2015).

actors, actions, and social change, and the 'sociology of stratification and power', emphasising the relevance of structures, institutions, and social reproduction (Rasborg, 2017, p. 231). This is done typically by joining elements of the works of Beck and Bourdieu, such as the concepts of reflexivity and habitus. Many of these 'integrative' theories derive from sociological youth studies, where the scope and implications of individualisation are among the most topical macro-theoretical issues as is also the question whether social class is still a relevant concept for understanding the persistent inequalities in young people's lives in contemporary societies (e.g. Coffey & Farrugia, 2014; Krahn, Chai, Fang, Galambos, & Johnson, 2018; O'Connor, 2014, 2019). Despite inducing extensive theoretical and empirical work as well as intensive scholarly discussions, many aspects of individualisation and its relation to social structures remain very much debated. Nonetheless, the drastic societal changes and their vast effects on the lives of young people are widely recognised and acknowledged.

The pervasive political ideology of neoliberalism[3] exists under the contemporary modern condition but also gives shape to it (Dawson, 2013, p. 13), and neoliberal policy discourses, therefore, both reflect and contribute to the process of individualisation (c.f. Rasborg, 2017). Neoliberal policies 'implore individuals to become self-critical, to take personal responsibility for their lives, to adapt specific practices of self-regulation and improvement, and to embrace entrepreneurial and materialistic self-identities' (Howard, 2007a, p. 5). Individualisation is argued to be taken to its highest degree by neoliberal capitalism, which emphasises the role of human capital: individuals are expected to become entrepreneurs of themselves, to become human capital. For example, employability requires a conduct and lifestyle that are in harmony with the market, and, in this sense, many of the risks individuals face come more from within than outside as they depend on individual characteristics and demeanour. (Lazzarato, 2009, p. 127.) As many critics of the neoliberal mode of governance point out, as everyone is held responsible for their own actions and wellbeing, struggles and poverty are viewed as personal failings rather than resulting

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3   Neoliberalism has its ideological roots in classical liberalism (Sewpaul, 2015), but it also draws from rational choice theory and economics (Howard, 2007a, p. 3). It has adopted the liberal belief in free international trade and emphasises the core principles of the marketisation of public services, privatisation of state assets, and deregulation of the economy. This provides the ideological basis for the restructuring, privatisation, and retrenchment of social policy and welfare programmes. The organising principle of the market is competition, not exchange (Lazzarato, 2009), as the common collective good is argued to be best achieved when individuals compete in the market place. This is because promoting a market economy and restricting state economic intervention (e.g. by dismantling national systems of social protection) are argued to promote, primarily through trickle-down effects, economic growth, efficiency, and justice of distribution. (Brennentot, 2015; Humphreys, 2009; Sewpaul, 2015.)

from structural barriers and exclusions based on class, gender, race, or disability (Sewpaul, 2015, p. 463; see also Threadgold & Nilan, 2009). Indeed, among the key criticisms of neoliberalism are arguments that such policies strengthen the polarisation of societies by benefitting the privileged and reinforcing the disadvantages of deprived groups (Klees, 2008; Parsons & Welsh, 2006), promote general insecuritisation (Lazzarato, 2009), diminish social and educational democracy and equity (Apple, 2007; Avis, 2002; McGregor, 2009; Olssen, 2004), blame the underprivileged by emphasising individual responsibility (Apple, 2005), and offer freedom of choice that is in reality available only for some socially privileged groups (Bunar, 2008; Lakes & Carter, 2011).

1.1   Societal Changes and Young People's Lives

The above-discussed societal transformations are reflected, for instance, in labour markets and education and intertwined with shifts and developments in global economics. It is often argued that transitioning from youth to adulthood has become more difficult, prolonged, non-linear, and individually varied especially in terms of achieving self-actualisation in one's professional career and, consequently, a stable financial situation (e.g. Hamilton et al., 2014; Sironi, 2018). One central reason for this is that the entrance criteria for the labour market have become more demanding than ever before due to altering occupational structures, increasing skills requirements, rising expectations for higher and more formal education, and collapsing demand for unskilled manual workers. Moreover, flexible employment practices, such as temporary and part-time work, are typical forms of (under)employment for young people, which increases their precarity further. (Buchmann & Kriesi, 2011; Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2018; Harkko, 2018; Isoniemi, 2017, p. 43.)

There is a strong emphasis on individuals' own responsibility in managing labour market risks by becoming 'active', 'flexible', and 'employable' through improving and consolidating their skills and knowledge (Antonucci & Hamilton, 2014, p. 259). The youth are expected to take charge of their own future and individualise their lives by constructing educational and occupational trajectories based on their personal preferences and choices (Aapola-Kari & Wrede-Jäntti, 2017; Côté, 2002). They are constantly urged to choose, even though the consequences of the choices are often unpredictable (Hoikkala & Paju, 2016), and the choices are not always even real in the sense that there might not actually be meaningful options available. Nevertheless, young people are still expected to act and accept the situation as if they truly had the possibility to choose from a variety of suitable options. (Aapola-Kari & Wrede-Jäntti, 2017.) While the demands placed on young people are getting more intense, the youth are increasingly left to their own resources to cope with the

consequent pressures as the withdrawing welfare state and declining community-oriented policies lead to more tenuous institutional support for life course transitions and, hence, to more destabilised and less predictable life course trajectories (Furlong & Cartmel, 2007).

While many of the risks experienced by young people result from large-scale, long-term societal and political developments, their effects have been significantly exacerbated by the financial crisis of 2008 and the ensuing economic recession (Aassve, Cottini, & Vitali, 2013; Antonucci & Hamilton, 2014). Research has repeatedly shown that young people have been the ones most affected by the recession in comparison to older age groups (e.g. Dietrich, 2013; Fondeville & Ward, 2014; OECD, 2010). Their economic conditions have deteriorated more, and they experience more financial difficulties and a higher risk of poverty. Across Europe, especially youth unemployment rates and the share of young people not in employment, education, or training (NEET) have risen and persisted long after the initial crisis. (Bell & Blanchflower, 2011; Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2018; O'Higgins, 2015; Sironi, 2018.) Hence, the financial crisis and its repercussions have intensified the risks and uncertainties experienced by young people and created new forms of insecurity and exclusion to which different austerity measures, such as labour market reforms and cuts in state-granted social security, have also contributed (Antonucci & Hamilton, 2014; Fondeville & Ward, 2014; Hamilton et al., 2014), affecting young people's lives and future prospects in many ways.

It is not only the transition from education to work that has become more complex, but the same is true also for transitions within education (Cuconato, Dale, Parreira do Amaral, & Walther, 2016). Since the 1990s, alongside the emergence of the ethos of lifelong learning, the expansion of education has increased opportunities and participation in education (Müller & Wolbers, 2003). In this regard, relevant are both the increased alternatives and choices within education systems and the growing complexity of these choices and their respective labour market consequences (Cuconato et al., 2016; OECD, 2003, p. 46). Furthermore, due to the rising educational level of the population (e.g. Eurostat, 2015), the relative value of educational degrees has inflated, and the link between educational qualifications and occupational positions has gotten stronger (Aro, 2014; Gangl, 2003). The widely adopted neoliberal agenda has also been highly influential as education has been reformed according to its principles in many countries (e.g. Baltodano, 2012; Imsen, Blossing, & Moos, 2017; McGregor, 2009). Following the neoliberal logic, schools have been reconstructed as part of the market economy (Davies & Bansel, 2007), and education policies focusing on the principles of economic rationality and efficiency, free consumer choice, marketing, competition, and profit (Bunar, 2008) have been designed primarily to serve the needs of the market (Baltodano, 2012; McGregor, 2009). Thus, there has been a paradigm shift from educational policies

which were based on state intervention and goals of equity and integration to policies prioritising especially free school choice,[4] thus, reflecting 'the growing size and internal diversity of the middle-classes and their (actual or presumed) political support for more "consumer choice" in education' (Maloutas & Ramos Lobato, 2015, p. 802).

The advocates of neoliberal education policies insist that education works best when it follows the market logic (see Baltodano, 2012; Bunar, 2008; McGregor, 2009; Rinne, 2000) as the free choice of services and competition between providers are expected to improve quality and efficiency in the use of public funds (Dovemark et al., 2018). This is claimed to increase educational democracy by enabling students and families to choose instead of being assigned and to promote social and ethnic integration by shattering the social enclosure of the poorest students in high-poverty, low-achieving schools viewed to result from the attendance zone policy (Bunar, 2010). However, one of the main arguments against these policies (see Bunar, 2010; Yang Hansen & Gustafsson, 2016) challenges the notions of increasing integration and democracy by stating that school choice, which lies at the heart of the marketisation of education, is mainly being used by the socially strongest families, which fuels social segregation by widening the social and ethnic differences between schools (e.g. Ball, 2003; Reay et al., 2008; Rinne, 2014; Söderström & Uusitalo, 2010; van Zanten, 2007) and creates more inequality of opportunity by allowing family background effects to work through multiple channels (Põder, Lauri, & Veski, 2017).

In Europe, the financial crisis has strengthened the neoliberal tendency of educational policies further as the processes of marketisation and privatisation of education have been accelerated. Education has been approached largely from an instrumental perspective as a means to boost economic growth, reduce unemployment rates, and, hence, recover from the recession. At the same time, there have been considerable cuts in education expenditure in many countries. (Arriazu & Solari, 2015; Barakat, Holler, Prettner, & Schuster, 2010; Chalari, 2016; OECD, 2013.) Recognising, mobilising, and consolidating productive and successful educational choices was challenging even before the financial crisis (e.g. OECD, 2004), but the crisis has intensified this trend further. Also the consequences of failing to meet the challenge have become more severe as lacking the 'right' skills and knowledge has become increasingly a predictor of future social exclusion (Cuconato et al., 2016). As a result of the pronounced individual responsibility and the growing challenges of making educational choices and gaining access to the

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[4]   Generally, school choice can be defined as a policy whereby schools may select some
       or all of their students, and families may, to an extent, choose a school or an educational
       track for their children (Dovemark et al., 2018).

labour market, the importance of educational and vocational guidance has become central both for improving the efficiency of education systems and labour markets and for reducing social inequality (Watts & Sultana, 2004; Sultana, 2018, p. 63).

Although the transition from youth to adulthood has become more individualised and de-standardised, there is a widely shared (albeit not entirely uncontested) understanding that individuals' abilities and opportunities to avoid or deal with the increased risks and uncertainties are affected by their position in social structures (e.g. Dawson, 2012; Furlong & Cartmel, 2007), which also continues to influence their educational and employment careers (Harkko, 2018). Lower socio-economic and immigrant backgrounds and a low level of education are particularly strong risk factors among young people. For example, youth unemployment tends to be concentrated among the less educated, and low education level is also an important predictor of future dependence on social assistance. (Ilmakunnas, 2019, p. 4; O'Higgins, 2015.) Successful youth transitions do not, of course, involve only progressing through education and finding paid work but also factors such as social connectedness and a sense of purpose and belonging (Pao, 2017). Nevertheless, low education level and unemployment are associated with effects beyond financial conditions, such as reduced physical and mental wellbeing. Being unemployed in youth or young adulthood, especially when it is long-term, has particularly adverse impacts. (Bell & Blanchflower, 2011; O'Higgins, 2015.)

However, it is not only those young people in the most disadvantaged and vulnerable social positions who are affected by the societal changes and current educational and labour market conditions. Also those who are in more advantaged positions with no particular vulnerabilities are exposed to risks and precarious conditions (Furlong, Woodman, & Wyn, 2011; MacDonald, 2011), and not even highly skilled and educated young people are sheltered from the societal uncertainties and experiences of labour market precarity (Antonucci & Hamilton, 2014, p. 257; Isoniemi, 2017; Murgia & Poggio, 2014). Furthermore, those who are employed are also affected by times of high job insecurity due to increased fears of becoming unemployed (O'Higgins, 2015). More generally, complex and unpredictable outcomes of life course choices and individual responsibility for managing various risks are sources of stress and vulnerability for young people because they intensify feelings of insecurity and perceptions that one can never be sure if personal decisions will be the right ones and have the desired outcomes (Côté, 2005; Lindfors, Solantaus, & Rimpelä, 2012; Lundahl, Arreman, Holm, & Lundström, 2013). While young people are often flexible, resourceful, and persistent in managing the different risks they encounter, the current societal context forces them to focus on the present and makes it difficult for them to plan for the future (Antonucci & Hamilton, 2014, p. 263). Despite the increased risks and various uncertainties associated with contemporary societies, it needs to be emphasised that

most young people are doing well in life, make different life course transitions at least fairly smoothly (see Aassve et al., 2013; Isoniemi, 2017; Jørgensen, Järvinen, & Lundahl, 2019; Lorentzen, Bäckman, Ilmakunnas, & Kauppinen, 2018), and are, hence, able to overcome the challenges they face. Moreover, in addition to many young people being able to manage regardless of the increasingly challenging societal contexts, there are undoubtedly also those for whom individualisation provides more opportunities for emancipation and social mobility and who, thus, benefit from the related changes (c.f. Howard, 2007a, p. 20; Mills, 2007).

1.2   Aim and Structure of the Study

Education is, perhaps more so now than ever before, a centrally important context in which young people build the foundations for their future lives. Against the above-discussed background, the overall aim of this study is to examine how the processes of both social change and social reproduction are reflected in education and, hence, in the prerequisites of the life course construction of young people. Instead of adopting an 'either-or' perspective (c.f. Rasborg, 2017), this study draws upon and contributes to those scholarly discussions which aim to integrate theorisations of individualisation and 'traditional' social structures. Thus, the premise of the study is that both of these perspectives are essential for understanding the contemporary circumstances of young people. The view on individualisation adopted here does not exclude the traditional forms of stratification but recognises that their importance can be accentuated by individualisation (Curran, 2018; Dawson, 2012), that they are overlaid with new forms of differentiation (Rasborg, 2017), and that all individuals are not equally 'individualised' (Bauman, 2007a; Mills, 2007; Skeggs, 2004).

The study is based on four research articles, which examine and discuss the effects of late modernity[5] and the ruling neoliberal policy ideology in education, the mechanisms and impacts of educational segregation, and the roles social structures and forms of capital have in the context of education. These topics are approached from the following four viewpoints: national education systems, education institutions, families, and individuals (in this case, students in the final year of basic education). Each of the articles relates to one of the levels of analysis, and while the

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[5]   This study adopts the concept of late modernity to refer to the contemporary period of modernity. While the concept is often associated with Giddens, it has become a rather general term in the research literature (see e.g. Côté, 2013; Furlong, 2009; Lindfors et al., 2012), much more freed from 'theoretical connotations' than, for example, the concepts of second and liquid modernity, which are still very much linked with Beck and Bauman, respectively. While the 'generalisation' of theoretical concepts is not usually considered to be desirable, in this case late modernity is viewed to be a 'theoretically neutral' concept suitable for the purposes of this study.

first two articles (education systems and institutions) are comparative, involving eight European Union countries, including Finland, this study focuses on Finland and Finnish education, which is also the main context of the latter two articles (families and individuals).

THEORY	HEURISTIC TOOL Life course principles	EMPIRICAL WORK
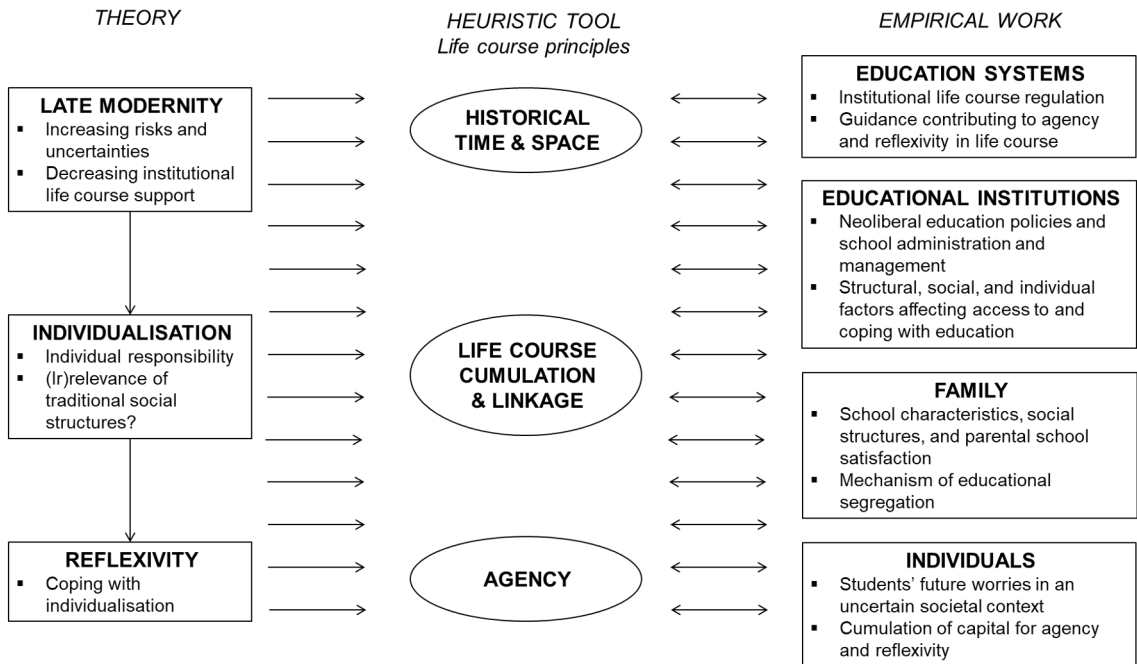
Figure 1.   The research frame

To achieve its aim, the study brings the macro-theoretical discussion about neoliberalised, individualised, and reflexive late modernity and persisting structural inequalities together with the empirical data and the different levels of analysis by using an adaptation of Glen Elder's principles of the life course (Elder, 1998, 2007; Elder, Kirkpatrick Johnson, & Crosnoe, 2003; Elder, Shanahan, & Jennings, 2015) as a heuristic tool (see Figure 1). The logic behind this approach is that the societal changes associated with the contemporary late modern condition affect the different dimensions and preconditions of life courses, which are, in turn, discernible in the empirical data. Thus, the purpose of the life course principles is to form a bridge between the rather broad theoretical approach and the data. In other words, the empirical findings of this study are interpreted through a life course framework that helps to depict how the current societal condition and its repercussions shape the prerequisites for constructing future lives in the context of education.

With regard to the structure of this dissertation, chapters 2 and 3 present the central concepts and elements of the theoretical framework. It should be noted that Elder's life course principles are very broad and unspecified, which limits their analytical grasp but also enables the inclusion of other more stringent theoretical stances (Levy & Bühlmann, 2016, p. 30). Therefore, the two chapters provide a more robust theoretical take on the historical time, the social linkage and cumulation of lives, and individual agency, which are the life course principles included in the heuristic tool. The chapters are not, however, organised according to the three principles, but in a way that tells a 'theoretical narrative' about how (sociological) theories and debates about modernity have developed over the course of time into a renewed and currently very topical focus on the interplay of individualisation and social structures. Chapter 2 engages with the origins and development of some of the most prominent theories of modernity.[6] Chapter 3 focuses on the more contemporary debates, which centre on individualisation and social stratification, and narrows the focus down to those theoretical approaches that aim to move beyond rigid dualisms and acknowledge the relevance of both social change and social reproduction in young people's lives. The rationale for presenting this kind of a narrative is threefold. Firstly, the narrative highlights the complex and contested nature of the features of the contemporary phase of modernity in general and individualisation in particular, hence, touching also upon some of the criticisms of and alternatives for the theoretical perspectives adopted in this study (such as the postmodern approaches, Evans's theory of bounded agency, and Archer's reflexive imperative). Secondly, the 'multi-level' empirical approach of this study is seen to require a rather broad theoretical framework that enables a meaningful discussion at all the levels of the analysis. Lastly, it is acknowledged that, while this study adopts – to a certain extent – the views put forward in the theories of Beck, Giddens, and Bauman, one can hardly discuss those theories without situating them in the scholarly debate between modernist and postmodernist theorists as well as the works of their predecessors. This is because their theories of modernity are constructed against the themes and orientations of postmodern and post-structural theorising, which, in turn, challenged the philosophical and theoretical bases of the founding constructions of modernity

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[6] Given the long history and wide scope of modernity, this study does not attempt to present a comprehensive history on the topic but focuses on some of the theorists and theories viewed here to be most central. For example, radical difference theories (e.g. feminist, queer, and postcolonial; see Heaphy, 2007) as well as theories of multiple and successive modernities (Arnason, 2005; Carleheden, 2006; Eisenstadt, 2010; Wagner, 2010) are not included here.

(e.g. Heaphy, 2007).[7] Moreover, some of the criticism of the works of Beck, Giddens, and Bauman draw from the founding theories of modernity as well as from the postmodern and post-structural theorising, which further highlights the necessity to discuss not only the currently predominant theories but also some of their antecedents and alternatives.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of Elder's life course principles and the processes of the institutionalisation, (de-)standardisation, and individualisation of life courses. While there is a rather widely held assumption that these are universal processes concerning all individuals and life domains in the same way, there is empirical evidence that calls this perception into question. One approach relevant is this regard is the theoretical work of Mills (2007), which illustrates how the mechanisms of individualisation produce different types of life courses and highlights that individualisation is not universal and equally distributed, but that its realisations and consequences vary between individuals.

While most countries show growing diversity at the individual level (Kohli, 2007), there are distinct country-level differences in young people's transitions within education, from education to the labour market, and, more broadly, from youth to adulthood (Buchmann & Kriesi, 2011; Isoniemi, 2017). Furthermore, the ways in which the overarching macro-level changes from industrial to late modern societies have materialised are not identical in different national contexts (Wittrock, 2000; Eisenstadt, 2010), and there is country-level variation in the implementation of neoliberal reforms (Avis, 2002; Kaljunen, 2011; Rinne, 2003). There are also differences between countries in the extent to which the financial crisis of 2008 and its repercussions have affected young people's lives. These differences are often associated especially with national welfare regimes and education systems as well as their linkages to the labour market. (Buchmann & Kriesi, 2011; Isoniemi, 2017, p. 33; Sironi, 2018.) Therefore, Chapter 5 focuses on the Finnish setting of this study, paying attention particularly to the welfare state model, the institutional regulation of life course transitions, and the education system. By doing so it places Finland – the 'historical space' of this study – in a broader, European context.

Chapter 6 draws upon the theoretical narrative presented in chapters 2 and 3 and details the theoretical framework of the study. Furthermore, the chapter accounts for the way the life course principles proposed by Elder are adapted for the purposes of this study and presents the research tasks related to each of the principles. It also describes the associated data, methods, and ethical considerations. An overview of the four research articles and their findings can be found in Chapter 7. Lastly,

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[7]   While an in-depth discussion of this is beyond the scope of the dissertation, it needs to be emphasised that the founding theories of modernity have also greatly influenced the works of Beck, Giddens, and Bauman more directly.

Chapter 8 discusses, against the backdrop of late modern individualisation and social stratification, the main findings of this study as well as some central limitations of this study. The original articles are included as an appendix.

2   Construction, Deconstruction, and Reconstruction of Modernity

According to Heaphy (2007), sociological concerns with the modern have been influenced by three major critical movements in the theoretical conceptions of modernity. The movements are made up of diverse theories, approaches, and ideas that correspond to the construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction of modernity as a sociological concept. These include the founding ideas about the logics of modernity and social change, radical deconstructive ideas of post-structuralism and postmodernity, and more recent reconstructive ideas of late modernity in its various guises. It needs to be highlighted that, as there is no one theory of modernity in the field of social sciences (e.g. Feng & Xing, 2006), there is no universal consensus but many different understandings and uses of the concept and its derivatives.[8] Following the logic of the three major movements proposed by Heaphy (2007), after defining the way the concept of modernity is understood in this study, this chapter provides a brief outline of some of the most influential social theories and theorists of modernity. While it could be easily – and quite rightly – argued that this chapter overlooks the works of many significant theorists such as Simmel, Freud, Lévi-Strauss, Habermas, Baudrillard, Derrida, and numerous others, whose input and influence should be recognised when discussing this topic, the goal here is to present a cursory overview of the different theoretical orientations and debates by providing examples of the theorists and theorisations belonging to the three major movements.

Modern can be defined as 'that which appears, exists, or belongs to the current era or to a recent period' (Valade, 2015, p. 682). From a sociological viewpoint, *modernity*, a concept that emerged in the 1970s replacing capitalism as the 'master concept' of the discipline (Wagner, 2001; Venn & Featherstone, 2006), refers to a condition of social existence that is radically different from all past forms of human experience and represents a break from tradition. *Modernisation*, on a general level, can be understood as a macro process of transition from traditional, agrarian communities to modern societies (Gavrov & Klyukanov, 2015, p. 707; Shilliam,

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[8]   Even, some argue, to the point of profound confusion, loss of analytical salience, and gravely over-extended use (see e.g. Woodiwiss, 1997).

2010). Sociologists have usually related the emergence of modernity to the effects of the 'dual revolution' (the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution),[9] which occurred in Europe at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries (Bhambra, 2015, p. 693; Heaphy, 2007, pp. 28, 38; Shilliam, 2010). The repercussions of the dual revolution stimulated debates about the emergence of a modern world, which was held to require a distinctively modern form of explanation (Bhambra, 2015). Eckersley (2016) describes modernisation as a pervasive, complex, and multidimensional process that includes industrialisation, globalisation, urbanisation, democratisation, scientific and technological advance, capitalism, secularism, rationalism, individualism, and consumerism. Especially the processes related to industrialisation are central to modernity as they affect most of the other elements of society by producing pervasive social and cultural consequences from rising educational levels to changing gender roles (Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Wennerhag, 2010). For Inglehart and Welzel (2005, p. 2), modernisation is 'an evolving process of human development in which socio-economic development brings cultural changes that make individual autonomy, gender equality, and democracy increasingly likely, giving rise to a new type of society that promotes human emancipation'.

2.1   Founding Theories of Modernity

As a sociological construct, modernity has its foundations in the overarching theoretical frames for conceptualising economic, social, cultural, political, and subjective changes (Heaphy, 2007, p. 16), which emerged when the traditional views about the evolution of life and society were challenged by new notions that differentiated modern from traditional in the late 19th and early 20th century (Seifried & Novicevic, 2017). The grand theories that contributed to this so-called constructive movement all articulated modernity in terms of dualisms that revealed what were seen to be its central dynamics and relations. For example, Karl Marx focused on the logic of capitalist development as a mode of production and saw the fundamental dualism in conflicts between capital and labour; Émile Durkheim theorised about the development of organic solidarity and the dualism of anomie and disintegration; and Max Weber saw that what lay behind modernity was a profound change in the ways of thinking, and he held rationalisation and freedom from tradition to be the central features of modernity (Heaphy, 2007, pp. 16–17). When it comes to the different approaches to modernity, one of the few things that there is

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[9]   But it has also been associated with the processes of dispossession, enslavement, colonialism, and imperialism (Heaphy, 2007, pp. 28, 38).

little dispute over is the profound influence that these founding theorists have had on sociological thinking and subsequent models of modernity (e.g. Kivisto, 2011, p. 131).

In Marx's view, modern capitalist society was a phase in historical patterns of social order that could be discerned from the pre-capitalist modes of production, and a central feature of modernity was commodification (the subordination of both private and public realms to the logic of capitalism; Felluga, 2011) and the ensuing penetration of capitalistic relations into all aspects of social life (Heaphy, 2007, p. 17; Shilliam, 2010). For Marx, modernity emerged mainly from a modern production system, and he claimed that it was inherent in the logic of capital, resided in the process of historical evolution, and arose in social conflicts and segmentation (Feng & Xing, 2006). While Marx's work entailed a critique of the social conditions and endemic inequalities caused by the capitalist relations of production and by the patterns of domination and subordination they promoted, he thought that modernity itself had an emancipatory direction. Marx argued that modernity's completion would result in a post-capitalist order in which collective ownership of the means of production would undo the inequalities that existed under capitalism between the propertied and working classes. (Marx, 1999 [1867]; Heaphy, 2007, pp. 17–19.) He endorsed communism, a possible future utopia, as the predicted last stage of societal development.

> When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. [---] In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all. (Marx & Engels, 2002 [1848], p. 90)

Durkheim, who is often considered to be one of the founding thinkers of sociological positivism, separated the mechanical (traditional) from the organic (modern, industrial) society (Calhoun et al., 2002, pp. 132–140; Seifried & Novicevic, 2017). He saw the troubles of modern societies to be rooted in the speed of the industrial expansion, which eroded mechanical forms of solidarity and the collective conscience that had bound traditional societies together (Durkheim, 1952 [1897]). While the increasing division of labour in modern societies was taking the place of the collective conscience, social cohesion still operated.

> Solidarity which comes from likeness is at its maximum when the collective conscience completely envelops our whole conscience and coincides in all points with it. [---] It is quite otherwise with the solidarity which the division of

labour produces. Whereas the previous type implies that individuals resemble each other, this type presumes their difference. The first is possible only in so far as the individual personality is absorbed into the collective personality; the second is possible only if each one has a sphere of action which is peculiar to him; that is, a personality. [---] In effect, on the one hand, each one depends as much more strictly on society as labor is more divided; and, on the other, the activity of each is as much more personal as it is more specialized. (Durkheim, 1933 [1893], 130–131)

Durkheim characterised this social integration, which resulted from the division of labour, as organic solidarity that was born out of interdependence and mutual needs. With the term organic he referred to the functional interconnectedness of the elements in society, which he saw to be similar to the way the parts of an organism are functionally connected. (Durkheim, 1933 [1893], p. 131.) This new form of solidarity would gain its strength by encouraging the development of individual personality, which Durkheim saw both as a requirement of the complex division of labour suited to industrial society and as a necessity for achieving the new social order (Seifried & Novicevic, 2017; Shilliam, 2010).

Differing from the points of departure of Marx and Durkheim, Weber aimed to show the influence of certain religious ideas on the development of the ethos of a capitalist economic system – in other words, the connection of the spirit of modern economic life with the rational ethics of ascetic Protestantism (Weber, 2002 [1905], p. xxxix).

In fact, the *summum bonum* of this ethic, the earning of more and more money, combined with the strict avoidance of all spontaneous enjoyment of life [---]. It is thought of so purely as an end in itself, that from the point of view of the happiness of, or utility to, the single individual, it appears entirely transcendental and absolutely irrational. Man is dominated by the making of money, by acquisition as the ultimate purpose of his life. Economic acquisition is no longer subordinated to man as the means for the satisfaction of his material needs. This reversal of what we should call the natural relationship, so irrational from a naïve point of view, is evidently as definitely a leading principle of capitalism as it is foreign to all peoples not under capitalistic influence. At the same time it expresses a type of feeling which is closely connected with certain religious ideas. (Weber, 2002 [1905], p. 18)

Weber's analysis is often deemed to be the most pessimistic assessment of modernity when compared to those of Marx and Durkheim. Whereas Marx emphasised the social estrangement and alienation capitalistic modernity promoted, and Durkheim's

critique focused on social and moral dislocation, Weber wrote about disenchantment (cultural rationalisation and devaluation of religion) as a consequence of the increasing dominance of instrumental reason. This referred to the rationalisation of outcomes that was increasingly taking place over ethical evaluations and allowing for a domination of technical means over moral ends. Weber did not see this as a temporary phase in the modernisation process but as its probable destiny. Thus, for him, modernity was defined by the infiltration of rational calculation into all aspects of social life, which was the driving force of disenchantment. (Heaphy, 2007, p. 21; Seifried & Novicevic, 2017; Shilliam, 2010.) Processes of rationalisation had profound effects on the capitalist economy but also for the spheres of religion, law, and bureaucracy. While Weber discussed class in relation to labour market positions, he also focused on the significance of social status, which he saw as dependent on factors such as social background, education, and occupation in addition to economic resources. (Calhoun et al., 2002, pp. 207–208; Heaphy, 2007, p. 21.)

Overall, the works of the grand theorists influenced the constructive movement of conceptualising modernity and thinking about the interplay of economic, cultural, political, and subjective forces that shape and are shaped by modern social life. They shared the Enlightenment conviction that it is possible to make universal generalisations about the social world, and their works collectively pointed to tensions between the opportunities and dangers they associated with the inevitable social change. These tensions were closely connected with the disintegration of established orders and the emergence of new ones. They were also bound up with emancipation and agency that was liberated from traditions but, at the same time, threatened by impoverished personal culture and new forms of subjection. (Heaphy, 2007, pp. 26–27; see also Kivisto, 2011, p. 151.)

2.2   Post-structuralism and Postmodernism

Post-structuralism and postmodernism challenged the philosophical and theoretical bases of the founding constructions of modernity that were infused with Enlightenment ideas about reason, truth, and progress (Heaphy, 2007, pp. 28, 50). Fox (2014) defines post-structuralism as an ontological and epistemological position within the humanities and social sciences, which emerged in the latter part of the 20th century and which, while retaining the structuralist concerns with power relations, emphasised the role of knowledge and textual processes in achieving and sustaining relations of power. Thus, one defining element of post-structuralism is its strong emphasis on the functioning and effects of language and discourse (Heaphy, 2007, p. 31). Postmodernism, in contrast, is an intellectual and cultural movement also characteristic of the late 20th century involving analyses of the social and cultural features of late capitalism (i.e. postmodernity) and critiques of sociological theory

as a modernist project (Calhoun, Gerteis, Moody, Pfaff, & Virk, 2012, p. 493; Preda, 2015). The main characteristics of postmodernism are the deep suspicion of modern knowledge and all intrinsic truths upon which it is built and the goal to call into question the definiteness of all knowledge and the power relations that underpin modern narratives of progress and reason (Sajed, 2010).

Both of these approaches[10] are made up of diverse theories, ideas, and understandings and are, hence, composed of various 'sub-approaches' (Heaphy, 2007, p. 3; Preda, 2015). However, several common features can be distinguished within and between them. Both post-structuralism and postmodernism mistrust social sciences that conceal their own investment in a particular view of the world, reject the project of a universal social science and clear positivist definitions and categories, emphasise the particular modes of knowledge defined by the multiplicity of people's subject positions, and argue that knowledge is always contextualised by its historical and cultural nature (Agger, 1991). Whereas modernism privileges science as the source of objective knowledge, both post-structuralism and postmodernism hold the view that language is central to its production. Instead of the universal set of categories of the grand constructive theories as well as the theoretical and methodological foundations based on assumptions held to be universally valid, these approaches favour more small-scale, local narratives that take into account the contingent, provisional, and unstable nature of the social world. (Calhoun et al., 2012, pp. 494–495; Preda, 2015.) The importance of examining the social world from the multiple perspectives of class, race, gender, and other identifying group affiliations is highlighted (Agger, 1991), and focus is placed on culture, discourse, and deconstruction (Heaphy, 2007, p. 50). The works of leading postmodernist and post-structuralist writers, such as Jean-François Lyotard and Michel Foucault, have had a profound impact on the deconstructive movement of modernity and modern theorising as well as the humanities and social sciences more

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[10] Whether post-structuralism and postmodernism can or should be clearly separated remains debated. Heaphy (2007, p. 48) sees that while post-structuralist and postmodernist critiques are often discussed as if they were the same thing, the arguments about postmodernity, which are often influenced by post-structuralism, should be explored in their own right as they include diverse ramifications for how social change and its implications are understood (see also Calhoun et al., 2012, p. 494). According to Fox (2014), postmodernism can be viewed as the 'political wing' of post-structuralism in the sense that, while post-structuralism is a move beyond the structuralist ontologies of the social world represented by the works of Marx and the like, postmodernism adopts post-structuralist epistemologies and ontologies to expose the contradictions within the grand narratives of control and domination. While Agger (1991) maintains that post-structuralism and postmodernism cannot be clearly separated, he makes a heuristic distinction between theory of knowledge (post-structuralism) and theory of society, culture, and history (postmodernism).

generally. They have inspired a significant amount of subsequent work as they not only deconstructed the ideas of given meanings and universal identities but also the frames of meaning based on dualisms and binaries (Agger, 1991; Fox, 2014; Mirchandani, 2005).

Lyotard, who is often argued to be the most explicit philosophical postmodernist (see Mirchandani, 2005), used the word postmodern to describe the state of knowledge in contemporary developed societies: 'Simplifying to the extreme, I define postmodernity as incredulity toward meta-narratives' (Lyotard, 1984, p. xxiv). Heiskala (2011) views Lyotard's influential book *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (*La Condition Postmoderne: Rapport Sur Le Savoir*, 1979; English translation in 1984), which is regularly credited for introducing postmodernism into social sciences (Madsen, 2014), as a work that transformed the discursive universe that had been dominated by the view that increasing societal differentiation was the key to understanding the modern world (see also Eisenstadt, 2010). Contrary to this view, Lyotard interpreted modernisation to be a process in which the plurality of local cultural traditions was demolished, and the various narratives were rearticulated into a unified 'modern canon' under the meta-narratives of science, progress, and the Enlightenment (Heiskala, 2011, p. 3). The postmodern condition, then, as incredulity towards meta-narratives, challenged modernist knowledge claims and narratives by insisting that the diversity of knowledges and diverse ways of knowing had to be recognised (Heaphy, 2007, pp. 60–62).

Foucault's work and approach to social sciences, which is often termed post-structuralist (e.g. Olssen, 2003), focused on the transition from traditional to modern societies. Foucault argued that the emergence of the modern order cannot be reduced to overarching developments related to capitalism and rationalisation because they fail to appreciate how knowledge and power operate with respect to modern social life (Heaphy, 2007, p. 33; Koopman, 2010). Mirchandani (2005) highlights Foucault's interest in modern techniques of domination and his criticism of the modern epistemology. Foucault rejected the idea of knowledge, truth, and language being neutral and argued that knowledge is always connected to power. For him, individuals' experiences are regulated and controlled by modern discourses that formalise knowledge. He also critiqued the universalism of modern epistemology as he saw that no one philosophical system or vantage point can grasp the plurality of discourses, institutions, or modes of power in modern society. (Foucault, 1989.) With regard to modern power, Foucault's argument was that it can no longer be understood as something invested in subjects exercising it over others with sanctions but as operating through impersonal mechanisms of bodily discipline that escape the consciousness and will of both individual and collective social agents (Cronin, 1996). One of Foucault's most influential conceptualisations is governmentality (e.g. Foucault, 1997), which he applied in the field of social studies both to emphasise the

oblique management of conduct and to better understand the modalities and complexities of power in action (Abélès, 2015; McKinlay & Pezet, 2018). According to Howard (2007a, pp. 15–16), governmentality shifts the focus away from total institutions, which subject individuals to direct forms of control, towards new kinds of regulation that work indirectly on individuals at a distance. He underscores Foucault's interest in the way neoliberal societies, while granting individuals with considerable freedoms, are able to function in a productive manner by applying techniques of discipline in which activities of examining and correcting are increasingly conducted by individual subjects themselves.

2.3   Reflexive Reconstruction of Modernity

Along the way, postmodern and post-structural theories have been criticised for being relativistic and nihilistic (Bramham, 1997; Mirchandani, 2005), not managing to offer an alternative theory of social change that did not depend on the 'old' modernisation theory as a negation (Carleheden, 2006), being a reactionary and mechanical reflection of social changes (Featherstone, 2007), drawing a too-sharp line between the particular and the general (Beyer & Liston, 1992, p. 375), and engaging in radical posturing for its own sake (Heaphy, 2007, pp. 71–72). Many argue that, by the last decade of the 20th century, postmodern social theories had lost their energy and appeal (Carleheden, 2006), and the dissatisfaction with postmodernism and its views of society, which were often perceived to be fatalistic, particularistic, and fragmented, prompted a return to modernist themes (Alexander, 1995, p. 86). New theories of modernity emerged in the 1980s and 1990s with a new confidence in radical modernist theorising. The significant transformations in the character of Western societies since the Second World War with a more accelerated period of change from the 1960s on (Flint & Powell, 2013) were not interpreted to imply the end of modernity.[11] Instead, these theories, while having learnt from the postmodern criticism and engaging with postmodernist concerns about living with uncertainty and contingency, rejected post-structuralist and postmodernist arguments about the idea of a postmodern condition as a distinct, separate era. (Carleheden, 2006; Dawson, 2010.) Most notably, these approaches to the changing nature of modernity included theorisations of reflexive modernisation and second,

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[11]   Dawson (2013, p. 14) argues that it is useful to think of this period of modernity as a process, which first began to appear in the 1950s or 1960s when the welfare state emerged. However, he sees that late modernity was only fully established from the 1980s onwards when individualisation and the post-traditional order first started to appear, which also explains why the concept was included in sociological discourse at the turn of 1980s and 1990s.

high, and liquid modernity that addressed the continuity of modernity as requiring new concepts and offered a particular response to postmodernism by representing a different vision of what modernity entails (Lee, 2006).

Beck, Giddens, and Bauman are the most prominent theorists of the current stage of modernity. While sharing many similarities in terms of, for example, focal points and addressed concerns, they have used a somewhat different terminology. Beck typically refers to second modernity; Bauman originally used the term postmodernity but opted later to replace it with liquid modernity; and Giddens has used various names, such as high modernity, late modernity, and reflexive modernity. In the literature, these concepts are often used as synonymous terms even though they are not identical (e.g. Rasborg, 2017). All three theorists argue that, instead of being a time of fragmentation and dispersal resulting from a radical break from modernity as postmodernists are often seen to suggest, the current period is an adjustment to the previous stage of modernity. It is perceived as a time of radicalisation and renewal, and its central feature is the reconfiguration of modernity's institutions and social, cultural, and political forms. (Eid, 2003; Lee, 2006.) The main processes that Beck, Giddens, and Bauman see lying behind this reconfiguration stem from globalisation, de-traditionalisation, and individualisation. In this regard, they argue for the importance of recognising the continuities and differences between the earlier periods and the current period of modernity. They also share an assumption that the current stage of modernity implies significant changes in the role and abilities of individuals as they become, on one hand, more empowered to create their own identity 'freed' from societal pressures but, on the other hand, increasingly required to take responsibility for their decisions and justify them. (Dawson, 2012; Heaphy, 2007, pp. 69–70.)

2.3.1   Beck: Second Modernity and Risk Society

One of the first sociological responses to Lyotard's very influential *Postmodern Condition* was the publication of Ulrich Beck's book *Risk Society – Towards a New Modernity* (*Risikogesellsaft*, 1986; English translation in 1992), which sought an alternative to postmodern social theorising and presented a theory of modernity in two phases: simple modernity of industrial society and second modernity of risk society (Heiskala, 2011). According to Jarvis (2007), Beck was one of the first sociologists to recognise that risks might be increasing due to scientific and technological progress and industrialism instead of being reduced by them, which led to his theory of risk society (Beck, 1992, 2000; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; Beck et al., 2003; Beck & Lau, 2005). In *Risk Society*, Beck (1992) saw that much of the initial modernist project was complete as industrial modernity had reached its limits and that a transformation from this first phase of modernity to second

modernity was taking place. What lay behind this transformation was a process of radicalisation. 'When modernisation reaches a certain stage it radicalises itself. It begins to transform, for a second time, not only the key institutions but also the very principles of society. But this time the principles and institutions being transformed are those of modern society.' (Beck et al., 2003, p. 1.) In this regard, pivotal are the success and wide spread of industrial capitalism, which produce global outcomes that undermine their own material benefits (Jarvis, 2007).

Central to Beck's thinking about risk is, firstly, that the major global threats risk society faces are produced as unintended consequences of modernisation itself and, secondly, that national institutions are not able to cope with these threats (Burgess, Wardman, & Mythen, 2018). Beck (2002) recognises three layers of global danger in risk society: ecological crises, global economic crises, and the risk of transnational terrorist networks. In *Risk Society*, he (1992, p. 48) asserts that whereas industrial modern society was defined by the distribution of 'goods', such as wealth, income, housing, employment, and healthcare, risk society is characterised by the distribution of 'bads', which derive, ironically, from the capitalist modernity's processes of creating and distributing goods. These bads, such as environmental pollution and economic crises, are rather democratic in character in the sense that even those with ample resources cannot fully escape them (Eid, 2003; Burgess et al., 2018). However, Beck (1992, p. 35) does posit that, in risk society, wealth accumulates among those who are socio-economically advantaged, while risks accumulate among the disadvantaged. The struggles that characterise the distribution of risks in second modernity resemble those of the distribution of wealth in industrial society, and the logic of production and distribution of wealth has transformed into a new logic of production and distribution of risks between social groups (Beck, 1992; Heiskala, 2011). In comparison to industrial class society, where social inequality was represented by social class positions, in risk society, social inequalities are measured by social risk positions (Eid, 2003).

Global risks form one of five interrelated, collectively significant processes that undermine simple modernity's collective patterns of life, progress, and controllability. The other four are globalisation, individualisation, transformation of gender roles, and flexible employment practices. (Beck, 1992, p. 2; Beck et al., 2003; Beck & Lau, 2005.) In Beck's view, globalisation undermines the economic foundations of industrial modernity and the idea of society as a nation state. It also de-nationalises markets and creates international competition for foreign investment. One of the effects of these processes is the weakening of the welfare state because of a diminishing corporate tax base, which causes a 'domino effect' as the state retreats from its traditional responsibilities and places them on its citizens, thereby increasing the risks that individuals face (Jarvis, 2007). In industrial modernity, a reliable welfare state, mass parties anchored in class culture, and a stable nuclear

family were institutions that supported and were supported by a web of economic security that was formed by industrial regulation, full employment, and lifelong careers. However, the process of reflexive modernisation throws all these basic social principles into flux. (Beck et al., 2003.)

Along with the notion of risk, another central concept of Beck's theory is individualisation. Individualisation is, in his view, a process in which human identity is transformed from a 'given' into a task as the factors that used to define identities in industrial modernity, such as gender and social class, tend to have considerably less influence on individual's behaviour, attitudes, and perceptions in second modernity, hence, leaving more room to personal effort in building 'a life of one's own' (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). In other words, there is an increase in the predictive capability of variables corresponding to personal choice in individuals' lives (Ortega Gaspar, 2013). For Beck, the process of individualisation liberates people from traditional roles and constraints in three central ways. Individuals are removed from status-based classes; women are freed from their 'status fate' as housewives; and the realities of working life are changed due to the emergence of flexible work hours, pluralised underemployment, and the decentralisation of work sites (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 202). The provision of public goods (such as education and social support services) increases individualisation. However, while being liberated from the social ordering of industrial society by greater choice and social mobility through public education as well as travel and relocations through globalised work practices and migration, individuals are freed only into the turbulence of risk society. (Beck, Giddens, & Lash, 1994, p. 7.) Of central importance for Beck is that increasing individualisation is associated with greater individual risk and vulnerability, which result from individuals being exposed to volatile labour markets and flexible labour practices all while facing the consequences of the retreat of the welfare state (Jarvis, 2007). A new standardisation has occurred: individuals have become dependent on the employment market and, as a result, dependent on education, consumption, and welfare state regulations and support (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, pp. 213–214). For Beck, the rise of this institutionalised individualisation makes evident 'the irony and paradox of the welfare state'.

> The class struggles of class society achieve the welfare state and with it the principle of individual assignment of claims and contributions with the consequence that individualization becomes permanent, and the internal structuring principle of modern societies (classes) become less important. It is the collective success with class struggle which institutionalizes individualization and dissolves the culture of classes, even under conditions of radicalizing inequalities. (Beck, 2007, p. 682)

Beck emphasises that it is important to distinguish individualisation from individualism. Whereas the latter refers to a personal attitude or preference, the former is a macro-sociological phenomenon, a structural transformation of social institutions and the relationship of the individual to society. Hence, individualisation should not be understood as a process that derives from individuals' conscious choice or preference but as imposed on them by modern institutions steering individuals to seek biographical solutions to systemic problems. Furthermore, individualisation refers not only to individuals' freedom to choose but also to the obligation to make choices. (Beck, 2007; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002.) As Beck (1992, pp. 15–16) puts it: 'experts dump their contradictions and conflicts at the feet of the individual and leave him or her with the well-intentioned invitation to judge all of this critically on the basis of his or her own notions'.

Beck (1992, 2013) argues that class, gender, nuclear family, nation state, and full employment are all among categories that offered a frame for individual identities and biographies in industrial modernity but that they have now become 'zombie categories' kept only artificially alive in second modernity by sociologists insisting on still using them. According to his view, the nationally fixed social categories of class society are culturally dissolved or transformed through individualisation. 'Even the traditional conditions of life become dependent on decisions; they have to be chosen, defended and justified against other options and lived out as a personal risk' (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 49), and 'class culture and class position are being uncoupled; the multi-ethnic, multi-national working-class is no longer a working-class' (Beck, 2007, p. 687). An important aspect of Beck's treatment of class is his critique of methodological nationalism. Class conflicts used to be mostly a question of the economic situation of those within the nation state. In a globalising world, however, where the boundaries of nation states are losing their political, economic, and cultural congruence, analysing the transformation of social inequalities in the framework of a territorially defined nation state is a dead-end because this kind of methodological nationalism cannot effectively describe or uncover the inequalities. Hence, a cosmopolitan outlook is needed. (Beck, 2007, pp. 688–689.)

However, in Beck's view, the end of social class does not mean the end of social inequality. On the contrary, he sees this time as the beginning of increasing and radicalised inequalities, which are caused by the spread of individualisation through the process of reflexive modernisation (Beck, 2007; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 24). What makes modernity reflexive is the self-confrontation resulting from modernity becoming 'a theme and a problem for itself' (Beck, 1992, p. 19), which does not, however, necessarily imply that there is an increased reflection on the self-destructive potentials of risk society. In risk society, there is 'a peculiar synthesis of knowledge and unawareness' not only because the availability of more and better

knowledge is becoming a source of new risks but also because the opposite is equally true as risks come from and consist of unawareness. (Beck, 2000, p. 213.) The centrality of unawareness highlights the difference between second modernity and simple modernity. Whereas in the latter knowledge was enclosed within professional boundaries, and gaps in knowledge were either denied or ignored, the current stage of modernity is characterised by an ethos of doubt and uncertainty. While knowledge plays an important role in reflexive modernisation, in Beck's view, reflexivity is mainly unawareness: it is unexpected and unintended actions and reactions that occur without conscious awareness and prior planning. (Ekberg, 2007, pp. 355–356.)

At the individual level, reflexivity is forced upon individuals by structural fragmentation and insecurity because being reflexive is a requirement of surviving in the conditions of second modernity. Reflexive choice and inequality are linked because individuals' reflexive conduct of life gives rise to a new inequality related to dealing with insecurity and reflexivity (Beck, 1992, 98). For Beck, social identities relate increasingly to differences in lifestyles as well as to gender, ethnicity, sexuality, physical disability, age, and race. In second modernity, members of these various groups attempt to gain political powers, hence constructing their own biographies and identities (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 40). While Beck often refers to decision-making and choice, he also strongly emphasises that reflexivity has nothing to do with emancipation nor does it refer to agency. The structural insecurities, which individual reflexivity emerges as a response to, do not offer individuals autonomy and freedom from structures. (Beck, 1992; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002.)

2.3.2   Giddens: High Modernity and Post-traditional Society

Anthony Giddens (1990, p. 3) argues that modernity has reached a point in which its consequences are becoming more radicalised and universalised than before. What separates this period of high modernity from any prior era, in Giddens's view, is its extreme dynamism. It is not only the much faster pace of social change but also the scope of these changes. This dynamic nature of modern social life is explained by thee main elements (Giddens, 1990, pp. 17–28; 1991, pp. 15–21), which include the separation of time and space (distanciation), the disembedding of social institutions, and institutional reflexivity. Time-space distanciation refers to the complex relations between local involvements and across-distance interactions as social relations are stretched across broad spans of time-space. The second element, the disembedding of social relations from local contexts of interaction and their reconstruction across indefinite spans of time-space, relies on the creation of symbolic tokens (e.g. the money economy) and the increasing reliance on expert systems (systems of technical accomplishment or professional expertise, such as lawyers, architects, and doctors),

which both depend upon trust. Hence, trust, which is vested in abstract capacities instead of individuals, is involved in a fundamental way with modern institutions. Because individuals are exposed to different risks generated by the expert systems irrespective of whether they use them or not, there is no other choice but to cultivate a specific form of anonymous and spatially extensive trust (Eid, 2003). The third element, institutional reflexivity, refers to the regularised use of knowledge about circumstances of social life as a constitutive element in its organisation and transformation. This institutional reflexivity highlights the self-conscious nature of high modernity. Reflexivity is partly a product of rational thought turning on itself and undermining the certainty of knowledge and truth. It promotes a culture of radical doubt because even expert knowledge can be proven false by new knowledge in the future. (Giddens, 1990, pp. 38–40.)

Whereas Beck views reflexivity mainly as unawareness and non-knowledge, Giddens sees it as a constant appropriation of new information and revised knowledge as the basis for social organisation and self-identity (Ekberg, 2007). According to Giddens (1991, 1994), in high modernity, societies are freed of rigid customs and static traditions and are, hence, post-traditional. The collapse of traditions and the decline of trust in the certainty of knowledge are responded to with reflexivity by institutions but also by individuals. In post-traditional society, the self undergoes a massive change as modernity confronts individuals with a complex variety of choices while offering only very little help to determine which options should be selected. For Giddens, the self becomes a project for individuals to reflexively create themselves instead of something determined for them by tradition or habit, and reflexivity is a modern form of agency providing individuals with great levels of personal sovereignty (Farrugia, 2015, p. 875). While these high modern or post-traditional conditions give individuals the possibility to engage in life-planning and adopt a variety of life styles, it also brings with it the possibility of considerable doubt and the threat of a sense of meaninglessness (Giddens, 1991, pp. 80–85, 201–202) as the 'fixed' sources of meaning (such as religion, class, lifetime employment, and nuclear family) diminish (Threadgold & Nilan, 2009). Giddens rarely applies the term individualisation directly but speaks instead about new individualism or identity in high modernity, which has a strong resemblance to the notions of individualisation suggested by Beck and Bauman (see Dawson, 2012; Rasborg, 2017). What causes this new individualism is not only the diminishing of traditions and habits but also the way the welfare state and its institutions disembed individuals from their bonds to traditional forms of community. As Giddens (1991, p. 5) summarises it:

> In the post-traditional order of modernity, and against the backdrop of new forms of mediated experience, self-identity becomes a reflexively organised

endeavour. The reflexive project of the self, which consists in the sustaining of coherent, yet continuously revised, biographical narratives, takes place in the context of multiple choice as filtered through abstract systems. In modern social life, the notion of lifestyle takes on a particular significance. The more tradition loses its hold, and the more daily life is reconstituted in terms of the dialectical interplay of the local and the global, the more individuals are forced to negotiate lifestyle choices among a diversity of options. [---] Reflexively organised life-planning, which normally presumes consideration of risks as filtered through contact with expert knowledge becomes a central feature of the structuring of self-identity.

Even though the development of modern institutions has created opportunities to enjoy an existence that is more secure than ever before, the character of high modernity is two-sided (Giddens, 1990, p. 7). The four institutional dimensions of Giddens's high modernity are industrialism, capitalism, surveillance (i.e. supervisory control of subject populations), and control of the means of violence (Giddens, 1991, p. 15), which are related to the four risks Giddens (1990, pp. 55–63, 1991, p. 4) identifies on the 'dark side' of high modernity. The risks include growth of totalitarian power, an era of 'total war' with immense powers of destruction, the collapse of global economic systems, and ecological disasters. While risks define the dark side of high modernity, Giddens does not succumb to pessimism as he views these risks to be only potential, not inevitable (Kivisto, 2011). Risk can also be seen in a positive light as it has the potential to encourage taking brave initiatives when facing a problematic future (Eid, 2003). Despite this cautious optimism, Ekberg (2007, p. 344) argues that the overall conclusion, which can be drawn from the work of Giddens (and Beck as well), is that whereas industrial modernity was characterised by the ethos of wealth creation and class consciousness, what dominates in high modernity is the ethos of risk avoidance and risk consciousness, which is a result of uncertainty and insecurity having become the major catalyst for social transformation.

2.3.3   Bauman: Liquid Modernity and Consumer Society

Zygmunt Bauman has worked his way beyond the concept of postmodernity, which he initially used, and opted to replace it with the idea of 'liquid' modernity (Bauman, 2000). For Bauman, the developments related to globalisation, economic deregulation, intensified mobility, heightened uncertainties, and inflated individualism signal that the world has become liquid modern rather than postmodern. Bauman sees the concept of liquidity as a better way to address the contemporary era, which is characterised by both disjuncture and continuity, and

how it is distinguished from the preceding stage of 'solid' modernity. With this concept, Bauman highlights also that the liquid state of modernity is not its terminal phase but an aspect of change. (Heaphy, 2007, pp. 72–73; Lee, 2014.)

Liquidity implies that patterned social conduct and those social structures which are essential for making social relations durable no longer exist in a meaningful way. What is characteristic to the current time is that these structures do not keep their shape very long, and individuals cannot, therefore, use them as frames of reference for their actions and long-term life strategies (Bauman, 2000, 2007a). While solid modernity both disembedded social forms, relations, and identities from their established bases and re-embedded them through disciplinary processes, liquid modernity only disembeds without re-embedding (Heaphy, 2007, p. 73). The concept of liquidity entails the idea of flow, constant movement, and change, but the question about direction is futile – the movement is itself the objective (Bryant, 2007, pp. 127–128), and speed, elusiveness, freedom, and power are the characteristics of the liquid modern world (Lee, 2014). As Bauman himself (2014, p. 90) states:

> Forms of modern life may differ in quite a few respects – but what unites them all is precisely their fragility, temporariness, vulnerability and inclination to constant change. To 'be modern' means to modernize – compulsively, obsessively; not so much just 'to be', let alone to keep its identity intact, but forever 'becoming', avoiding completion, staying underdefined.

There are five closely interconnected changes that produce the entirely novel challenges that individuals are confronted with in liquid modernity (Bauman, 2007a, pp. 1–4). The first change is the transformation from solid into liquid modernity and the subsequent constant and never-ending change of social forms. The second one is the separation of power and politics because much of the power is now in the hands of the politically uncontrollable global space, whereas politics remain local. Thirdly, the gradual yet consistent withdrawal of the welfare state has detrimental effects on the foundations of social solidarity. The fourth change is the decline of long-term thinking and planning, which causes both political history and individual lives to become a series of short-term projects and episodes. Lastly, the fifth change is the way the responsibility for resolving challenges that are caused by the constantly changing liquid modern circumstances is placed on individuals, who are expected not only to be free choosers but also to take the full responsibility for the consequences of their choices. For individuals, finding solutions to systemic contradictions is 'an impossible task, to be sure, one that defies logic and one that cannot be undertaken in anything remotely reminiscent of a coherent and systematic way' (Bauman, 2001, p. 23). This is related to the ways individuals – but also institutions – attempt to manage and respond to risk and uncertainty by retaining a

level of liquidity or flexibility that allows them, at least to some extent, to deal with risks and an unknown future (Ekberg, 2007).

For Bauman (2000, p. 32), to speak of modernity and individualisation is to speak of the same social condition. On a general level, his view of individualisation is much in line with the views of Beck and Giddens as he sees that identity formation is increasingly changing from being something given that people are born into to a task that they can and have to manage themselves (Rasborg, 2017). In accordance with Beck, Bauman believes this does not imply that individual autonomy is increasing. Even though being cast as autonomous and responsible individuals, being an individual *de jure* (by degree of law) by no means guarantee autonomous individuality *de facto* (existing in fact) for everyone (Bauman, 2007a, p. 58). Bauman has been argued to differ from Beck and Giddens in this regard (Dawson, 2012). Whereas the latter two tend to see the process of individualisation to be universal and do not typically view some individuals to be more 'individualised' or reflexive than others, Bauman suggests that there is stratification within individualisation. Despite the universality of individualisation *de jure* requiring individuals to take responsibility for their lives, not everyone has the resources to do that and achieve this level of individualisation. Hence, risks and contradictions continue to be socially produced, and only the duty to cope with them is individualised. (Bauman, 2001.) This leads Dawson (2012) to highlight the difference between Bauman's view and that of Beck and Giddens by making a distinction between 'disembedded' and 'embedded' individualisation. According to Dawson, the disembedded view of Beck and Giddens implies that individualisation is the disappearing significance of social characteristics that have previously impacted social action.[12] In the embedded definition of individualisation in Bauman's work, the focus is on the increased individual responsibility, which is disguised as freedom. However, not everyone is equally able to take responsibility, which leads to the importance of continual forms of stratification, which are accentuated, not replaced, by individualisation.

Bauman argues that, under the conditions of liquid modernity, contemporary society is very much a consumer society characterised by insecurity and uncertainty (e.g. Bauman, 2001), and he links individualisation to consumerism more strongly than Beck and Giddens do (Dawson, 2012). He sees that there has been a transition from production to consumption as the primary source of individual identity (Bauman, 2000) because 'contemporary society relates to its members primarily as consumers, and only secondarily, and in part, involves them also as producers' (Bauman, 2007b, p. 157). In solid modern society, the primary roles of individuals

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[12]   For criticism of this kind of reading of Beck's work, see section 3.2.

were related to the production of valuable things, and their personal advancement depended on the acquisition and mastery of skills. Individual development followed the logic of career and promotion, entailing a sense of accumulation of achievements and advancing toward a goal or position. In consumer society, these values have become increasingly irrelevant or even counterproductive. (Howard, 2007b, pp. 36–37.)

> The difference between then and now is not as radical as abandoning one role and replacing it with another. Neither of the two societies could do without at least some of its members taking charge of producing things to be consumed, and all members of both societies do, of course, consume. The difference is one of emphasis, but that shift of emphasis does make an enormous difference to virtually every aspect of society, culture and individual life. (Bauman, 2004, p. 24)

2.4 Old and Renewed Debates

The social world has gone through significant structural changes, such as the processes of deindustrialisation, the economy becoming dominated by consumption, and global information and communication technologies assuming a powerful role. However, the question that still remains is whether these changes signify an epochal shift away from modernity to postmodernity or a transition to a different kind of modernity. (Calhoun et al., 2012, pp. 195–196; Heaphy, 2007, pp. 69–70.) While the term postmodernity itself implies that the present period of social transition is as radical as the transformation from tradition to modernity (Carleheden, 2006; Sajed, 2010), it would be an over-generalisation to claim that all postmodernists contend that these changes have led to the end of modernity. Even the radical postmodernist positions (see Lemert, 1997, pp. 36–53) should not be paralleled with the argument that postmodernity is a new epoch. While there are postmodernists who believe that a new era has dawned and that the shift from modernity to postmodernity is an epochal one (see Heaphy, 2007, pp. 50, 60), many theorists applying the concept of postmodernity, even Lyotard, who is often credited for introducing postmodernism into philosophy and the social sciences, emphasise that the postmodern is to be regarded as part of the modern and are reluctant to conceive of postmodern as an epochal shift (Featherstone, 1988, pp. 198–199). As a matter of fact, the polarised debate between modernists and postmodernists seems to have been over for a while now (e.g. Carleheden, 2006), and Calhoun and colleagues, among others, view this debate about whether we live in a modern of postmodern world as largely an empty one.

> In recent years, there has been a rather sterile debate between self-proclaimed 'modernists' and 'postmodernists'. Theorists in both camps generally agree that something has fundamentally changed in the patterns of social relations, economic flows, and moral regulation in modern societies. The question at the centre of the debate has been whether these changes should best be considered part and parcel of the same ever-transforming modern era that the founding figures of sociology spent their lives studying, or whether it is best to conceive of this as a new 'postmodern' era. It has been a heated exchange for sure, but it has not produced many fruitful outcomes. (Calhoun et al., 2012, p. 493)

While the modernity-postmodernity debate may have mostly withered away, it does not mean that there is a consensus about 'the state of social affairs' in the field of social sciences. One new – or rather renewed – debate stemming from criticism of the theorisations of modernity by Beck, Giddens, and Bauman has emerged revolving around the conceptualisations of individualisation and the question about the extent to which individuals can freely determine their destinies and to what extent they are sorted by structural forces associated with factors such as social class and gender. This is not to suggest that scholarly discussions about the relation of structure and agency are a new phenomenon in sociology – absolutely on the contrary given the central nature of the issue for the whole discipline (e.g. Woodman, 2009) – but there is a newly reinvigorated interest in this perennial topic. Related to this, theoretical questions about social class and structural inequalities, and along with them Bourdieu's theory of practice, have roused renewed interest. This trend is particularly prominent in the field of youth studies, where one of the most topical macro-theoretical questions is whether social class is still, under the conditions of late modernity, a relevant concept for understanding the persistent inequalities in young people's lives (c.f. Coffey & Farrugia, 2014). The next chapter takes a closer look at these debates around the works of Beck, Giddens, and Bauman as well as further theoretical developments that have arisen from them – and from the arguments made to criticise them.

3   Individualisation Thesis and Social Structures

As discussed in the previous chapter, according to Beck, Giddens, and Bauman, the processes of modernisation have resulted in the extraction of human lives from the bonds of family, tradition, and social collectives. The central relevance of identity for contemporary individuals is seen to result from the disembedding effects of late modernity, which have replaced traditional certainties with choice, fluidity, and fragmentation. The breakdown of the stable and coherent roles and positions implies that identity is transformed from being prescribed by social structures to a task that individuals are required to take the responsibility for by actively defining who they are and what their relationships with others are like. This individualisation of life situations and processes means that individual biographies become increasingly reflexive because, instead of being socially prescribed, they have to be self-produced. (E.g. Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1991.) According to this view, the meaning of traditions and social groups for individuals is no longer an external imposition but rather a deliberate action or affiliation. On the flipside of this is what Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002, p. 40) call the precariousness of these freedoms, which refers to the uncertainty about whether individual choices will have the intended biographical effects.

While individuals are thought to have more liberty to control and construct their lives and not to be bound to certain lifestyles, they are also argued to have become more dependent on a series of modern institutions and structures, such as the welfare state and the education system, all of which impose new and often contradictory demands, controls, and constraints on them (Howard, 2007a, p. 2). 'Through the job market, the welfare state and institutions, people are tied into a network of regulations, conditions, provisos. From pension rights to insurance protection, from educational grants to tax rates: all these are institutional reference points marking out the horizon within which modern thinking, planning and action must take place.' (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 2.) Furthermore, while individuals are required to take on the responsibility for solving their 'own' problems, it does not mean that the problems are caused by the individuals nor that they can be solved by them (Bauman, 2007a). Due to these interlinked developments, individualisation is not

only an individual orientation but a fundamentally social phenomenon, a form of social organisation. According to this view, the role of institutions in shaping individual lives has become more pronounced. (Dawson, 2012; Howard, 2007a, p. 9; Zinn, 2002.) These new forms of reproduction and regulation lead to a situation where individuals become, as Howard (2007a, 1) puts it, 'the fundamental agent of human action and the ultimate target of governance', because central institutions are geared to the individual and not the collective (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, 21). Hence, in order to cope with the changing institutional demands and ever-present risks and uncertainties, individuals need to reflexively build and adjust their identities and biographies. The emphasis on individual choice, identity, and reflexivity shared by Beck, Giddens, and Bauman has led several commentators to group their works together under an umbrella term 'individualisation thesis'[13] (Howard, 2007b, 25).

3.1   Critiques of the Individualisation Thesis

While the individualisation thesis has had profound impacts on many academic fields, it has not gone uncontested[14], quite the opposite. As Howard (2007a, 2) notes, the debates and disagreements about individualisation and its implications are complex and, hence, difficult to summarise. He does, however, recognise certain main themes in the debates. Drawing mainly on Howard but also Dawson (2012) and Cortois (2017), who have presented categorisations of the various critiques of the individualisation thesis, this section presents the major dimensions of the debates and critiques. It should be noted that the lines of argument are not mutually exclusive, but rather overlapping, and researchers tend to combine and move between them depending on what they are focusing on (Dawson, 2012).

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[13]   However, as discussed earlier, all three do not share exactly the same views in this regard. Beck has been credited with the most systematic outline of the theory of individualisation as the structuring principle of the contemporary time (which is also likely the reason why he has faced the most criticism out of the three in this regard), linking it strongly to globalisation and the modern welfare state. Giddens holds a rather optimistic view of individualisation (albeit not using the term) and emphasises the transformation of the self into a reflexive and overall unstable project related to the growing differentiation of time and space and the disembedding of social ties. Bauman, by contrast, has adopted a more critical approach and links individualisation with a consumption-directed society, where values that were once clearly identified or 'solid' become liquid. (See Cortois, 2017; Dawson, 2012.)

[14]   Individualisation is not the only aspect of the works of Beck, Giddens, and Bauman that has faced criticism. For instance, for critique on Beck's views on risk society, see Elliott (2002) and Jarvis (2007).

3.1.1   Novelty and Originality

One of the debates around the individualisation thesis, which relates to what Dawson (2012) calls a modernist critique of individualisation, is both about the novelty of individualisation as a phenomenon and about the originality of the individualisation thesis (Howard, 2007a, 10–11). With regard to the first point, the main argument of the critics is that individualisation is not a new phenomenon, but one that has been occurring since or even before the emergence of modernity. Hence, there is argued to be a continuation of long-term modern processes into the 21st century. Along this line of thinking, the current period is seen as a time of stability and continuity where traditional social categories, such as social class and gender, are still very relevant for individual lives (Dawson, 2012), instead of seeing it to be a time of radicalisation, renewal, and the disappearance of the traditional categories (c.f. Eid, 2003). Some more 'moderate' accounts argue that, even though there have been significant societal changes, the extent and impact of these changes has been exaggerated (e.g. Mythen, 2005), often by 'researchers too enthusiastic to jump on theoretical bandwagons without due regard for empirical evidence' (Furlong, 2009, p. 344). Heiskala (2011) argues that, while the works of the individualisation theorists have revealed the immense societal transformations that have taken place, the individualisation thesis hides many existing continuities from sight.

When it comes to the originality of the individualisation thesis itself, it is important to note that individualisation is not a new concept in sociology (e.g. Brannen & Nilsen, 2005). It has been claimed that classical social theorists (e.g. Durkheim, 1952) have made arguments similar to those by Beck, Giddens, and Bauman (see Mills, 2007; Nollmann & Strasser, 2007) and that the classical theories of the individual together with established theoretical ideas are also able to explain the late modern forms of individualisation (see Furlong, 2009). In response, while acknowledging the significance of the prior contributions, the individualisation theorists argue that those earlier theorisations have certain significant limitations when it comes to understanding contemporary individualisation because the social certainties that existed in the era of classical sociology have been undermined in the current stage of modernity. As a result, they believe that individualisation has taken a new form. (Dawson, 2012; Howard, 2007a, p. 13.)

3.1.2   Institutions and Neoliberal Policies

According to Howard (2007a, pp. 14–17), another main theme of the debates revolves around the issue of institutions' influence on individual lives and the question about the extent to which contemporary institutions provide individuals with coherent social roles to adopt. Howard presents two alternative perspectives contradicting the approach of the individualisation thesis, which posit that, while

institutions have profound effects on individuals, they do not supply individuals with complete social roles or identities. The first alternative perspective is rooted in social psychology, and it suggests that institutions can allocate 'default identities' to those individuals who are not able or willing to reflexively build their own biographies (see Côté, 2000; Côté & Schwartz, 2002). In this regard, Howard (2007a) highlights the way certain institutions, such as educational and occupational systems, provide a considerable amount of 'default' content for individuals by imposing norms and standards on individual biographies. The second perspective draws from Foucault and the governmentality paradigm focusing on the extent to which contemporary institutions force specific identities on individuals. Here an important aspect is that, in addition to promoting individual choice and self-regulation, neoliberal policies also contain strong components of discipline and normalisation aligning personal autonomy with political agendas and, therefore, constraining individual freedom.

This relates closely to what Dawson (2012) calls a discourse perspective of the criticism of the individualisation thesis. This perspective aims to place individualisation processes within a broader political context of contemporary neoliberal societies because it sees individualisation as 'neoliberalism in action' (c.f. Lazzarato, 2009). Even though factors such as class, gender, and ethnicity are still materially important, the opposite is argued in the neoliberal political discourse. In this discourse, individual choice is valorised, and everyone is viewed to have a chance to succeed as long as they take responsibility of their own lives and practise self-control. Those who criticise the individualisation thesis from this perspective often assert that viewing universalised individualisation as the emancipation of individuals is dangerous, especially when it becomes a political project (c.f. Skeggs, 2004, pp. 53–54).

3.1.3   Structure, Agency, and Inequality

The final two major debates Howard (2007a, pp. 6–10, 17–20) distinguishes are closely connected to each other as they relate both to the mechanisms of social stratification and to structure and agency. Individualisation theorists' alleged view of individualisation as freedom from the constraints of tradition and social structures has been widely contested. The individualisation theorists, particularly Beck and Giddens, have encountered substantial criticism from those who see them to suggest that inequality in late modern societies is determined by individual actions and decisions instead of structural factors. The critics argue that these factors still have significant effects on the experiences and life chances of individuals[15]. (Howard,

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[15]   For Beck's response to this criticism, see Beck (2007) and (2013).

2007a, pp. 17–20.) Furthermore, there is no agreement about the extent to which experiences of individualisation are (un)equally distributed. There are arguments that individualisation, itself seen as a key dimension of inequality, is a privileged form of subjectivity, an experience of white middle-class men, and that the individualisation thesis universalises particular middle-class ideals of self-expression and autonomy (e.g. Skeggs, 2004, pp. 52–54). However, there are also accounts highlighting the importance of individualisation in the lives of the disadvantaged and marginalised (see Howard, 2007a, p. 20).

Especially with regard to the argument that social class is no longer relevant in late modernity, a frequent criticism is that there is not only a serious lack of empirical evidence to back up this claim (see Cortois, 2017) but also that the empirical evidence actually points in the opposite direction (e.g. Brannen & Nilsen, 2005; Furlong & Cartmel, 2007; Reay, 2006; Savage, 2003; Skeggs, 2004). Curran (2018) distinguishes two main arguments made against Beck's view on the disappearance of social class, which Beck sees to be partly a result of the equalising effect of the distribution of risks. The first one claims that the distribution of risk also continues to be heavily shaped by class in late modernity. The second argument focuses on the distribution of goods, which is seen still to be fundamentally significant for individuals' life chances, and, hence, the importance of which cannot be overpowered by the distribution of risk. Furlong and Cartmel (2007, pp. 2–3, 138–139) suggest an explanation for the seemingly decreasing relevance of social structures. They accept some of the main arguments of the individualisation thesis but argue that late modernity involves an essential continuity with the previous stage of modernity in that economic and cultural resources are still pivotal for life chances and experiences. For them, late modernity revolves around an epistemological fallacy: although social structures, such as class, have become more obscure due to the weakening collectivist traditions and intensifying individualist values, they continue to significantly shape and constrain individuals' lives.[16] In other words, although social structures continue to influence life chances, individuals themselves tend not to recognise their effects.

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[16] France and Haddon (2014) argue that the contradiction between objective and subjective dimensions in individuals' lives cannot be regarded as them being blind to circumstances. Hence, they criticise Furlong and Cartmel's way of explaining the subjective weakening of social structures with the concept of epistemological fallacy, which, according to France and Haddon, creates a view of young people having a 'false consciousness' or being 'political dupes' who lack a detailed understanding of the social contexts they live in (France & Haddon, 2014, pp. 317–318). In contrast, their own studies show that young people have a clear understanding of their social locations and that their reflexivity, which France and Haddon refer to as consciousness, is based upon an understanding of the social world. For Furlong's response to the criticism, see Furlong (2009).

Much of the criticism and confusion surrounding the individualisation thesis has been brought on by the ambivalent definition of individualisation as it is situated both as a driving force at the societal level and as an outcome at the individual level (Mills, 2007, p. 64).[17] Furthermore, the individualisation thesis has been accused of internal contradictions and conceptual unclarity (e.g. Curran, 2018). It has been criticised, for example, in terms of how it conceptualises agency as simply having a series of multiple choices of what to consume, which is not seen to constitute 'any sort of agency worthy of the concept' (Côté, 2002, p. 118; see also Côté & Levine, 2002). However, it is Beck's ambiguous treatment of class that is particularly central in this regard. While Beck is not arguing the disappearance or even weakening of social inequalities, he asserts that inequalities are manifested at the level of the individual rather than at the level of social class or group. Nevertheless, he sees that inequalities, the distribution of which display a remarkable stability, may be arranged in a way that closely resembles their distribution within a class society (Beck, 1992, p. 91). The problem here, as Atkinson (2007a), Threadgold (2011), and Roberts (2010), among others, have pointed out, is how can inequalities be arranged along social classes or in class-like ways if class has indeed become a 'zombie' with no significant relevance? In this regard, Furlong (2009, pp. 348–349) argues that a clear implication of Beck's view on social class is that for classes to exist in any kind relevant way, class cultures must also exist so that individuals' consciousness is linked to collective locations. The problem that Furlong sees with this line of argument is that it takes a dated stereotype of class as its starting point and then attacks against it. He views this approach to be flawed in two respects. Firstly, social classes exist and shape life chances irrespective of whether a corresponding set of cultural perspectives can be identified, and, secondly, many individuals are, despite the epistemological fallacy, somewhat aware of the ways in which unequal opportunity structures shape their lives. This is in line with Roberts's (2010) argument, which claims that the focus of contemporary class analysis is not on class as primarily being communal solidarity often associated with the age of predictable and linear life course transitions but on the nuanced and subtle ways class operates in the context of social change. However, it is the former that individualisation theorists challenging class analysis take up as a 'poor caricature' of class against which they argue (see also Atkinson, 2007a[18]).

[17]   Moreover, some of the confusion is likely to result from the evolvement of Beck's work through different periods of how he understands the relationship between risk, inequality, and class. These periods include his work on risk society, world risk society, cosmopolitan analysis, and the analysis of social metamorphosis, which partly follow each other in time but also partly overlap. (Curran, 2018, pp. 29–30.)

[18]   Will Atkinson is one of the most vocal and systematic critics of Beck (see Atkinson, 2007a, 2007b), Giddens (Atkinson, 2007c), and Bauman (Atkinson, 2008).

The debate around the causes of social stratification and especially the arguments against the universality of individualisation relate closely to what Dawson (2012) calls the interactionist criticism of individualisation. This form of critique focuses on the way the individualisation thesis is perceived to place reflexivity purely within the individual. The interactionist critics aim to 'reintroduce the social into individualisation', and while they do not reject individualisation *per se*, they claim that the individualisation thesis overlooks the ways in which reflexivity and, therefore, individualisation are socially situated. They draw typically on the work of Bourdieu and argue that reflexivity is socially relational and that individualisation is stratified along social class, gender, and the like.

3.2   Orthodoxies and Straw Men in Youth Studies

In many ways, as Curran (2018) and Atkinson (2016) argue, the impact that Beck has had in the fields of sociology, particularly in class analysis, has not resulted so much from a widespread acceptance of his arguments about risk and class but from research that has critically built upon his work and departed from many of his conclusions. In this sense, it is the 'flaws' in Beck's analyses and in the individualisation thesis that have been most productive as many significant developments in sociological theorising stem from the critiques made against them.[19] While the contemporary debates about the individualisation thesis are diverse and manifold, they not only derive from the different understandings and theoretical standpoints but also from different 'readings' of the works of Beck, Giddens, and Bauman, which vary from sympathetic and generous to harshly critical. Hence, it seems that the debates are not always only about who is 'right' but also about what is the 'right' way to read the individualisation theorists, Beck in particular. This leads to the risk, as Farrugia (2013) points out, that focusing on how to read those works can lead to paying less attention to the contributions they could make for future analyses of social inequalities. On the other hand, Woodman (2009) argues that it is the misreadings and misrepresentations of Beck's work, especially in so-called theoretical middle ground positions 'between' structure and agency, that unnecessarily limit the theoretical work on social inequalities in the field of youth

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[19]   To highlight this, Curran (2018, pp. 34–36) discusses different research approaches (and their representatives) that have emerged as critiques of Beck's account of class, thus, underscoring how his frameworks have provided a key point of departure and motivation for novel research paradigms and insights into class analysis: the continuity of class research paradigm (e.g. Furlong and Cartmel, Mythen, Atkinson), the individualisation of class inequalities (e.g. Savage, Skeggs), and the political economy of risk-class (Beck, Curran).

studies. Woodman's argument sparked a debate in the *Journal of Youth Studies*, and the discussion between him (2009, 2010), Roberts (2010, 2012), and Threadgold (2011) is an illustrative example of the different readings of Beck and their potential implications for youth studies.

3.2.1   Readings and Misreadings?

In his initial article, Woodman (2009) contends that, in sociological youth studies, there is a clear tendency to misread Beck and build a misrepresentative association between Beck and the concept of choice biography with the goal to show that Beck overemphasises agency over structure and that his theorisation lacks focus on the persistent traditional forms of social inequalities. Choice biographies, which are often perceived to be characteristic of the contemporary Western world, need to be individually chosen and constructed. They are seen to replace so-called normal biographies, which refer to the relatively predictable and linear moves from youth to adulthood of those born in the post-Second World War baby boom. Woodman argues against the view of, for example, Brannen and Nilsen (2007), who have referenced the concept of choice biography to Beck and critically called it a current pervasive theoretical orthodoxy in youth studies. Firstly, Woodman (2009) argues that the conception that choice biography originates from Beck's work is a result of a misreading.[20] Secondly, he claims that this kind of approach misrepresents Beck and constructs him as a 'straw man' to criticise for overplaying agency and change at the expense of structure and reproduction. Woodman sees that this is done for the purpose of establishing and occupying a middle ground position between structure and agency without truly engaging with the real challenges that the individualisation thesis presents. Indeed, according to Woodman, criticising Beck from this kind of a middle ground position is the true orthodoxy in contemporary sociological youth studies,[21] not using the concept of choice biography to which positive references are rare compared to critical accounts. The way these middle ground positions are established and argued for tends to, in Woodman's view, follow a general pattern:

> The claim against Beck tends to go as follows: he is insensitive to context and the complexities and diversities of the world, only treats the individual side of the agency-structure dynamic, and negates systematic differences based on class

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[20]   In this regard, what Woodman (2009, p. 245) sees Beck to actually suggest is that the 'normal' biography becomes an elective, a reflexive, or a do-it-yourself biography, which does not necessarily happen by choice nor does it necessarily succeed (e.g. Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 3).

[21]   Woodman (2009, 2010) does, however, recognise the value of many studies using the middle ground positions to theorise important empirical work.

and other social variations; hence, concepts more sensitive to both structure and agency than his are needed (c.f. Brannen and Nilsen 2005). A common operating procedure is to critique Beck by drawing on a theorist seen to be strong on structural mechanisms and then critique that theorist in turn for overemphasising social reproduction and structural mechanisms. As such, Pierre Bourdieu and his concept of habitus are regularly invoked. (Woodman, 2009, p. 246)

Woodman's (2009, 2010) own take on Beck's work, which stems from what he calls a generous reading, is that one of its key aims is to understand how structural inequality has remained constant despite the institutional and social change associated with the transition from simple to second modernity. Woodman (2009, pp. 249–250) interprets Beck's argument to be that, as a sociological concept, class does not work for this purpose anymore and that the concept of individualisation is Beck's attempt to provide an alternative for it. Hence, the argument is that Beck is not interested in a distinction between structure and agency. What Beck is suggesting is not that structures disappear but that they change and become more complex and multiply mediated and cannot, therefore, be captured by the means and concepts of current class analysis (Woodman, 2010). According to Woodman (2009, p. 248) Beck's theory focuses on the impacts that modernity's unintended consequences have when modern principles fold back on modern institutions. He goes on to assert that if criticising a poor caricature of Beck's work, pitting him against the more structurally oriented work of Bourdieu, and showing simply that class still matters are seen to be important theoretical contributions, it unnecessarily limits theoretical work in sociological youth studies. In this regard, Woodman's initial aim was to challenge sociological youth studies by evoking more discussions about the use of Beck and the conceptual frameworks applied in studying social inequality.

In his responses to Woodman, Roberts (2010, 2012) argues that Woodman is overly generous in his reading of Beck and that Beck does indeed overemphasise agency in his work. Roberts (2010, p. 138) states that it is not his intention to jump on the bandwagon of those holding critical views towards Beck but to challenge Woodman's reading and to illustrate the implicit nature of the prominence of choice in Beck's work. In addition, Roberts (2010, p. 137) sees Woodman's argument that middle ground positions tend to view Beck's ideas as an 'unwarranted mythical beast that needs to be slain over and over again' to lambast youth sociology, particularly youth transition studies. He goes on to argue that it is actually Woodman's argument that is based on a misreading of what those in the middle ground are claiming because the majority of middle ground theorists are interested the ways in which inequality is mediated by social class. While recognising that there are issues of inequality that extend beyond class, illustrating that class still matters is an important responsibility for sociological youth studies in Roberts's view. Hence, he argues that

acknowledging the role of structures 'in the middle ground' is not a waste of time, as he sees Woodman to suggest. On the contrary, continuing to reveal forms and workings of structural inequality is a significant task for youth studies: 'if such inequality continues to exist, then the job is not done' (Roberts, 2010, p. 145).

Threadgold (2011) engages in the debate in a way that, on one hand, takes Woodman's challenge to youth studies seriously and agrees that Beck has much to offer to the understanding of contemporary social inequality. On the other hand, Threadgold maintains, in accordance with Roberts, that Beck's approach to class is problematic. He sees that the main value of Beck's work on individualisation is that it provides a description and analysis of neoliberal governmentality and that it has the potential to make relevant contributions to developing an understanding of how inequality is experienced. In terms of the debate, Threadgold takes, as he himself notes, somewhat ironically, the middle ground. He sees that Woodman's reading of certain aspects of youth sociology is not nearly as generous as his reading of Beck. Although many of Threadgold's affinities seem to lie with Woodman, he concurs with Roberts in that he does not see the middle ground position to be problematic, as Woodman does; 'orthodoxy is not problematic if the work produced is still relevant and vital' (Threadgold, 2011, p. 383). Because of Beck's vehement rejection of the concept of class, Threadgold also finds it difficult to see eye to eye with Woodman on his interpretation that Beck is not interested in the agency-structure dichotomy. He agrees with Woodman that the work of Bourdieu is often used to defend class and criticise Beck. However, the reason for this, according to him, is that the tools of Bourdieu's theory still provide the best way forward for understanding different dimensions of contemporary inequality. In this regard, Threadgold uses Beck's sporadic criticism of Bourdieu as an illustrative example of his ambiguous treatment of class as a whole. Threadgold sees Beck's critique of class to be as inconsistent and simplistic as his critique of Bourdieu, who Beck usually accuses of methodological nationalism. More generally, Threadgold (2011, p. 358) agrees with Woodman that there is often a poor caricature of Beck in sociological youth studies concerned with inequality, but he sees this to be a result of Beck himself giving a poor caricature of class. This is in line with the views of Furlong (2009, p. 348) and Roberts (2010), who argue that Beck uses a dated stereotype of class as a 'straw man' against which to attack.

3.2.2   Middle Ground and the Problem of Agency

One of the above-mentioned middle ground positions that is typically presented as an illustrative example of this kind of theoretical approach is Evans's concept of bounded agency, which aims to fill in the gap between the 'free agency' of the individualisation thesis and the 'structural determinism' of Bourdieu's work. The

concept of bounded agency, which focuses on individuals as actors, refers to socially situated agency that is influenced but not determined by environments. The concept emphasises both internalised frames of reference and external actions. Individuals are seen to have a past and imagined future possibilities that, together with subjective perceptions of structures and social landscapes, shape their actions in the present. (Evans, 2002, 2007, pp. 92–93.) Evans and other proponents of this approach perceive agency to be something that individuals possess but which is bound by society placing restrictions on individual identities and biographies (Coffey & Farrugia, 2014).

Even though Evans's work and other middle ground positions have been highly influential, they also have opponents. In addition to being accused by Woodman (2009) of misreading Beck and using him as a 'straw man', the middle ground positions – and Evans's bounded agency in particular – have been criticised, for example, for applying a 'modernist' theory of subjectivity resting upon an ontological separation between subjectivity and society and for using agency as 'a catch-all term that can be used to explain anything' (Coffey and Farrugia, 2014, p. 466).[22] Coffey and Farrugia argue that this approach is an example of unproductive ontological dualisms and a move away from more nuanced understandings of agency and contemporary youth inequalities, which they claim to be typical of many present-day youth studies. Furthermore, Coffey and Farrugia (2014, pp. 463–465) view that, in youth studies, there is a very problematic tendency to define agency in advance as actions that go against certain power structures, which the research itself sets out to critique. In addition to seeing this as a normative solution for defining agency, they argue that there is no reason why macro-level structural changes could not create conditions for unexpected idiosyncrasies in individual identities and biographies.

> Youth studies cannot simply continue to celebrate actions that resist existing power relationships as manifestations of agency. To do so results in conceptual frameworks that portray young people who do not resist as lacking active subjectivity, erases the efforts that these young people are making to build lives in conditions not of their own choosing, and imposes pre-existing normative

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[22] Coffey and Farrugia (2014, pp. 464–465) argue that the definitions and uses of the concept of agency in Evans's work are confusing and conflicting in a way that contradicts her initial position: agency is simultaneously defined by Evans as a quality that young people simply possess, as a subjective feeling or belief, and as a measurable quantity of capital, which some possess more than others due to their social class. In addition, agentic behaviours are seen to be those which go against current social patterns, making it a device to explain differences in individuals' lives. (See Evans, 2002.) According to Coffey and Farrugia, using agency as this kind of a 'catch all term' weakens the theoretical power of the concept and leads to an analytical dead-end.

commitments on young people to whom they may not be relevant. (Coffey & Farrugia, 2014, p. 472)

There is a plethora of ways in which the concept of agency has been defined and applied in research. On a very general level, it can be defined as a resource that individuals develop and that varies across social strata, personal experiences, and life courses (Hitlin & Kirkpatrick Johnson, 2015, p. 1431). However, the different definitions of agency vary from perceiving it merely as rational and intentional activity to viewing it as a temporally broad perspective covering individual development and encompassing different dimensions of the individual's relations with the world. Furthermore, assumptions about the relationship between agency and structures range from analytical inseparability to separateness with varying degrees of contextual influence. (Eteläpelto, Vähäsantanen, Hökkä, & Paloniemi, 2013.) Despite its significant role in sociology, the concept of agency remains elusive and often under-defined (e.g. Campbell, 2009; Coffey & Farrugia, 2014; Spencer & Doull, 2015). Campbell (2009) argues that the fact that the concept of agency has become so closely bound up with the heated structure-agency debate is causing much of this ambiguity and confusion. In the debate, the dualism is often harnessed to highlight agency either as an intrinsic quality residing within individuals or as a product of and a response to the social context (Spencer & Doull, 2015). Moreover, Campbell (2009) identifies two contrasting general conceptions of agency, which further complicate the issue. He emphasises the importance of making a distinction between agency as an actor's ability to initiate and maintain a programme of action (power of agency) and agency as an actor's ability to act independently of social structures (agentic power). These conceptions are often not distinguished from each other clearly, and agency is routinely used to refer to both, even though they have no given logical relationship as one can have considerable power of agency while lacking agentic power and vice versa (Campbell, 2009). Distinctions have also been made between agency as an affect ('feeling powerful') and agency as an effect ('being powerful') (Spencer & Doull, 2015) and between the actor's actual and self-perceived agentic capacities and resources (Hitlin & Long, 2009).

For Coffey and Farrugia (2014), finding a solution to the problem that the concept of agency poses to youth studies requires moving beyond a modernist assumption about agency and structure by rethinking the ontological relationship between power, subjectivity, and social practice. In their view, this task has already been taken up by researchers who, despite applying varying theoretical perspectives with varying views about the social world, are united by the aim of moving beyond unproductive ontological dualisms. In this regard, especially significant are those schools of thought that follow the contributions of Bourdieu and Foucault. Despite their many differences, both perspectives transcend dichotomies, such as that of

structure and agency, and hold the view that power relations act as conditions for the possibility of subjectivity. Hence, the subject is not seen as an entity that is bounded by power but one that comes into being through an active engagement with systems of power relationships that pre-exist the individual. (Coffey & Farrugia, 2014, pp. 468–469.)

To sum up, both the debate concerning the different readings of Beck and the critical approaches to the structure-agency dualism have led to two important conclusions for research: firstly, recognising and emphasising the need to move outside simplistic distinctions between agency and structure and, secondly, calling for increased dialogue between the works of Beck and Bourdieu (c.f. Farrugia, 2013). Before discussing some of the research that, instead of pitting them against each other, brings together the individualisation thesis and Bourdieu's theorising about social reproduction, it is necessary to briefly present the main tenets of Bourdieu's theory of practice.[23]

3.3   Bourdieu's Habitus and Capitals

Bourdieu is widely recognised as one of the leading sociological theorists and empirical researchers of his time. The main focus of his work is on understanding 'the clash between enduring ways of life and larger systems of power and capital, the ways in which cultural and social structures are reproduced even amid dramatic change, and the ways in which action and structure are not simply opposed but depend on each other' (Calhoun et al., 2012, pp. 325–326). Bourdieu's theory of practice, which he developed and revised throughout his career, breaks with the objectivism-subjectivism and structure-action dualisms and emphasises that it is crucial to see how both sides of the issues are inseparably related (e.g. Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). For Bourdieu, a relational analysis of social tastes and practices is a way to achieve an empirical understanding of the dynamic relationship between structure and action. This analysis is organised by three central elements: positions, dispositions, and position-taking (i.e. practices). In social space, actors occupy

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[23]   It should be noted that Bourdieu himself used the concept of reflexivity (or reflexive sociology) in a rather different sense than the way it is used in this dissertation. For Bourdieu, reflexivity is also a methodological concept entailing that all knowledge producers should strive to recognise their own objective position within the intellectual and academic field. 'As a scientific method, Bourdieu's understanding of reflexivity may be defined as a critical epistemological approach that consists of objectifying the very conceptualization and process of scientific objectification. This means that it is not only the object of research that needs to be examined and reflected upon but also the very elaboration of the research object itself and the conditions of its elaboration' (Deer, 2012, pp. 196–197).

positions relative to one another, and these positions are defined, for example, by occupation, education, or proximity to power, and actors maintain and signal their positions through practices (e.g. style of dress, consumer choices). While there is no direct connection between positions and the practices attached to them, what ties them together is habitus, which is the site of the interplay between structure and practice. (Calhoun et al., 2012, pp. 328–329.) Habitus is Bourdieu's analytical tool for overcoming the dualism of structure and agency, and, together with the concepts of field and capital, it forms the basis of Bourdieu's theory of practice (see e.g. Bourdieu, 1986, 1990a, 1993). Bourdieu constructed the following model to convey this relationship: [(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 101).

Fields are relatively autonomous social worlds that are structured spaces of positions occupied by individuals according to the principles of differentiation and distribution of capital. Hence, a field can be understood as a setting where individuals are allocated to their social positions through an interaction between the individual's habitus, their possessed capital, and the rules of the field. One's success in a field is dependent on having the kinds of capital valued in that field as well as on the compatibility of one's habitus with the rules of the field. (Bourdieu, 1993; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992.) While fields limit what actors can do and make some actions more possible than others, there is often an opportunity to 'play the game' in more ways than one (Adams, 2006, p. 515).

Without underestimating the importance of economic capital in social formation and relationships, Bourdieu (1986) extends the concept of capital by also constructing other forms, such as cultural, social, and symbolic capital. The possession of different forms of capital provides the basic structure both for the way fields are organised and for the generation of the habitus and practices associated with it (Calhoun et al., 2012, p. 330). Cultural capital is composed of a body of symbolic resources, such as education, knowledge, skills, and family background. It exists in three forms: embodied as a disposition of the mind and body, objectified as cultural goods, and institutionalised as, for example, educational qualifications. Social capital, which is generated through social processes between the family and wider society, refers to networks of permanent and fixed social relationships that are, firstly, beneficial and productive for their 'participants' and, secondly, linked to integration into a group. Symbolic capital, in turn, is manifested in individual prestige and personal qualities, such as authority and charisma. (Asimaki & Koustourakis, 2014, p. 124; Nash, 1990; Reay, 2004a.) The fact that capital can and does take many different forms highlights that individuals accumulate many kinds of resources, that these resources are inextricably social as they derive their meaning from the social relationships constituting fields, and that, in addition to the struggle of accumulating capital, the struggle to reproduce capital is equally central. (Calhoun et al., 2012, pp. 330–331.)

Among the different definitions Bourdieu has provided for the concept of habitus, one of the most comprehensive and systematic (Asimaki & Koustourakis, 2014) goes as follows:

> The external definitions which are connected to a particular class of conditions of existence produce hexis (habitus), systems of continuous and transferable predispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, in other words as generative and organizing principles of the practices and reconstructions, which can be adapted objectively to their purpose without aiming consciously at it, and to control explicitly the actions necessary for its achievement. (Bourdieu, 2006, p. 88)

3.3.1 Reproductive and Transformative Habitus

To put it more succinctly, habitus refers to those relatively stable dispositions that are shaped by the actor's experiences in particular positions in the social structure, which generate and organise practices and representations (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 53). Habitus is, thus, a system of continuous and transferable dispositions, which refer to embodied and internalised positions and tendencies. These dispositions relate to the ways individuals think, feel, act, and understand the world around them. (Asimaki & Koustourakis, 2014, p. 125.) They are acquired through repetition and internalised through pedagogical processes and socialisations. The dispositions tend to function as non-conscious principles guiding practice and reactions, which is partly what makes them habitual. (Adams, 2006; Farrugia & Woodman, 2015.) Hence, one's sense of ease in their surroundings, 'the feel for the game' (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 52), develops as an unconscious competence (Adams, 2006, p. 514).

Even though habitus is thoroughly individual, the dispositions internalised in it are results of social interactions, hence reflecting a shared cultural context (Calhoun et al., 2012, p. 332). Therefore, all those sharing a given social position tend to develop a similar habitus, and their social practices tend to be harmonised and mutually adjusted with no conscious calculation or reference to norms and with no explicit coordination (Bourdieu, 1990a, pp. 58–59). The possibilities perceived by habitus emerge through an interaction both with embodied dispositions, which have been accumulated in the past, and with the possibilities offered by the present that are interpreted through the schemes of perception of habitus. This makes habitus a central means by which structural inequalities are produced and reproduced on the level of subjectivities and social practices as habitus tends to encourage behaviours that reproduce the existing practices and, hence, the existing structure of society. (Elder-Vass, 2007; Farrugia & Woodman, 2015.) As Calhoun and colleagues (2012, p. 329) phrase it: 'the resistance we confront in struggling to do well teaches us to

accept inequality in our societies. Although it often reflects class or other aspects of social structure, it comes to feel natural. We learn and incorporate into our habitus a sense of what we can "reasonably" expect'.

However, while Bourdieu recognised the existence of objective structures, 'which are independent of the consciousness and desires of agents and are capable of guiding or constraining their practices' (Bourdieu 1990b, p. 123), he also emphasised the generative nature of habitus, which does not simply reproduce practices from social structures. The concept of habitus contains agency and autonomy, but they are 'qualified by the caveat of accumulated history, both personal and collective, which imprint themselves as pre-reflective action-orientations' (Adams, 2006, p. 515; see also McNay, 1999). Habitus operates on a set of loose guidelines, not on a strict set of rules, which implies that the dispositions embodied in habitus are flexible, even though they are deeply rooted. Thus, habitus orients the individual's actions without strictly determining them, and it is not only constraining, but also enabling. (Calhoun et al., 2012, p. 329; Mills, 2008.) Habitus, which can be seen as a 'strategy-generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations' (Bourdieu 1977, p. 72; cited in Mills, 2008), provides a creative and inventive capacity, 'a spontaneity without consciousness or will' (Bourdieu, 1990a, 56). For Bourdieu, conscious reflective choices may be made at times of crisis or critical moments. Occasions when habitus leads to actions that do not have the expected or desired effect indicate a mismatch between the habitus and its objective environment. (Elder-Vass, 2007, p. 329.) According to Bourdieu, 'times of crises, in which the routine adjustment of subjective and objective structures is brutally disrupted, constitute a class of circumstances when indeed "rational choice" may take over, at least among those agents who are in a position to be rational' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 131). Hence, when there is a gap between expectation and experience, it tends to create a need for conscious deliberation and for modifications to the habitus itself (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 149).

With regard to the theorisations of social change, Bourdieu's theory is often treated sceptically when it is interpreted to over-emphasise the continuity of established social differences as the basis for identities. Despite Bourdieu's attempts to find a place for the generative capacities of habitus, he has, nevertheless, been accused of reflecting an excessively deterministic tendency in his writing. (See Adams, 2006.) Related to this, several authors have criticised Bourdieu for his perceived denial of conscious decision-making in determining human behaviour, which is in marked contrast to most theorists of agency. In the view of these critics, habitus becomes 'nothing more than a conveyor belt for the determination of human behaviour by social forces' (Elder-Vass, 2007, p. 328). However, there are also many authors who interpret Bourdieu's concept of habitus in a different way and see it as explaining certain type of actions rather than to be the single principle for explaining

all possible types of action. Therefore, habitus can be interpreted to be operating alongside, for example, rational calculation and the conscious observing of norms. (Elder-Vass, 2007; Mills, 2008.)

Furthermore, it has been argued that many of Bourdieu's critics have a too-simplistic approach to habitus and that the concept of habitus has evolved in Bourdieu's work from its primary construction, which leaned more towards a deterministic outlook, to later formations that assigned habitus with resourcefulness, invention, creativity, discovery, and improvisation, hence highlighting the generative capacities of habitus (Asimaki & Koustourakis, 2014; Mills, 2008). In a similar vein, Farrugia and Woodman (2015, p. 627) assert that some of the strongest critics of Bourdieu actually argue against a 'straw man' of their own making, which is based on a narrow reading of Bourdieu's habitus ignoring both the theoretical purpose of the concept and the conceptual framework within which it operates. For Woodman and Farrugia, habitus is a generative mechanism for producing socially embedded creativity, which is far from mute determinism, as claimed by some of the critics.

3.3.2   Bourdieu on Education

For Bourdieu, the central problem of sociology is the question as to how domination persists and reproduces itself in society. According to him, relevant in this regard is a process of misrecognition: the dominated do not consciously recognise the processes of domination and, therefore, comply and participate in their own submission. (Bourdieu, 1989; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990.) Bourdieu focused on education as the most important agency for the reproduction of social classes in modern societies (Nash, 1990) and made significant contributions to the sociological understanding of the way schools and education systems are involved in reproducing social and cultural inequalities through the hidden linkages between scholastic aptitude and cultural heritage (Mills, 2008, p. 79). Through education, the state has a 'monopoly over legitimate symbolic violence' by which the dominant group subtly imposes systems of meaning on the dominated groups and, thereby, legitimises and solidifies structures of inequality (Dalal, 2016, p. 232).

By applying the concepts of habitus and capital, Bourdieu examined how practices of schooling work to reproduce class inequalities (e.g. Bourdieu, 1990b, 1993; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Children from different class backgrounds enter school with varying degrees of cultural capital embodied in their habitus. Because the school system is controlled by the socially and culturally dominant classes, those children who possess an upper- or middle-class habitus are perceived 'ready' for school knowledge. When the values, meanings, and principles of action embodied in the habitus of the students resemble more closely both the values and meanings

that the school seeks to transmit and legitimate and the rules of the field of education, school engagement and acquiring the 'secondary' habitus of the school are natural and smooth processes for the students. 'By being in consonance with their cultural capital, the school becomes an extension of their family' (Dalal, 2016, p. 237) as 'when the habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it finds itself "as a fish in water", it does not feel the weight of water and takes the world about itself for granted' (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 43). On the other hand, children of the dominated working-class possess habitus that is perceived by the school as a deficit or failure in the child or the home, and they find the shift from home to school difficult, artificial, and alienating. As a result, they resort to submission or resistance as they try to reconcile themselves to the different and alien world of schooling. The school is, thus, not a culturally neutral zone but one that embodies the culture of the dominant group and endorses it as legitimate and naturally given. As the school privileges and legitimises the cultural capital of the upper- and middle-classes, it thereby authenticates their knowledge, culture, and skills. (Dalal, 2016; Mills, 2008; Nash, 1990.)

> If, in the particular case of the relationship between the School and the social classes, the harmony appears to be perfect, this is because the objective structures produce class habitus and in particular the dispositions and predispositions which, in generating practices adapted to these structures, enable the structures to function and be perpetuated: for example, the disposition to make use of the School and the predispositions to succeed in it depend, as we have seen, on the objective chances of using it and succeeding in it that are attached to the different social classes, these dispositions and predispositions in turn constituting one of the most important factors in the perpetuation of the structure of educational chances as an objectively graspable manifestation of the relationship between the educational system and the structure of class relations. (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, pp. 204–205)

In this way, education ensures the profitability of the cultural capital of the dominant classes and validates their gifts and merits. Therefore, differences in educational outcomes are frequently misrecognised as a result of individual giftedness, and class-based differences are ignored (Mills, 2008). As these kinds of misrecognitions operate in the education system, social classifications are transformed into academic ones, and, hence, instead of being recognised for partial and technical hierarchies, they become 'total' hierarchies, which are 'experienced as if they were grounded in nature' (Grenfell & James, 1998, pp. 23–24).

3.4 Combining Instead of Contrasting

There are sociological approaches that have combined some of the main tenets of the individualisation thesis with the work of Bourdieu. This is typically done either by analysing the way class inequalities have become individualised or by linking reflexivity, a central aspect of the individualisation thesis, with Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Furthermore, from the field of social psychology comes a theoretical model of identity capital (Côté, 1996, 1997, 2005, 2016), which builds on and extends the Bourdieuian forms of capital with the aim of updating them by considering the requirements and challenges that individuals face in individualised late modern societies. These different theoretical approaches relate closely to the interactionist criticism of individualisation, which does not reject individualisation *per se* but argues that the individualisation thesis overlooks the ways in which reflexivity and individualisation are socially situated (Dawson, 2012).

3.4.1 Individualisation of Class Inequalities

With regard to individualisation and social class, there has been a debate between those who proclaim that class is dead and those 'conventional' class theorists who defend class as a key structuring force of society and approach it in an increasingly precise and contained way (see Bottero, 2004, p. 986; Savage, 2003). However, there is an approach to class analysis that challenges both of these views (e.g. Devine & Savage, 2000; Reay, 2006; Savage, 2003; Skeggs, 2004) by examining the inter-relationships between class, identities, and inequalities as well as recognising the fundamental nature of contemporary social and cultural changes. Individualisation is argued to involve a manifestation of novel forms of class inequality, and, hence, it is seen to imply a need to re-work class in a more nuanced way rather than a cause for eradicating it. (Curran, 2018; Savage, 2003.) This 'cultural analysis of class' (Reay, 2006), or 'culturalist class analysis' (Devine & Savage, 2000), focuses on class processes and practices with the aim to develop conceptualisations of class that address how processes of inequality are produced and reproduced in a routine way that involves both economic and cultural practices. Hence, it moves beyond an understanding of class based solely on economic factors. This kind of class analysis focuses on the ways class is made and given value through culture and on uncovering 'the unacknowledged normality of the middle-classes […] and its corollary, the equally unacknowledged pathologisation and diminishing of the working-classes' (Reay, 2006, p. 289). In other words, as Savage (2003, p. 536) phrases it: 'Socially recognized class conflict dissipates into individualized identities in which those who live up to middle-class norms see themselves as "normal" people while those who do not see themselves (and are seen by the powerful) as individual failures'.

Theorists adopting this kind of an approach to class place issues of cultural identity at the heart of class theory, emphasise processes of culture and lifestyle, and recognise that the tools provided by traditional class analysis are not sufficient for theorising such issues (Bottero, 2004). Hence, the work of Bourdieu is drawn upon. For Bourdieu, power operates through the 'naturalisation' of social relations, and socially and politically constructed divisions can be interpreted as results of natural differences. When inequalities are naturalised as the product of differing amounts of motivation, skill, or ability, they are typically not acknowledged to be a product of social class. (Savage, 2016, p. 67.) This interpretation of the relation between power and inequalities provides a mechanism for explaining the paradox of class in late modernity: 'the structural importance of class to people's lives appears not to be recognized by the people themselves. Culturally, class does not appear to be a self-conscious principle of social inequality. Structurally, however, it appears to be highly pertinent.' (Savage, 2000, p. xii; c.f. Furlong & Cartmel, 2007.) Regarding this paradox of class, Savage (2000) highlights the importance of acknowledging that the weakening or disappearance of direct class consciousness does not in any way mean that social class has lost its emotional significance for individuals as a part of their sense of self (see also Atkinson, 2007a; Roberts, 2010).

Savage argues that drawing upon both the idea of individualisation and the Bourdieuian approach to social class allows for re-working class analysis and examining how class relations remain relevant but operate through individualising processes (Curran, 2018). On the other hand, Skeggs (2004) argues that the theorisation of individualisation and reflexive modernity is itself a classed project privileging the middle-class perspective. She disagrees vehemently with the idea that individualisation is a universal condition and that everyone has equal access to resources required for reflexivity. Skeggs argues that the individualisation theorists are reproducing middle-class experiences as universal and that their theories work to legitimate perspectives of powerful interest groups. Skeggs shows that certain class inequalities have intensified as a result of the uneven impacts of individualisation and asserts that access to the benefits of individualisation is highly differentiated by class. (Curran, 2018.)

Moreover, Reay has proposed a theoretical perspective on social class that both transcends the unproductive structure-agency dichotomy (Coffey & Farrugia, 2014) and emphasises how the reflexive self, which is central to understanding individualisation, does not replace class but becomes the medium by which it is produced and reproduced (Threadgold, 2011). Reay (2005, p. 924) argues that 'class operates just as powerfully at the individual level as it ever did on a collective level' and that there is a dynamic relationship between emotions, the psyche, and class inequalities. Threadgold (2011, p. 388) highlights the importance of Reay's concept of the psychic landscape of social class. He argues that the concept should be a key

consideration in contemporary youth studies due to its relevance for understanding how reflexivity can become 'an intrinsic part of the reflexive experience of inequality' in situations where an individual might be very reflexive but still unable to put their choices into action (see also Adams, 2006). Coffey and Farrugia (2014), in turn, underscore particularly the value of Reay's (2001) study on the way that working-class youth relate to higher education, showing that their agency is an outcome of the way their habitus is embodied, felt, and articulated within a particular institutional context. They view Reay's work to be a good example of those theoretical accounts, which 'see agency as a generative process not located within the individual subject, but comprised in intra-action with relations of force – the outcomes of which cannot be known in advance', hence breaking away from the unproductive dichotomy and providing one fruitful way forward for youth studies (Coffey & Farrugia, 2014, pp. 470–471).

3.4.2   Linking Reflexivity and Habitus

There are scholars, such as Archer – a prominent theorists of reflexivity as well as a vocal critic of Bourdieu – arguing that reflexivity and habitus are fundamentally incompatible and cannot be joined or hybridised. Archer (2007, p. 4) defines reflexivity as 'the regular exercise of the mental ability, shared by all normal people, to consider themselves in relation to their social contexts and *vice versa*'. Conceptualising reflexivity as an internal dialogue, which activates the causal powers of structures and allows individuals to project their actions based on these articulations between personal concerns and the conditions that make it possible to accomplish them, is often seen as her main contribution. (Caetano, 2015, p. 62.) Archer distinguishes herself particularly from Bourdieu, and reflexivity is opposed to Bourdieu's concept of habitus in her approach to social change. She argues that late modern societies are changing too rapidly for concepts such as habitus to remain sociologically meaningful. (Farrugia & Woodman, 2015, pp. 626–627.)[24] Nevertheless, several theoretical endeavours have been undertaken to integrate parts of Beck's views on individualisation with the work of Bourdieu by bringing together the concepts of reflexivity and habitus in order to provide means for a better understanding of the relationship between individualisation and structural inequalities.

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[24]   One of the main tenets of Archer's theory is that structure and agency – while interpreted to have an interdependent relationship – are considered distinct and autonomous entities. Hence, the notion of analytical dualism is suggested to problematise the relationship between structure and agency and to avoid the hindrance to the analysis of their interplay that would result if they were seen to be mutually constituted. (Caetano, 2015, 61–62; see also Decoteau, 2016.)

Habitus, Bourdieu's analytical tool for overcoming the dualism of structure and agency, is a structure of mind that creates a frame for individual action and dispositions (Bourdieu, 1986, 1990a, 1993). For individual reflexivity, several different definitions with different connotations have been suggested. In Beck's work, the purpose of the concept of reflexivity is to capture features of structural complexity rather than personal agency (Farrugia, 2015). Beck views reflexivity to be a result of structural fragmentation and insecurity brought on by the individualisation of life situations and processes, which have caused individual biographies to become self-reflexive instead of being socially prescribed. Beck associates this reflexivity, which he defines as self-confrontation and self-transformation, with new inequalities related to dealing with insecurity and risks. In this regard, reflexivity is mainly seen as unexpected and unintended actions and reactions that occur without conscious awareness. Hence, reflexivity is viewed neither as emancipation nor agency. (Beck, 1992, 1996; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; Beck & Zhang, 2012, p. 1.) On the other hand, in the field of youth studies, a key component of the different definitions of reflexivity is individuals' capacity to reflect on their own abilities, possibilities, and life courses (O'Connor, 2014). For example, McLeod and Yates (2006, pp. 84–86), who have studied young Australians' life courses, define reflexivity as a characteristic of contemporary identities and of ways of being and knowing. For them, reflexivity can be viewed 'as disposition, as relation to the self, as mode of thinking and knowing'. This disposition is generalised because ongoing reflection on the self is increasingly incited and normalised. While reflexivity takes a particularly 'heightened form' in middle-class youth, it does not translate directly to material advantage. O'Connor (2014) applies Hitlin and Long's (2009) objective-subjective understanding of agency to the concept of reflexivity. He suggests that 'objective' reflexivity entails a focus on how social structures shape individuals' capacities to reflect, whereas 'subjective' reflexivity refers to individuals' own understanding of their life courses. A general division between definitions of reflexivity can also be made based on whether it is understood to be a conscious or unconscious activity.

McNay (1999) and Sweetman (2003) argue that the structural insecurity and rapid social changes characteristic of late modernity hinder the operation of habitus and, therefore, require and lead to reflexivity. For McNay (1999), relevant is the relationship between habitus and movement across fields as a potential source of reflexivity. According to her, due to detraditionalisation, women move within and across fields that have traditionally been dominated by men, which creates a disjuncture between field and feminine habitus, leading to the need for critical reflexivity and the self-fashioning of identity (Farrugia, 2015, p. 880). Sweetman (2003) parallels reflexivity with flexibility and argues that because the disjunction between habitus and field has become increasingly commonplace, reflexivity may

be becoming habitual through habitus embodying reflexivity as a response to the condition of continuously recurring crises. Hence, reflexive habitus may be increasingly common among individuals, and for those who possess this kind of habitus, self-refashioning may become second-nature rather than something that is difficult to achieve. Adkins (2003) also sees that the conditions of late modernity have necessitated the incorporation of reflexivity within habitus, but she associates this to certain privileged positionalities, which buttress neoliberal modes of governance and inequalities. For her, reflexivity is a resource allowing mobility, which can result in attaining privileged positions in society. However, according to this view, reflexivity is not just a form of agency or a straightforward source of privilege as it constitutes new forms of classification, difference, and division. More recently, Decoteau (2013, 2016) has also made theoretical attempts to introduce reflexivity into habitus by drawing inspiration from McNay. Like McNay, she argues that in order to understand how a multi-layered habitus may lead to greater reflexivity and even social change, habitus needs to be situated within an analysis of field effects (Decoteau, 2016, p. 316). However, contrasting views about the 'location' of reflexivity have also been presented as, for example, Pöllmann (2016) argues that it does not make analytical sense to construe habitus itself as reflexive, but reflexivity should instead be seen as an integral extension of habitus.

Adams (2006) sees the value of the works of McNay, Sweetman, and Adkins to be in that they acknowledge the complex nature of embedded, embodied, and contradictory reflexivity, which is not 'naively envisaged as either some kind of internalised meta-reflection or simplistic liberatory potential against a backdrop of retreating social structure' (Adams, 2006, p. 521). In Adams's view, reflexivity and habitus coexist in complex ways, and he highlights the importance of recognising what comes after the moment of reflexive awareness, which is what he calls post-reflexive choice.[25] According to him, reflexivity does not equate with the ability to transform one's situation in every context. In other words, a high level of reflexivity alone does not sufficiently explain contemporary identities and inequalities; even though an individual might be reflexively very aware of many different possibilities potentially available, they can still find it difficult or impossible to access them due to a lack of relevant resources. Hence, the underlying structures and inequalities do not work only 'behind the backs' of individuals through the enactment of habitus, and reflexivity does not necessarily bring choice, but can lead to a 'painful awareness of the lack of it'. (Adams, 2006, pp. 523–525.)

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[25] The concept of post-reflexive choice does not suggest that reflexivity and choice follow a linear, ordered trajectory – nor that unconscious motivations and dispositions are not important in the choices made or considered (Adams, 2006, p. 526).

Threadgold and Nilan (2009), in turn, expand upon Adams's (2006) concept of post-reflexive choice and argue that the intensified risks and uncertainties of late modernity construct reflexivity as a form of cultural capital that is mediated through habitus. By defining reflexivity as an element of cultural capital embodied in habitus, they emphasise that reflexivity does not negate the importance of class. On the contrary, they argue that being reflexive and successfully negotiating real and perceived future risks constitute privileged cultural capital heavily reliant on the socio-economic or class position of individuals. To illustrate this, Threadgold and Nilan (2009, p. 54) apply a language metaphor: 'Where most people are literate, those from higher socio-economic backgrounds possess a greater ability to use language "correctly" in various contexts. So like language, we all have reflexivity and use it, but some can do it "better" than others due to the access or ownership of more resources'.

Farrugia (2013, 2015) picks up Threadgold's (2011) call for increased dialogue between the works of Beck and Bourdieu and agrees with Woodman's (2009, 2010) argument that seeing Beck as a theorist of agency and emancipation is a too-simplistic view. He (2015) criticises the widely spread assumption in the reflexive modernisation literature according to which reflexivity is a form of sovereign agency, critical rationality, and cognitive deliberation leading to emancipation and greater human freedom. Instead, he defines reflexivity as an embedded social practice which is a response to the complex structural demands of late modernity and which is oriented towards the realisation of meaningful biographical trajectories through unstable or contradictory structural environments. In this way, like Bourdieu's concept of practice, reflexivity combines the structural and the personal. Thus, reflexivity cannot be reduced to a cognitive process or viewed as a pre-existing property of an individual because this kind of approach would make the concept of reflexivity synonymous with agency. Furthermore, 'the kind of reflection upon the self that reflexivity entails still occurs according to terms made available by a subject's social context'. (Farrugia, 2015, p. 883.)

Farrugia (2013) suggests that reflexivity is an element of individuals' subjectivity but that its features are not universal. In this regard, the Bourdieuian concepts of habitus and capital form the basis for the different forms of reflexivity mobilised by individuals. Habitus, with its dispositions and embodied cultural capital, gives reflexive practices their content as social divisions impact the things individuals are reflexive about and the resources they have available to reach their goals.

What is significant about contemporary modern societies is that for the dispositions of the habitus to be successfully realised in practice, young people must be reflexive. Moreover, modern conditions mean that young people are

increasingly confronted with situations which compel them to rethink themselves and their place in the world. In these cases, the dispositions of the habitus do not translate smoothly into practice because external social conditions do not allow it. With the exception of those described as disconnected and socially excluded, the important distinction between young people is not whether or not they are reflexive, but what they are reflexive about: reflexivity articulates difference, becoming the medium by which inequalities are produced and reproduced on the level of young people's biographies. (Farrugia, 2013, p. 690)

Hence, Farrugia does not agree with the notion that reflexivity is a privilege of middle-class youth but argues that it is neither exclusive to the middle-class nor does it necessarily provide a source of privilege or material advantage. Reflexivity is part of the creation of classed and gendered inequalities in specific social contexts and, thus, part of the means by which inequalities are produced in late modernity. (Farrugia, 2013, pp. 689–691.)

3.4.3   A Socio-psychological Approach

Côté (1996, 1997, 2005, 2016; Côté & Levine, 2002) integrates aspects of individualisation with Bourdieu's theory by proposing a model of identity capital which combines both social and psychological perspectives in order to examine how late modernity affects adolescents' transition into adulthood. The concept of identity capital refers to those various resources and personality strengths which afford individuals with the cognitive and behavioural capacities necessary for understanding and negotiating the most relevant social, occupational, and personal obstacles and opportunities encountered in complex and uncertain societal settings (Côté, 2005; Côté & Levine, 2002; Côté & Schwartz, 2002). The identity capital model posits that this form of capital enables individuals to take advantage of or compensate for the institutional gaps and deficits of late modernity by allowing them to adjust and navigate in different social environments in strategic and productive ways (Côté, 2002, 2007).

Identity capital comprises two types of resources. Tangible identity capital resources are 'socially visible' attributes that signify personal or social identities. They manifest in behaviours and possessions, including financial resources, educational credentials, group memberships, and parents' social status and investment in offspring but also include resources such as personal deportment, attractiveness, and articulateness. These resources enable access to and the ability to benefit from structural networks and positions, and they must have some socially recognised attributes (ascribed, achieved, or contrived) in order to be 'exchangeable'. Intangible identity capital, in turn, includes numerous personality

characteristics, such as agentic personality, self-esteem, internal locus of control, and sense of purpose in life as well as capacities including critical thinking abilities and strategies used for goal-setting and career objectives – all of which help an individual to reflect on life circumstances and plan courses of action. Côté argues that the 'traditional' forms of capital, such as human, social, and cultural capital, are no longer solely sufficient for explaining how individuals negotiate their lives and social surroundings. (Côté, 1997, 2002, 2005; Côté & Levine, 2002; Côté & Schwartz, 2002.)

> Thus, although our thinking has been greatly influenced by the concepts of cultural capital and human capital, we feel that these ideas do not constitute a sufficient theoretical foundation for understanding the multidimensional nature of life passages in late modern societies where (a) institutions can be poorly regulated and inadequately linked, in conjunction with the influence of (b) persisting status differentiations based on class, race, gender, and age, along with (c) the discrimination that these differentiations can produce. (Côté & Levine, 2002, p. 142)

While the tangible forms of identity capital clearly overlap with what Bourdieu (1986) referred to as economic, social, and cultural capital, a central feature of identity capital, namely that it is not limited to class distinctions or specific contexts (Côté & Levine, 2002; Ho & Bauder, 2012), is an aspect that distinguishes it from the Bourdieuian forms of capital. According to Côté and Levine (2002; see also Côté, 2005), identity capital can entail, for example, cultural capital if an individual believes that 'investments' in highbrow culture are beneficial, but identity capital can also include features of memberships in any type of culture or group, not just the upper-classes. A sufficient amount of identity capital can facilitate progression through an individual's entire life course, which can but does not necessarily include social class mobility. In sum, identity capital represents the resources that people use to effectively define themselves and have others define them in different contexts (Côté & Levine, 2002, p. 142). For example, educational credentials alone are no longer sufficient to gain access to the labour market; a prerequisite for success for young people is to master different, context-bound strategies for presenting and marketing themselves (Côté, 1996; Järvinen & Vanttaja, 2003). Côté suggests that the notion of intangible identity capital resources enables a theorisation of agency in which the potential for agency depends on the specific qualities of the individual as well as on the specific qualities of the context in which the individual is acting (Côté & Levine, 2002, pp. 170–171).

[Intangible] resources have an inoculation quality in the sense that they can enable people to reflexively resist and/or act back on the social forces impinging on them. In this way, individuals should be more likely to develop a sense of authorship over their own biographies, of taking responsibility for their life choices, and of creating for themselves a meaningful and satisfying life. Note that these tasks are central to the individualization process, now widespread and compulsory, in Western societies. Thus, the notion of identity capital provides a way of theorizing 'agency' for persons confronted by the task of individualization, and it does so with the explicit use of established theoretical concepts that have empirical referents. (Côté & Levine, 2002, p. 145)

4   Individualisation and the Life Course

The concept of the life course has been defined in many ways, such as 'people's movements through social space' (Levy & Bühlmann, 2016, p. 31); 'the sequence of activities or states and events in various life domains spanning from birth to death' (Mayer, 2004, p. 163); and 'a temporal pattern of age-graded events and roles that chart the social contours of biography, providing a proximal content for the dynamics of human development from conception and birth to death' (Elder et al., 2015, p. 6). An individual's life course is multidimensional as it develops in different mutually related and influencing life domains (Mayer, 2004), and it is characterised by trajectories, which are sequences and combinations of transitions between positions and stages, such as leaving one's childhood home, entering education, finding employment, and becoming a parent. In their lives, people tend to follow normative patterns of age-proper behaviour and a proper sequence of transitions, such as entering the labour market after finishing education. These normative pathways are shaped by ethical prescriptions and cultural preferences, but they have also been institutionalised through the regulation of the welfare state and its institutions. (Kok, 2007, p. 204.)

As life course research has no explicit and encompassing theory, life course researchers refer often to the life course paradigm or life course approach (Levy & Bühlmann, 2016), which is generally identified with the five heuristic principles of the life course presented by Elder (1998, 2007; Elder et al., 2003). The principles are 1) life-span development, 2) historical time and space, 3) timing of life events, 4) linked lives, and 5) human agency (Elder et al., 2015, pp. 28–32). Because these principles are 'oecumenical' in the sense that they do not exclude more strict theoretical approaches, they are identified as a paradigm rather than a theory. This does, however, limit the analytical grasp of the life course principles as they do not offer any explicit conceptual framework. (Levy & Bühlmann, 2016, p. 30.) In essence, the life course paradigm is a heuristic device for studying the way in which individual lives and social change interact (Kok, 2007, p. 204; Mills, 2007, p. 62). For Elder (Elder et al., 2003, p. 10), the life course paradigm and its principles provide 'a framework for studying phenomena at the nexus of social pathways,

developmental trajectories, and social change'. Life course studies typically focus on examining the ways in which individual life courses are affected by macro-level societal changes and how different institutions have a filtering role in the way these changes impact individual opportunities, constraints, and decision-making (Mills, 2007, p. 63).

4.1   Principles of the Life Course

According to the principle of *life-span development*, developmental and aging processes are most fully understood from a lifelong perspective (Elder et al., 2015, p. 28). As individuals act based on their prior experiences and resources at their disposal, the life course is a self-referential process. Hence, some life course outcomes are shaped, in addition to situational, personal, and contextual conditions, by experiences and resources acquired at earlier life course stages. (Mayer, 2004, p. 164.) As the life course is a cumulative process, advantages and disadvantages do not occur randomly during a lifetime but according to a logic of path dependence that usually starts with early advantages or disadvantages brought about by people's social origins. While a similar idea of accumulation is at the basis of Bourdieu's concept of capital, accumulation in the life course also concerns more psychological resources, such as cognitive complexity and flexibility as well as the resulting self-directedness and beliefs of personal control and self-efficacy. (Levy & Bühlmann, 2016, p. 36.) Transitions are critically important events in an individual's life course, and succeeding in them requires agentic capacities and is decisive for further performance and development, which, in turn, open up new opportunities for further agentic growth. Coping with transitions during youth is highly consequential for respective development and, hence, for adult life course formation. (Buchmann & Steinhoff, 2017.)

The principle of *historical time and space* underscores how individuals' life courses are embedded in and shaped by the historical times and places they experience over their lifetime (Elder, 1998). Hence, life courses are a part and a product of societal and historical multilevel processes, but they also reproduce and change social structures through the manner in which people live and construct their own individual lives (Mayer, 2004, p. 166). Institutional configurations reflect their temporal and spatial surroundings, and Levy and Bühlmann (2016) highlight that life course analysis is directly related to the institutional, meso-social setup that structures the social space of a societal unit. They distinguish five types of institutions that are relevant for life course construction: 1) phasing institutions, such as education, paid work, and retirement, are those which people have to pass more or less compulsorily; 2) relating institutions, most importantly family, link lives together; 3) supporting institutions, such as public child care, which assist

individuals in solving biographical problems that result from their participation in more than one socially demanding field; 4) normalising or repairing institutions, such as systems of health care, enter into action when some kind of life course turbulence occurs and work on individuals' needs, identities, and motivations in addition to their social relations and individual capabilities and resources; and 5) background institutions, including public and private services and infrastructures, which are not geared to influence people's life choices but may still have indirect and mostly unintended effects on the life course as they operate on the basis of implicit assumptions of normality (Levy & Bühlmann, 2016, p. 35). More generally, the so-called welfare mix (the relative importance and manner of interconnectedness of economic markets, family, and the state) is one of the major determinants of life course patterns (Mayer, 2004, p. 167).

The third principle, *life course timing,* states that the developmental impacts of a succession of life course transitions and events depend on when they occur in a person's life (Elder, 1998). In other words, the developmental antecedents and consequences of life course transitions, events, and behavioural patterns vary according to their timing in a person's life (Elder et al., 2003). The relationship of the life course and timing schedules is, to a large extent, socially constructed, and institutions play an important role in this regard (Levy & Bühlmann, 2016, p. 38). According to Mayer (2004, p. 165), it is not single individuals but populations that are allocated to and streamlined through the institutional fabric of society. For instance, the size of one's cohort as well as the sizes of preceding and succeeding cohorts influence individuals' opportunities beyond individual or situational conditions.

According to the principle of *linked lives*, human lives are lived interdependently, and socio-historical influences are expressed through a network of shared relationships. Individuals are often affected by large social changes through the impacts that these kinds of changes have on interpersonal contexts. (Elder et al., 2003.) Historical events and individual experiences are connected through family and the 'linked' fates of its members (Elder, 1998). Indeed, a major instance of the life-linking institutions is family, but its strength in constituting binding inter-biographical links can change depending on the availability of welfare state institutions establishing (or demolishing) reliable forms of solidarity outside of kinship or communitarian networks of exchange (Levy & Bühlmann, 2016, p. 40). In the context of 'institutional' life courses, transitions or status passages highlight the significance of social stratification. A family's social position is related to differences in the support it can provide for coping with life course transitions as well as to young people's agentic capacities regarding expectations, aspirations, and goal-setting. Furthermore, those young people with more advantaged family backgrounds are often in a relatively good position even when they do not succeed

in coping with a life course transition as they are more likely to avoid the subsequent risk of unfavourable path dependency and cumulative disadvantage. This is because of the compensatory advantage of higher social class background associated with higher levels of different capitals. (Bernardi, 2014; Buchmann & Steinhoff, 2017.)

Lastly, the principle of *human agency* emphasises that people make choices and compromises based on the alternatives that they perceive before them and are not, hence, passively acted upon by social influence and structural constraints. The planning and choice-making of individuals can have important consequences for their future life course trajectories, but this planfulness and its behavioural expression depend on the context and its constraints (Elder et al., 2003) as well as the different forms of resources individuals have at their disposal. In this regard, Levy and Bühlmann (2016) argue that, when it comes to the actual behaviour of individuals, it is necessary to distinguish between wilful, agentic influence on one's own life course and the life course being shaped by field-related and institutional influences.

4.2   Life Course Institutionalisation and De-standardisation

According to Brückner and Mayer (2005, p. 32), life course standardisation refers to 'processes by which specific states or events and the sequence in which they occur become more universal for given populations or that their timing becomes more uniform'. Kohli (1985, cited in Levy & Bühlmann, 2016) recognises three dimensions in these developments: chronologisation (crucial transitions are increasingly tied to individual age), sequantialisation (biographical phases are increasingly ordered sequentially), and biographisation (a strongly agentic vision of biographical achievement becomes more important; every individual is increasingly considered personally responsible for their successes and failures).

Whereas standardised life course trajectories are produced by social construction and structural forms of institutionalisation (Levy & Bühlmann, 2016, p. 34), the institutionalisation of the life course takes place through processes by which normative, legal, and organisational rules define the social and temporal organisation of individual lives (Brückner & Mayer, 2005, p. 32). Many different developments have been associated with more standardised and institutionalised life courses, such as the expansion of secondary and tertiary education and training, larger work organisations together with strong trade unions and an increased prevalence of white-collar jobs, the provisions of the welfare state, and the relative security of income and employment (Brückner & Mayer, 2005; Stauber & Ule, 2015). However, the development of increasing life course standardisation has been argued to have

reached its peak and given way to inverse processes of de-standardisation (Levy & Bühlmann, 2016), which relate to the process of individualisation. According to Elzinga and Liefbroer (2007, p. 227) de-standardisation refers to life courses becoming less similar and the domination of specific types of life courses becoming weaker. The view that life courses have become less predictable, less stable, and less collectively determined and, hence, increasingly flexible and individualised has become a widely accepted perception (Brückner & Mayer, 2005), the general assumption being that increased choice and autonomy result in manifold life course choices and, therefore, pluralisation and de-structuration of life courses (Mills, 2007, p. 67).

Widmer and Ritschard (2009) have reviewed various empirical studies examining the hypothesis that the de-standardisation of life courses has increased, leading to more complex life courses in late modern societies. They argue that the trend towards the pluralisation of life courses has been less pervasive than widely assumed, and that empirical evidence suggests that de-standardisation is not a general development affecting all individuals, life domains, and life phases in the same way (cf. Zimmermann, 2019). For example, there are significant national differences in de-standardisation levels. De-standardisation also varies according to life domains, with family trajectories showing clear signs of de-standardisation, while the evidence for occupational trajectories is much more ambiguous (Widmer & Ritschard, 2009). Scherger (2009) suggests that de-standardisation is limited to certain dimensions of life course, such as family transitions (see also Brückner & Mayer, 2005; Kohli, 2007). It has also been argued that the processes of both standardisation and de-standardisation can simultaneously affect different life course phases (Zimmermann, 2019), aspects of life courses (Robette, 2010), and social groups (Worts, Sacker, McMunn, & McDonough, 2013; Zimmermann & Konietzka, 2018), underscoring the complex, overlapping nature of these processes in individuals' lives.

Mills (2007) draws on classic and contemporary individualisation literature in building a theoretical model of the process of individualisation in relation to individual life courses. Her model suggests that the underlying mechanisms of the individualisation process lead to three archetypal forms of individualisation that produce three types of life courses: de-standardised (strategic), default (conformist), and fragile (anomic). In a de-standardised life course, an individual examines and evaluates risks when creating and adopting a lifestyle of their own instead of having it handed down to them by tradition or former generations. Future courses of action are reflexively organised through strategic planning, and individual resources, power, agency, and choice are central for life course formation. The second type, default individualisation in the life course, refers to a situation where an individual is emancipated from tradition but still follows a parallel trend of conformism. This

is because the process of individualisation and the demand for making choices and building individual identities and biographies may not result only in a greater pluralisation of life courses but also persistent convergence as there are individuals who 'follow a life path that is different from previous generations, yet largely conforms to patterns held by a majority of their contemporary peers' (Mills, 2007, p. 71). Lastly, the increase of fragile individualisation is instigated by the weakening of traditions, which can lead to unpredictable consequences of choices and decisions causing significant uncertainty and risks for individuals forced to make strategic life course decisions. Life course choices are increasingly 'blurred with the problem of not only which alternative to choose (e.g. to have a career or start a family) but when to choose it', which contributes to fragile individualisation as an individual's life course becomes an increasingly experimental process for which the individual is responsible. Individualisation is experienced as increased anonymity and alienation, and the fragile individualisation materialises in the form of discrepant and challenging life course trajectories. (Mills, 2007, pp. 72–73, 76.)

5   The Finnish Context

The transition from youth to adulthood has evolved into a more prolonged, de-standardised, unstable, and precarious life phase also in Finland, which is the 'historical space' of this study. According to a recent study (Lorentzen et al., 2018), nearly 10% of Finnish young people follow an 'exclusion trajectory' in school-to-work transitions, which is characterised by a short spell of education that leads to NEET status either directly or via unstable workforce affiliation. For little over 20% the pathway is de-standardised and turbulent, including a high number of complex transitions and an overall unstable labour market connection. The rest of the young Finns conform to three trajectories, which can be distinguished from each other by the length of time spent in education. In these trajectories, participation in education is followed by a short period of unstable labour market attachment before entering stable work. This means that, despite the increased precarity of the life phase, the transition from education to work is rather smooth for nearly 70% of young people. Also achieving other markers of adulthood, such as moving away from one's parental home and forming a romantic partnership, are achieved relatively smoothly by young Finns in international comparison (Isoniemi, 2017, pp. 111–115).

Although the majority of young people make the transition to adulthood comparatively successfully in Finland, there are, nevertheless, also many who struggle as they face either exclusion from employment or low pay and job inequalities associated with insecure youth labour markets (Harkko, 2018). While, on a general level, the objective increase in the level of job uncertainty has not been drastic in Finland in the last few decades, the fear of labour market risks has increased considerably among the population. There are also certain structural and individual factors that contribute to the accumulation of actual job uncertainty. (Pyöriä & Ojala, 2016.) Being a woman, being young, having a low level of education, living outside urban Finland, having an immigrant background, and working either in public services or in production, construction, or manufacturing are related to increased job uncertainty and, more generally, to precarious life course transitions. (Angelin et al., 2014; Harkko, 2018; Pyöriä & Ojala, 2016; Rinne, Järvinen, Silvennoinen, Tikkanen, & Plamper, 2018.) Finnish labour market, education, and youth policy experts have expressed serious concerns about the increasing social and regional segregation of

young people. It has been estimated that 10–30% of young people are facing a serious risk of social exclusion even in more economically affluent regions. (Rinne et al., 2018; Tikkanen, Järvinen, Eskola, Rinne, & Silvennoinen, 2018.)

While Finland is not among the countries that were most drastically affected by the financial crisis in 2008 (Zambeta, 2014), the Finnish economy was severely damaged by the crisis, and recovering from it took nearly 10 years – and the economic future of the country is still full of uncertainties (Silvennoinen, Eskola, Järvinen, Rinne, & Tikkanen, 2018). As a result of the crisis, the gross domestic product fell, labour productivity decreased, employment rate declined, unemployment increased, and the share of NEET youth grew in Finland. Many forms of social security, such as unemployment benefits, have been cut and their criteria tightened. The labour market position of young people has weakened more during the prolonged recession period in comparison to older age groups. For young people, it has become more difficult to find paid work, the average job tenure is usually short in duration, and it is often difficult to plan the future especially in economically regressive regions. The consequences of the financial crisis have also had an impact on the mentality and subjective future prospects of young people in Finland. (Silvennoinen et al., 2018; Sinivuori, 2011.)

The majority of young Finns' personal future goals correspond to normative developmental tasks and are related to education, occupational career, and social relations (Marttinen, 2017). According to Aapola-Kari and Wrede-Jäntti (2017), who have studied the future fears and worries of young people in Finland, young Finns worry most about finding employment in general, but they are often also concerned about finding a stable and personally meaningful job. Furthermore, they worry about their future financial situation (Aapola-Kari & Wrede-Jäntti, 2017) and are increasingly concerned about making wrong life course decisions (Lindfors et al., 2012). Traditional forms of 'becoming an adult' are increasingly obsolete and are, hence, losing their relevance as models that young people can draw upon in constructing their own lives. There is also a strengthening perception among young people that the Finnish society cannot necessarily guarantee stable and safe living conditions for everyone in the future. This causes uncertainty, which is further intensified by the toughening societal atmosphere in which individual responsibility is emphasised, and institutional support is reduced. (Aapola-Kari & Wrede-Jäntti, 2017, p. 166.)

5.1   Welfare Model and Transition Regime

With regard to young Finns' future views and prospects – and to the ways the above-discussed macro-level changes and the financial crisis have impacted them – one centrally significant aspect is the Finnish welfare state model, which creates the framework within which young people construct their lives (Isoniemi, 2017, p. 35).

According to Esping-Andersen's (1990) widely applied clustering of welfare regimes, which is based on the degrees of decommodification ('a citizen's relative independence from pure market forces' [Esping-Andersen, 2000, p. 353]) and state's fostering the reduction of social stratification, Finland's welfare regime is social-democratic,[26] often also referred to as a universalistic or Nordic welfare state. The social-democratic regime is oriented towards the individual, and it grants rights and benefits as universalistic entitlements, which are mainly independent of an individual's social position. The welfare regime includes flat-rate, non-means-tested benefits to which everyone is entitled, regardless of their work history, and which guarantee a minimum level of subsistence. There are also earnings-related benefits, the purpose of which is to not only maintain the minimum level of subsistence but also to maintain the previous standard of living either for a limited time or permanently. These benefits granted by the state tend to reduce the individual's reliance on the family and, consequently, encourage autonomous behaviour (Buchmann & Kriesi, 2011; Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2018). The welfare state has a central role in mitigating social risks and poverty (Antonucci & Hamilton, 2014, p. 257), and the universalistic provision of social benefits has helped to soften the impact the financial crisis had on young Finns (c.f. Fahmy, 2014; Harkko, 2018). However, the state-provided social protection has evolved in a direction that is not in line with features traditionally associated with the Nordic welfare model (Antonucci & Hamilton, 2014, p. 260). For instance, the welfare state's aims of inclusion and universalism have been toned down to an absolute minimum in Finnish government programmes over the last two decades, signalling a time of increasing estrangement from universal notions (Hellman, Monni, & Alanko, 2017). While income differences, socio-economic inequalities, and the cultural gap between social classes[27] are still small in international comparison, the differences and inequalities have been growing since the beginning of the 1990s (Ristikari et al., 2016; Silvennoinen et al., 2018; National Institute for Health and Welfare, 2019; OECD, 2016).

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[26]   The other two types are a *liberal* welfare regime (lower levels of state intervention, oriented towards the individual but guided by the belief in the market and minimal state interference with the market, residualist social provision targeted to the needy and often modest in value; e.g. the United Kingdom) and a *conservative* welfare regime (oriented towards the family, welfare benefits strongly linked to occupational status and channelled to family members through the head of the household, those in precarious work receive inadequate protection; e.g. Germany). Esping-Andersen's typology has been complemented by other scholars who have suggested, for example, a Southern model (e.g. Italy) and a post-communist regime (e.g. Poland) (see Hamilton et al., 2014).

[27]   In this regard, it should also be noted that the class structure has changed drastically in Finland over the last 50 years. The middle-class has grown at the expense of the working-class and the share of entrepreneurs. Depending on the applied criteria, 49–68% of the Finnish working population has been argued to belong to the middle-class. (See Haavisto, 2018; Melin, 2019.)

While the welfare regime influences individuals' life courses significantly, there are also other institutions that are centrally important in this regard. Walther's transition regime model (e.g. Walther, du Bois-Reymond, & Biggart, 2006; Walther, Stauber, & Pohl, 2009) classifies countries based on the different national configurations of the regulation of life course transitions, such as the transition from education to the labour market.[28] While one dimension of the regime is the respective welfare state model, it also includes education systems, labour market structures, youth services, and dominant meanings of youth. The typology distinguishes different regime types according to young people's access to welfare, the responsibility for vocational education and training between school and companies, the structures of labour market entry, gender relationships in the labour market, structures of youth policy, and the cultural meanings of youth in general and disadvantaged youth in particular (Walther & Pohl, 2005). In Finland, the transition regime is universalistic.[29] It is based on the comprehensive education system and characterised by flexible standards of post-compulsory education and training, universal social rights defined by citizenship status, and a labour market for which an extended public sector and high rates of female employment are characteristic (Jørgensen et al., 2019). In such regimes, youth is primarily associated with individual personal development (Parreira do Amaral et al., 2011, p. 44).

In conclusion, despite the preventive and moderating effects of the social-democratic welfare model and the universalistic transition regime, and despite young Finns being relatively affluent in comparison to young people in many other European countries, youth as a life phase is associated with increasing economic and social vulnerability also in Finland (Angelin et al., 2014; Harkko, 2018; Lorentzen et al., 2018).

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[28]   With regard to a critique of Walther's universalistic transition regime of the Nordic countries, Jørgensen and colleagues (2019) argue that, due to significant policy changes in the Nordic countries over the last two decades, there are increasing differences between the countries and that certain features of the universalistic regime, especially with regard to the youth and the labour market, no longer match the realities of the Nordic countries.

[29]   The other three transition regimes are *liberal* (individual responsibility emphasised, youth regarded as a transitory life phase that should be quickly turned into economic independence, flexible labour markets imply multiple entry options but also a high level of insecurity; e.g. the United Kingdom), *employment-centred* (characterised by differentiated and highly selective school systems connected to a rigidly standardised system of vocational training, young people expected to become socialised in occupational and social positions through training; e.g. Germany), and *sub-protective* (lack of reliable pathways into the labour market, transitions from education to work involve typically a long waiting phase with unequal outcomes, significant dependence on families as young people are not entitled to social benefits; e.g. Italy). The post-socialistic countries in Europe, such as Poland, can neither be subsumed under existing transition regimes nor do they form a separate one.

5.2 Education System

According to the Finnish National Agency for Education (NAE, 2019), the main objective of Finnish education policies is to offer all citizens equal opportunities to receive education. Indeed, equal access to education, together with a common core of subjects and no segregation based on ability, gender, or social class, has traditionally been among the essential aspects of the Finnish education system (c.f. Imsen et al., 2017; Lundahl, 2016). In Finland, most education is publicly funded, there are no tuition fees at any educational level,[30] and financial aid, such as study grants and loans, can be awarded for full-time study in upper secondary and tertiary education. Furthermore, there are no dead-end tracks in the system preventing progression to tertiary education (see Figure 2).
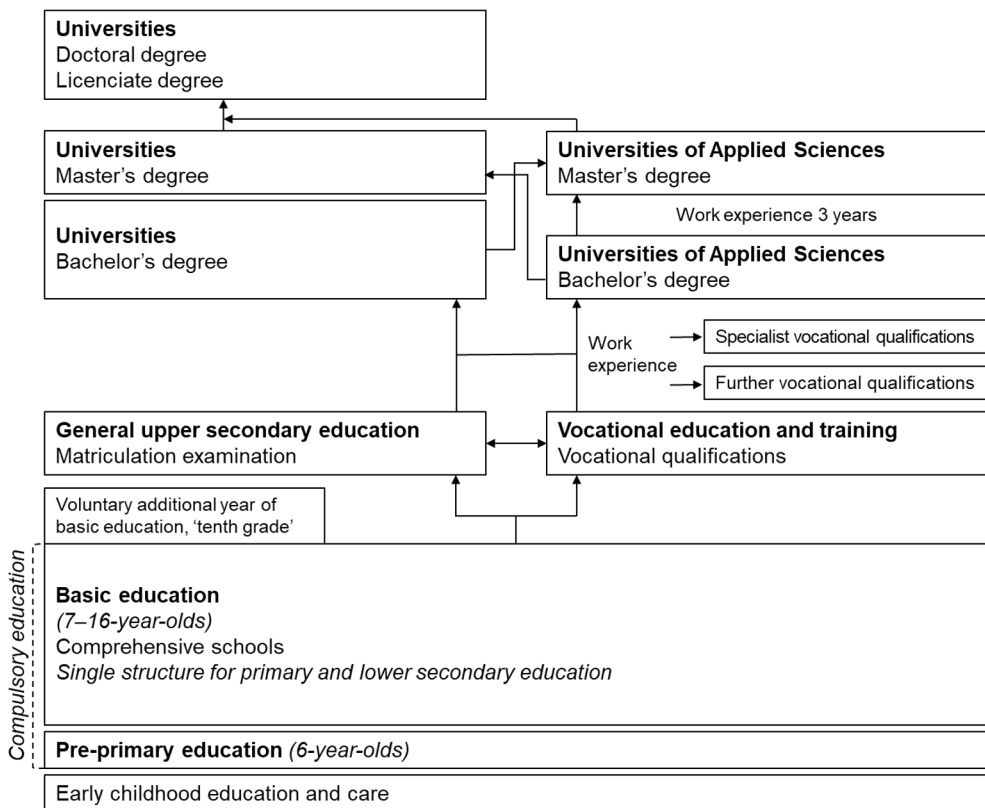
Figure 2.   The Finnish education system (adapted from NAE, 2019)

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[30]   With the exception of the tuition fees for non-EU and non-EEA students in higher education, which have been effective from autumn 2016 (NAE, 2019).

The crux of the Finnish education system is a nine-year comprehensive school, which provides single-structure basic education at primary and lower secondary levels. Comprehensive schools are run by public funds, all basic education is administered by the state and municipalities, and comprehensive schools are not allowed to financially profit from their operation. There are no national testing systems, no public league tables, and almost no private schools in basic education. In addition to basic education being free of charge for families, so are school materials and school meals. Basic education starts the year the child turns seven, but one year of pre-primary education is also part of compulsory education. (NAE, 2019.) Throughout their schooling, students can receive multiple forms of support provided by teachers, assistant teachers, special education teachers, and specific student support teams. The aim, which reflects the goal of preventing school failure (Järvinen & Tikkanen, 2019), is to keep every student in the same school system (Kivirauma & Ruoho, 2007; Yoon & Järvinen, 2016).

The first institutionally foreseen transition takes place at the end of comprehensive school, when students can opt either for general upper secondary education or vocational education and training – or decide not to continue their studies as compulsory education ends when the entire comprehensive education syllabus is completed or 10 years has passed since the beginning of compulsory education.[31] There is also an option to continue basic education for a 10th year on voluntary basis. In recent years, only two to three per cent of basic education leavers have not continued their studies immediately after comprehensive school ninth grade (Statistics Finland, 2018). In both general and vocational upper secondary education, student selection is based on grade point averages in the basic education certificate, but entrance and aptitude tests may also be used. Both forms of upper secondary education give eligibility for higher education. The only national examination in the Finnish education system is the matriculation examination, which is held at the end of general upper secondary education. Higher education, which has a dual structure, is provided by universities and universities of applied sciences (previously polytechnics); whereas the former emphasise scientific research and education, the latter adopt a more practical approach. Entry to all fields of study is restricted in both forms of higher education, and institutions use different kinds of student selection criteria, such as success in matriculation examination and entrance tests. (NAE, 2019.)

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[31]   In the recent Programme of Prime Minister Antti Rinne's Government (Finnish Government, 2019, p. 175), one of the planned measures is to raise the minimum school leaving age to 18 years; that is, to make upper secondary education part of compulsory education.

By applying a typology of national education systems proposed by Allmendinger (1989), the Finnish education system can be interpreted to have a high level of standardisation and a low level of stratification. Allmendinger's model, which is one of the early attempts to take into account institutional specifics in life course sociology (Mayer, 2004), clusters national education and training systems to highlight the ways in which the dimensions of standardisation and stratification are linked to labour market outcomes.[32] Standardisation refers to the degree to which the quality and content of education, such as teacher training, school budgets, curricula, and school-leaving examinations, meet the same standards nationwide. The degree of standardisation, as an aspect of uniformity in institutional arrangements at the national level, has a significant effect on country-level differences in the efficacy and equality of education (Horn, 2009; OECD, 2005). Standardisation is linked to the role of schools and companies in vocational education and training as well as to the dominant model of school leavers' labour market entry. In this regard, relevant is the distinction between organisational labour markets, where the level of education plays a greater role, and occupational labour markets, where careers depend on standardised occupational profiles. (Parreira do Amaral et al., 2011, p. 182.) The level of stratification, in turn, is determined by the degree of differentiation (i.e. tracking) within a given educational level and by the proportion of a cohort that attains the maximum number of school years provided by the education system. The greater the proportion of the cohort and the lower the degree of differentiation within educational levels, the lower the level of stratification within a particular system. In a highly stratified, selective school system, children are separated into different schools or programmes according to their ability, socio-economic and cultural-ethnic background, and interests. There is little or no mobility between schools or programmes that differ greatly in terms of curricula. The level of academic offerings is associated with different degrees of access to opportunities for additional and more advanced schooling. (Allmendinger, 1989.) Therefore, stratification refers both to the varied prestige of different kinds of educational programmes and to the varied chances of reaching high levels of academic attainment (Kerckhoff, 2001). In less stratified educational systems, such as the Finnish one, there are no dead-end tracks, and the tracking of students begins at a later age. Additionally, the curricula of the different tracks are less distinct, and there is greater mobility between the different tracks. Consequently, the differences between tracks in the probability of continuing

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[32] Examples of national education systems with high levels of both standardisation and stratification are Germany, the Netherlands, and France. In, for instance, the United Kingdom, Italy, and Poland, educations systems have low levels of both standardisation and stratification. Hungary is an example of a country with an education system where standardisation is low and stratification is high. (See Parreira do Amaral et al., 2011.)

to tertiary education are smaller (Shavit & Müller, 2000). According to Allmendinger (1989), the stratification dimension is also relevant with regard to labour market outcomes; although occupational status is closely determined by educational attainment in countries with highly stratified education, it is much less affected when the system's level of stratification is low.

When taking into account different features of the provision of educational and vocational guidance, such as the main providers of guidance, the role of private actors, the strength of the connections with the labour market, and the significance of families as a source of support and information, the Finnish system of educational and vocational guidance can be described as predominantly school-based. In a school-based system, guidance is provided for students within schools by teachers and internal experts, such as guidance counsellors, while vocational guidance provided by employment agencies is also at students' disposal when relevant. Overall, school-based guidance systems are characterised by a comparatively well-developed transitional support and a clear division of duties between the mutually complementary sources of guidance relevant at different points of individuals' life courses. The relatively clear organisation of educational and vocational guidance provided in school-based guidance systems implies good visibility and easy access for students at different points in their educational trajectories. [33]

Despite the fact that the Finnish education system is relatively equal in international comparison, and even though the neoliberal ideology has not fully penetrated the Finnish basic education system (Lindberg, 2013; Vanttaja & Rinne, 2008), which is evident in the absence of many typical features of neoliberal education policies (e.g. national testing systems, public league tables, and a large private and independent schools sector), the shift in education policies towards more selective and market-based orientation is evident in Finland (Berisha, Rinne, Järvinen, & Kinnari, 2017; Dovemark et al., 2018; Jørgensen et al., 2019). Consequently, many of the significant changes in Finnish education policies have been very much neoliberal in recent decades. With regard to the Finnish comprehensive school, many view the introduction of school choice policy in the mid-1990s as the single most important education policy change of recent decades.[34] While comprehensive schools are required to maintain a national core curriculum, they are also allowed to specialise in certain areas to meet the varying demands of

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[33] The concept of educational trajectories refers to how individuals proceed through different educational stages, how they cope with transitions between the stages, and how they make decisions regarding their educational career (Cuconato & Walther, 2013, p. 10).

[34] For a thorough examination of the history and application of this policy in Finland, see Seppänen (2006).

parents and the different aptitudes of students by offering special subject profiles (e.g. in mathematics, science, arts, languages) in so-called classes with special emphasis to which students are selected on the basis of applications and aptitude tests. In other words, while children are, in principle, obliged to attend a designated neighbourhood school defined by local education authorities, parents are also able to choose between schools based on their particular character and curriculum. (Berisha & Seppänen, 2017; Varjo & Kalalahti, 2015; see also Kosunen & Seppänen, 2015a; Varjo, Kalalahti, & Lundahl, 2015.) Thus, while the Finnish basic education system is non-selective as it does not – officially – involve any 'ability-based' grouping of students, there are, nevertheless, practices within the basic education that lead to the grouping of the students based on their school performance (Berisha & Seppänen, 2017, p. 241). These distinctive practices of school choice appear especially in large cities, making this an urban phenomenon in Finland[35] (Seppänen, Rinne, & Sairanen, 2012; Räty, 2013). Recent studies show a clear difference in the socio-economic backgrounds of those students who attend special emphasis classes and those who attend 'regular' classes. Students in special emphasis classes typically have very good school performance records and are from socially advantaged backgrounds (Kalalahti, Silvennoinen, & Varjo, 2015a; Kosunen & Seppänen, 2015a). At the same time, children from working-class backgrounds do not attend these classes as often even when their academic achievement is high (Silvennoinen, Rinne, Kosunen, Kalalahti, & Seppänen, 2015).

As the implementation of the school choice policy encourages and promotes the early selection of children from different socio-economic backgrounds to different educational paths within school levels, urban schools are divided into those with high status and high popularity and those with low status and low popularity (From et al., 2014; Kosunen, 2014; Seppänen, 2006). There is compiling evidence of systematic growth in differences between and within schools in learning results and socio-economic composition of the student populations (e.g. Berisha & Seppänen, 2017; Bernelius & Kauppinen, 2011; Kosunen & Seppänen, 2015b; Kuusela, 2012). The gap between the best and the weakest comprehensive schools in terms of student performance is growing (Kupari et al., 2013, p. 44; Vettenranta et al., 2016), and, in the capital city Helsinki, a group of 'failing schools' has emerged (Bernelius, 2011). While Finnish PISA results from the first decade of the 2000s showed high learning outcomes with low between-school variation, a small share of low-achievers, and the school system's successfulness in compensating for the disadvantages of those

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[35]   However, there are differences between municipalities in this regard. The different local contexts have produced different interpretations of school choice and competition, and municipal educational authorities do not offer choice to the same extent in all Finnish cities (e.g. Varjo & Kalalahti, 2015).

children who come from lower socio-economic backgrounds, recent PISA assessments indicate that the positive characteristics of the Finnish school system are deteriorating (Rinne, Silvennoinen, Järvinen, & Tikkanen, 2019). For instance, the effect of socio-economic background on learning outcomes has strengthened, and the proportion of students with a low level of skills has grown significantly (OECD, 2013, 2016).

6 Theoretical and Methodological Approach

As stated in the introduction, the overall aim of this study is to examine how the processes of social change and social reproduction – or individualisation and structural inequalities – are reflected in education and, hence, in some of the central prerequisites of the life course construction of young people in Finland. This chapter presents the theoretical framework, the heuristic tool of life course principles together with the respective research tasks, and the data and methods applied in this study. Moreover, ethical considerations, especially regarding data collection and treatment, are discussed.

6.1 Overview of the Theoretical Framework

Instead of adopting an 'either individualisation or the continuing importance of social structures' perspective (c.f. Rasborg, 2017), this study draws upon those theories that integrate some central aspects of these two perspectives. The way individualisation is understood in this study does not exclude the traditional forms of social stratification but concurs with those theoretical approaches which argue that their importance can be accentuated by individualisation (Curran, 2018; Dawson, 2012), that they are overlaid with new forms of differentiation (Rasborg, 2017), and that individuals differ on the basis of their social or class backgrounds in the extent to which they are 'individualised' (Bauman, 2007a; Mills, 2007; Skeggs, 2004). Hence, the study concurs with those views that see elements in the individualisation thesis allowing for the examination of the interplay between individualisation and social stratification (e.g. Rasborg, 2017; Woodman, 2009, 2010) and recognise the generative capacities and mechanisms in Bourdieu's concept of habitus (e.g. Asimaki & Koustourakis, 2014; Farrugia & Woodman, 2015; Mills, 2008; Reay, 2004b). In the next sections, which detail the theoretical approach of this study, a distinction is made – for illustrative purposes, not to suggest that they should be perceived as autonomous or distinct entities – between structural and individual dimensions of individualisation (c.f. Zinn, 2002) and their relations to social structures.

6.1.1 Structural Level of Individualisation

The way in which the relations and interplay of late modernity, increased risks, individualisation, institutions, and social structures, such as class, are understood here is presented in Figure 3. The 'comorbidity' of late modernity and the prevailing neoliberal policy ideology leads to increased risks and uncertainties as well as to the process of individualisation. At the structural level, one centrally relevant aspect of individualisation is the relationship between individuals and the state: the central modern institutions are geared towards the individual and not to the collective. Individualisation is imposed on individuals by late modern institutions steering them to take responsibility for and seek biographical solutions to systemic problems, risks, and uncertainties. (Bauman, 2007a; Beck, 2007; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002.) Individuals have also become more dependent on a series of institutions, such as the welfare state and the education system. The role of these institutions in shaping individual lives has become more pronounced, and they impose often contradictory demands, controls, and constraints on individuals (Dawson, 2012; Howard, 2007a).

Drawing on the interactionist criticism of individualisation (see Dawson, 2012) related to both 'cultural class analysis' (e.g. Savage, 2000; Reay, 2005) and the theoretical works linking reflexivity with habitus (e.g. Adams, 2006; Farrugia, 2013), and on Dawson's (2012) conceptualisation of embedded individualisation that builds on the work of Bauman, individualisation is not viewed as leading to the weakening or diminishing of 'traditional' forms of social inequalities, but instead it is seen to be embedded in and influenced by social structures. Furthermore, the distribution of risks is heavily shaped by social structures (see Curran, 2018), and individualisation does not diminish but can actually accentuate the importance of the continual forms of stratification (Dawson, 2012; Threadgold & Nilan, 2009). The withdrawal of the welfare state and its institutions (e.g. Aapola-Kari & Wrede-Jäntti, 2017; Bauman, 2007a; Furlong & Cartmel, 2007), which regulate the implications that social structures have on the lives of individuals, means that simultaneous with the increasing risks and uncertainties – and while being more dependent on institutions – individuals have less institutional support to cope with them. As a result, they become more dependent on the family as a source of support (Antonucci & Hamilton, 2014, p. 259), which also contributes to the continuing importance of social structures.
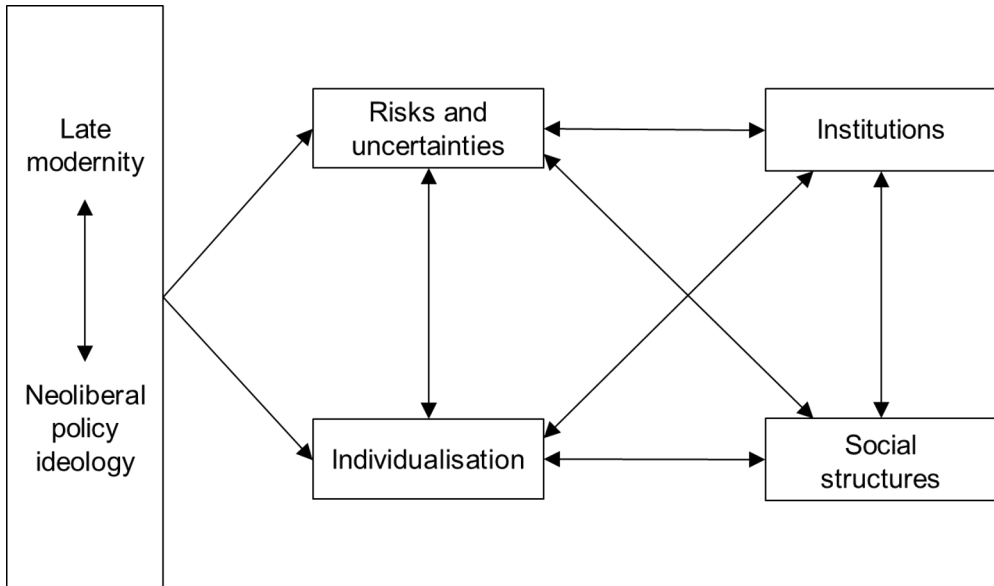
Figure 3. Relations of different dimensions of individualisation at the structural level

6.1.2 Individual Level of Individualisation

When examining the individual level of individualisation, the most central theoretical concepts are reflexivity and agency – the definitions of which often overlap and which are closely related to concepts such as habitus, cultural capital, and identity capital. In this study, the Bourdieuian forms of capital, which the identity capital model builds on, are recognised as highly important, but the concept of identity capital is seen to bring added value in that it 'updates' the forms of capital by also including more intrapersonal qualities and abilities particularly necessary for functioning in and coping with the complex and uncertain conditions of late modernity. Furthermore, one of the benefits of the identity capital model is the availability of extensive work on operationalising and measuring the intangible forms of this kind of capital (see Côté, 2016).

While Côté (e.g. Côté & Levine, 2002) himself does not seem to view the relationship to be quite this straightforward, it is argued here that the tangible forms of identity capital correspond rather directly with Bourdieu's economic, social, and cultural forms of capital – the latter of which is embodied in the habitus. This tangible identity capital (i.e. the Bourdieuian forms of capital) relates in the literature to agency both as an affect and an effect ('feeling powerful' and 'being powerful'; Spencer & Doull, 2015) as do the intangible forms of identity capital, such as agentic personality and internal locus of control (c.f. Côté & Levine, 2002). In other words, both certain intrapersonal features and more 'concrete' forms of capital contribute to

individuals' subjective feelings of power as well as to their ability to act and the effects of their actions.

With regard to the relationship of the concepts of identity capital and reflexivity, abilities for critical thinking and strategic goal setting, which form part of intangible identity capital, have been argued to be resources needed for reflexivity (c.f. Côté, 2002, 2005), where reflexivity is understood in a way that includes awareness or conscious reflection (e.g. Adams, 2006; O'Connor, 2014). When it comes to 'habitual' reflexivity, it is seen in the literature either to be closely and complexly connected with habitus (Adams, 2006; Pöllmann, 2016) or to reside within habitus (Sweetman, 2003; Adkins, 2003; Threadgold & Nilan, 2009), thus overlapping with the concept of tangible identity capital.

Post-reflexive choices, which come after the moment of reflexive awareness in which choices can be resourced (Adams, 2006), relate closely not only to reflexivity but also to different capitals needed to access the available possibilities of which an individual is reflexively aware and to the reflexive practices that can follow these 'choices'. These reflexive practices, which are the moments during which individuals try to manage the contradictions of late modernity, have been argued to gain their content from cultural capital as social divisions impact the things individuals are reflexive about and the resources they have available to reach their goals (Farrugia, 2013, 2015).

In this study, agency is understood in a way that acknowledges its inherent interrelationship with structures (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Dannefer, Kelley-Moore, & Huang, 2015). That is, agency is not seen to be simply 'bound' by structures nor is it associated with freedom from them. Reflexivity is perceived to be the means through which individuals try to understand and negotiate the structural inequalities of late modernity. In this sense, against the view that reflexivity equates with the agentic emancipation and liberation from social structures often associated with Giddens (1991, 1994), reflexivity is seen to be more akin to coping than to agency – the former of which is often defined as 'thoughts and behaviours used to manage the internal and external demands of situations that are appraised as stressful' (Folkman & Tedlie Moskowitz, 2004). As embedded social practices, reflexive practices are the individual's responses to the unstable and contradictory structural environments of late modernity, and they are oriented towards the realisation of meaningful life course trajectories (Farrugia, 2013, 2015). Thus, according to the view adopted in this study, reflexivity does not equate with emancipation from structural constraints (Adams, 2006; Beck, 1992; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002), and reflexive practices are not, but can include or lead to, agency. Lastly, the concept of identity capital is used to refer to the resources needed for reflexivity.

6.2 Life Course Principles as a Heuristic Tool

The purpose of the heuristic tool is to aid in combining the rather eclectic macro-level theoretical framework of this study with the empirical data. An adaptation of three life course principles, which draws mainly on the work of Elder[36] but also on the socio-structural life course framework proposed by Levy and Bühlmann (2016), is used to this end. The logic behind this approach is that the societal changes associated with the contemporary late modern condition affect the different dimensions and preconditions of life courses, which are, in turn, assumed to be discernible in the empirical data (see Figure 1).

The first of the principles is historical time and space, according to which life courses are embedded and shaped by the historical times and places experienced over the lifetime. Here, especially relevant are what Levy and Bühlmann call the phasing and normalising institutions of life course construction, such as education and educational and vocational guidance. Secondly, Elder's principle of linked lives, which states that individuals' lives are lived interdependently with family being the major life-linking institution, is employed. In this study, this principle is seen to be tightly interlinked with the cumulation of (dis)advantages in the life course as a form of the path dependency of life course trajectories (Dannefer et al., 2015, pp. 100–101; Levy & Bühlmann, 2016, p. 36) and with compensatory advantage (Bernardi, 2014) bringing it close to certain aspects of the principle of life-span development. In relation to the life course, path dependency means that life course trajectories become 'locked in' by some critical preceding condition, whereas the concept of compensatory advantage suggests that the life course trajectories of individuals from privileged backgrounds are less dependent on prior negative outcomes. Patterns of cumulative disadvantage and unfavourable path dependency are less prevalent among individuals in socially advantaged positions because they have more resources that can be used to mitigate prior negative transition outcomes. (Bernardi, 2014, pp. 74–75; Buchmann & Steinhoff, 2017, p. 2085).

The third and final life course principle applied in this study is that of individual agency. Life course research typically views structure and agency to be analytically clearly separate (Eteläpelto et al., 2013), counter-posed domains of freedom and constraint that are assumed to be two independent and often opposed and competing forces with the limits of agency determined by the strength of the structures

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[36] Due to the cross-sectional nature of the overall data and due to the student data including young people who are not only of the same age but also in the same life course stage with regard to education (see the following section for further details), the principles of life-span development and timing of life course events are not included in the heuristic tool – although the adapted principle of cumulative and linked life course does include some elements of the former.

(Dannefer et al., 2015, p. 92). This theoretically problematic tendency is also clearly visible in the definitions proposed in Elder's life course principles. However, as mentioned earlier, this study adopts a more Bourdieuian understanding of the relationship of agency and structures (see Coffey & Farrugia, 2014) in the sense that agency is not understood to simply be 'bound' by structures. Instead, an individual is seen to come into being through an active engagement with systems of power relationships. There are also definitions of agency and its relation to structures that are close to what Bourdieu intends with the concept of habitus in the field of life course research, such as the following:

> [T]he role of social structure is not merely to constrain agency, thereby defining and limiting the options among which an otherwise 'free' actor may choose. Rather, what social structure does is to shape and define the individual's consciousness, within which intentions and purposes are externalised into agentic action. [---] [Agency] does not exist as the error term, relegated to the caprice of free choice. Rather, it is recognized as it empirically exists – as an expression of consciousness that is constituted by and typically integrated into the habitus in which it operates [---] Agentic expression also serves to create the social relationships that sustain the world. (Dannefer et al., 2015, p. 93)

With regard to the principle of historical time and space, this study focuses firstly on segregation and competition in the neoliberalised field of education, particularly from the viewpoints of families and educational institutions. Secondly, the study asks if and how the current historical period is reflected in young Finns' views of the future concerning their education, employment, and social status. When it comes to the principle of linked and cumulative life course, what is of interest is whether the significance of one's social background persists and is recognised at the institutional level. In relation to this principle, the processes of cumulation of capital and advantage are examined also in the context of young people's identity capital and life course formation. Lastly, regarding the principle of agency in life course, this study discusses some of the prerequisites for individual reflexivity and agency, and how these are supported at the system level.

6.3   Data and Methods

The data of this study come from the comparative, mixed-methods research project Governance of Educational Trajectories in Europe – Access, Coping and Relevance of Education for Young People in European Knowledge Societies in Comparative

Perspective (GOETE; www.goete.eu).[37] The GOETE project involved eight European Union countries, including Finland, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Slovenia, and the United Kingdom, and it was funded by the European Commission's 7th Framework Programme for Research.[38] The overall aim of the project was to analyse how education systems deal with the changing relationship of education and social integration in 'knowledge' societies by analysing how educational institutions conceptualise and organise individual educational trajectories.

The GOETE project examined the role of school in re-conceptualising education in terms of lifelong learning by combining governance and life course perspectives, through which it analysed the mechanisms of the regulation of educational trajectories and access to education, coping with the demands of education, and the relevance of education for individuals. The governance perspective allowed for an examination of how political decisions, public discourses on education, institutional programmes, and individual preference interact inside and outside of school, between individuals and institutions, and from the local to transnational levels. The life course perspective applied in the project combined a structural-institutional view with a perspective on the individual trajectory involving both the 'objective' movement through educational arrangements and the subjective experience and meaning-making. In this regard, it needs to be emphasised that while the project used a life course perspective, its application was very different from that of this study. Hence, the GOETE project is not responsible for any of the potential theoretical shortcomings and discrepancies of this dissertation.

The overall project covered the period from the transition into to the transition out of lower secondary education (i.e. from the transition into lower secondary education to the transition into general upper secondary education, vocational education and training, or the labour market). The various datasets collected in the project in the eight countries included, but were not restricted to, national research data, statistics, and policy documents as well as surveys with 1) lower secondary

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[37]   With the exception of the analysis methods, the information presented in sections 6.3 and 6.4 about the GOETE project and its aims, procedures, data collection, and datasets is based on the following documents: Governance of Educational Trajectories in Europe; Access, Coping and Relevance of Education for Young People in European Knowledge Societies in Comparative Perspective (GOETE, 2010); National Briefing Paper Finland – Work Packages 4 and 5 (GOETE, 2011); Comparative Analysis: Institutional Survey Work Package 5 – GOETE Working Paper (GOETE, 2012); Comparative Analysis: Individual Survey Work Package 4 – GOETE Working Paper (McDowell et al., 2012); Governance of Educational Trajectories in Europe – State of the Art Report (Parreira do Amaral et al., 2011); and Introduction: The Reshaping of Educational Trajectories in European Knowledge Societies (Cuconato et al., 2016).

[38]   Contract number SSH-CT-2009-243868; funded period 01/2010–03/2013.

school students; 2) their parents; and 3) principals of primary, lower secondary, general upper secondary, and vocational upper secondary schools. For the surveys, the aim was to select three cities or regions in each participating country to represent affluent, average, and disadvantaged areas.

In Finland, the GOETE surveys were conducted in three cities: Helsinki (capital city, 604,000 inhabitants, Uusimaa region), Turku (180,000 inhabitants, Southwest Finland region), and Tampere (217,000 inhabitants, Pirkanmaa region). Helsinki, which represented an affluent area, is the largest city and also the economic centre of the country. Turku, the sixth largest city in Finland, is an average area in economic terms. Historically Turku can be described as a more bourgeoisie or middle-class city than Tampere. While also being a rather economically average city,[39] Tampere, which is the third largest city in the country, had a slightly higher unemployment rate than Turku (at the time of the data collection). Tampere is an old industrial city, and it has been an important centre of the labour movement; while differences between cities have been blurred, Tampere is characteristically a working-class city. With regard to the selected cities and the generalisability of the results, it is important to note that the data represent only large southern Finnish cities.

6.3.1   Education Systems (Article I)

The first article of this dissertation, which focuses on the national education systems and systems of educational and vocational guidance of the eight countries, is based on the GOETE project's country reports,[40] for which the national partner teams reviewed national research data and analysed policy documents around the five key thematic dimensions of the project (access to education, coping with education, relevance of education, governance of education, and education in the life course) and on the subsequent comparative analysis conducted in the project, which related the country reports to European data and existing comparative models (Parreira do Amaral et al., 2011). The eight country reports were produced on the basis of

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[39]   Thus, the Finnish data do not include a disadvantaged city or region but one affluent and two average ones. In order to include a more disadvantaged area, it would have been necessary to choose a considerably smaller town or a sparsely populated region in which case reaching the required sample size would have been very difficult.

[40]   The country reports included Finland (Aro, Järvinen, Rinne, Julkunen, & Lunabba, 2010), Germany (Cramer, Litau, Parreira do Amaral, Wagegg, & Walther, 2010), Slovenia (Kobolt et al., 2010), France (Mellottee et al., 2010), Italy (Barberis et al., 2010), the Netherlands (Kosar Altinyelken, du Bois-Reymond, & Karsten, 2010), the UK (Biggart, Ingram, & McDowell, 2010), and Poland (Blaszczyk, Jung, & Fedorczuk, 2010).

research literature, document analysis, and secondary analysis along the following dimensions:

- Institutional structures and regulations of education and training; recent changes and reforms in education and training; educational participation and destinations

- Information on the mechanisms and findings of economic skill need forecasts; mechanisms of curriculum development

- Key problems and challenges; measures of support and active inclusion for pupils and students; schools in cooperation with other actors

- Structures of the (youth) labour market and transitions to work; labour market policies

- Key issues in national youth research

- Structures of youth services and non-formal education; welfare and education

In addition, for the study presented in the first article, information was collected and examined from Eurydice's National Education System Descriptions and Euroguidance's descriptions of European guidance systems.[41] This was done to fill in some gaps in the national reports and, hence, to guarantee that the required information was available for all the eight countries on all the dimensions relevant for the study.

6.3.2   Education Institutions (Article II)

The second article is based on the survey that targeted principals of primary, lower secondary, general upper secondary, and vocational upper secondary schools in the three cities or regions in each of the GOETE countries. The principal questionnaire was developed in the GOETE project to include questions related to all five main thematic dimensions of the project (see Figure 4), and it was translated into the respective national language in each of the non-English speaking countries.

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[41]   Eurydice: eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/home_en; Euroguidance: euroguidance.eu

GOVERNANCE
- Principal's decision-making power
- Importance of different decision-making areas in school
- Influence of various actors on decision-making in school
- Factors affecting teachers' recruitment
- Satisfaction regarding teacher education
- Preparedness of teachers
- Opinions concerning teaching in school
- What is the situation in the surveyed school

ACCESS
- School structure
- Admission criteria
- Factors affecting transitions
- Student participation

COPING
- Factors affecting coping and learning
- Support measures
- External support

LIFE COURSE
- Students' reasons for leaving school before the end of the term
- If and how school monitors students' later stages
- Students' subsequent educational paths

RELEVANCE
- Main objective of the school
- Current problems
- Recent/urgent reforms
- Status of the school

Figure 4.   Question sets of the principal survey by topic (source: GOETE, 2012)

The data collection was carried out with the online survey platform *Webropol* during late 2010 and early 2011. There were minor differences between the countries, but generally the process was organised along the same stages.[42] In the first step, the email addresses of all primary, lower secondary, general upper secondary, and vocational upper secondary school principals were gathered from each city or region. Secondly, in some countries (e.g. Germany), administrative authorisation was required to approach the schools, and the authorisation was thus acquired. Thirdly, the principals were sent an invitation to the survey in an email, which included an introduction to the GOETE project and the survey as well as a link to the online questionnaire. The questionnaire was filled out by the respondents in their web browser. After the initial invitation, three rounds of reminders were sent to those who

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[42]   In Poland, the online survey platform was not used. Instead, the data collection was carried out by personal visits to the schools, where the principals were interviewed face-to-face. An external firm was used to carry out the interviews. This approach resulted in a considerably better response rate than in the other countries. In Germany, the invitations were sent to the three sampled cities at different times. In the Netherlands, the invitations were also sent as several separate lists because the sampling area had to be expanded due to initial problems in getting enough respondents. The sample was also expanded in the UK due to a low number of respondents. Following the sample boost from 492 to 1,120, the number of respondents in the UK data increased from 24 to 38, and the response rate decreased from 4.8% to 3.4%. It is clear that this kind of a response percentage affects the reliability of the results, but the UK data were, nevertheless, included in the analysis presented in the second article because the UK was needed for the country typology chosen for the analysis.

had not responded by that point in time. In the fourth step, the national data were downloaded from the online platform and merged into one dataset in the *Statistical Package for Social Sciences* software (IBM SPSS). The details of the principal survey data are presented in Table 1. The analysis methods applied in the study included descriptive statistics, cross-tabulations and chi-squared tests, principal component analyses, and one-way analyses of variance (Welsh's ANOVA with Games-Howell post hoc testing).

Table 1. Principal survey data per country (source: GOETE, 2012)

Country	Sample	Responses	Response %	N in data	% of data
Italy	507	105	20.7	105	10.7
France	2142	158	7.4	152	15.4
Finland	290	104	35.9	100	10.2
Netherlands	3664	174	4.7	169	17.2
Germany	905	119	18.9	119	12.1
Slovenia	347	102	29.4	101	10.3
Poland	250	200	80.0	200	20.3
The UK	1120	38	3.4	38	3.9
Total	**9225**	**1000**	**10.8**	**984**	**100.0**

6.3.3 Families and Students (Articles III and IV)

The last two articles are based on the surveys of Finnish 14- to 15-year-old lower secondary school ninth grade[43] students and their parents conducted in Helsinki, Turku, and Tampere. Hence, whereas the first two articles are comparative, the last two focus on Finland and Finnish education. The student and the parent questionnaires were developed by project, and they included a wide range of topics relevant to the key GOETE themes. The student survey[44] assessed respondents' experiences regarding their educational trajectories to date as well as attitudes, expectations, and aspirations towards their continued participation. The parent survey, in turn, assessed respondents' views in relation to school choice, progression,

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[43] Final year of comprehensive (and compulsory) education.
[44] The questionnaire included a number of newly developed questions for the purposes of the project's research questions but also a number of standardisation scales that have been used elsewhere, such as the General Self-Efficacy Scale (Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1995).

and problems and support experienced to date as well as their expectations and efforts for their child's future educational and employment career. The questionnaires were piloted in all countries before being finalised and translated from English into the respective national language.

The data collection started with selecting the schools: lower secondary schools were the main sampling unit selected at random from a sampling frame. The sample was stratified into three categories (disadvantaged, average, and affluent) according to the socio-economic context of the schools. In Finland, the main criteria for classifying the schools were the socio-economic structure and unemployment level of the schools' catchment areas as assessed by official statistics. In addition, the share of students with immigrant background was considered, and the results of a previous study (Seppänen, 2006) examining the school choice policy and student flows in Finnish cities were also utilised where applicable. It should be highlighted that, in all three cities, municipal policies favouring parental school choice have increased the segregation of comprehensive schools (see Varjo, Kalalahti, & Seppänen, 2015).

The principals of the selected schools were contacted in the spring of 2010 and, after the principals had given their permission, official permits to conduct the research were applied for and obtained from the municipalities in charge of basic education. In the fall of 2010, the principals were contacted again to set the exact school visit times. The school visits took place in late 2010 and early 2011. Six schools from each city were selected so that each category was represented by two schools per city, and students from two classes per school were surveyed. In each school, the survey was completed by both classes simultaneously (with the exception of two schools in which the classes were visited at different times). The school visits were done by two people (two researchers or a researcher and a research assistant) so that there was one researcher present in both surveyed classes at all times.[45]

In total, 624 students responded to the survey (the details of the student data are presented in Table 2). With regard to the response rate, six parents did not give consent for their child to participate in the study, and one student refused to participate in the study. There were also some students who were absent from their school on the day of the data collection. Thus, the overall response rate was 85%. With regard to the fourth article, it should be noted that not all the students had responded to all the questions relevant for the analysis. Furthermore, the analysis involves only a comparison of students from affluent and disadvantaged schools. This resulted in a sample size of 354 students (43.2% disadvantaged).

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[45] There were no major problems in the data collection. However, there were some minor issues during the process. Most importantly, these included the need to replace one of the target schools in each of the three cities (e.g. due to inability to contact the principal of a selected schools and because one school refused to take part in the study).

Table 2.   Student data per city and socio-economic status of school (source: GOETE, 2011)

	Disadvantaged	**Average**	**Affluent**
Turku (241)	29% (70)	36% (87)	35% (84)
Tampere (198)	28% (56)	35% (70)	37% (72)
Helsinki (185)	26% (48)	40% (74)	34% (63)
Total (624)	28% (174)	37% (231)	35% (219)

The parental questionnaires were paired with the student questionnaires using ID numbers and distributed to the students at the same time as the student questionnaires. In other words, each student was given two paper questionnaires, one for them to fill in at school and the other to take home to their parent. The students were instructed to return the parent questionnaires to the school by the end of the following week, and school staff was instructed to return all the parent questionnaires in one large pre-filled and pre-paid envelope, which was given to them during the visit.

Out of the 624 parents who received the questionnaire, 318 responded to the survey, and the total response rate was 50% (response rate per city: Turku 58%, Tampere 52%, and Helsinki 41%). The details of the parent data are presented in Table 3, which shows that Turku and affluent schools are somewhat over-represented and Helsinki and disadvantaged school under-represented in the parent data. However, especially noteworthy is that the majority of the responding parents were mothers (83.4%) and had a higher education degree (70.9%). The clear over-representation of highly educated parents is likely to be a result of multiple factors. While in the whole country, the share of the population aged 15 or over with a higher education degree is around 30%, the share is clearly higher in large cities (Statistics Finland, 2019). Hence, the data reflect, to a certain extent, the regions from which the sample was drawn. However, the question is clearly also about differential response rates, which indicates that parents with lower education level were less willing to complete the survey. It is possible, for example, that these parents have a relatively low level of trust in their children's schools. Furthermore, the way the survey was implemented can have elicited lower response rates from less educated parents.

Table 3.   Parent data per city and socio-economic status of school (source: GOETE, 2011)

	Disadvantaged	**Average**	**Affluent**
Turku (140)	36% (51)	30% (42)	34% (47)
Tampere (102)	27% (27)	38% (39)	35% (36)
Helsinki (76)	20% (15)	32% (24)	49% (37)
Total (318)	29% (93)	33% (105)	38% (120)

Regarding the stratification of the sample, the group 'average schools' was not as distinct as the other two; when applying the classification criteria, some of these schools could have been placed in one of the other categories depending on the used criterion.[46] Hence, to further validate the school categories, the differences in the socio-economic structure of the schools' student populations were also examined based on the student data (see Table 4).

Table 4. Distribution of the student data based on socio-economic background variables (percentages) and significance of differences between disadvantaged, average, and affluent lower secondary schools (chi-squared tests)

	Disadvantaged	Average	Affluent	p
Mother's educational level				
High	14.7	44.9	49.3	< .001
Low	85.3	55.1	50.7	
Father's educational level				
High	20.9	44.7	46.8	< .001
Low	79.1	55.3	53.2	
Mother's occupational status				
High	32.5	54.7	59.2	
Medium	46.5	34.5	30.4	< .001
Low	18.4	4.7	5.2	
Entrepreneur	2.6	6.1	5.2	
Father's occupational status				
High	24.1	43.0	53.5	
Medium	19.2	13.4	8.0	< .001
Low	50.0	30.9	24.7	
Entrepreneur	6.7	12.7	13.8	

Note: Educational levels are post-secondary education or lower (low) and first stage of tertiary education or higher (high). Occupational status categories (c.f. Statistics Finland) are manual worker (low), clerical support, service, or sales worker (medium); technician, associate professional, professional, or manager (high); and self-employed (entrepreneur).

[46] While students belonging to the group 'average schools' were excluded from the analysis in the fourth article partly because of this 'ambiguity', due to the much smaller parent sample and the requirements of the analyses methods, parents of students attending average schools were included in the third article. However, the analyses were run with and without the average group with very similar results.

For both articles, the analyses were carried out using the *Mplus 6.0* software with the maximum likelihood estimator (Muthén & Muthén, 2006) and the IBM SPSS 20. With regard to the variables included in the analyses, small amounts of missing student data (.4–2.7% per item) and parent data (.3–4.4% per item) were handled by the Expectation Maximisation procedure as identical datasets were needed for working with the two types of analysis software. For the fourth article, which focuses on students, the analysis methods included confirmatory factor analysis (CFA), structural equation modelling (SEM), multi-group SEM analysis and chi-squared difference testing, and independent samples t-tests. The analysis methods of the third article, which analyses parents' views, included principal components analysis (PCA), CFA, and Multiple Indicators Multiple Causes (MIMIC) modelling.

6.4　　　Ethical Considerations

In the GOETE project, the research elements involving human subjects were conducted to a high level of ethical standards, and the European Commission's guidelines on ethical issues in research were fully complied with.[47] Particular care was taken in all research aspects that involved children. Informed consent and confidentiality were perceived as the key ethical issues arising within the project.

Formal ethical protocols were produced to be used by the national partner teams prior to the commencement of data collection following the approval of EU and local ethics committees.[48] The ethical protocols were set down in the Consortium Agreement and supervised by the Steering Committee of the GOETE project. As the research focused on obtaining children's experiences and attitudes towards education through in-class surveys, minimal risk for the participants in the project was envisaged. While informative insights about children's perspectives on and experiences of educational trajectories were provided to inform educational policy and practice, care was taken not to mislead schools or participants regarding the direct benefits of participation in the research, which were minimal at best. Research fieldworkers received training in the ethical protocols and were vetted in relation to working with children and young people according to good practice and national legislation. In the course of all aspects of the research with children, two researchers or a researcher and another responsible adult were required to be present.

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[47]　See cordis.europa.eu/fp7/ethics_en

[48]　As the universities in the UK require that an ethical approval is obtained for all research involving human subjects through an internal ethics committee, the UK standards were applied in all the countries (although none of the other partner countries where fieldwork was undertaken had identified a similar requirement for this form of educational research).

In obtaining informed consent for the research with children, a three-stage process was applied. As the research was conducted in school contexts, firstly, initial consent was obtained from school principals, who, in effect, act as *loco parentis*. After this initial consent, schools were asked to distribute letters to parents or guardians requesting their permission for their child to be involved in the research. This letter outlined the aims of the research, its intended purposes, issues of confidentiality and anonymity, and the right to withdraw their child from the research. In the case of the student survey, following parental permission and prior to the commencement of the research, a short session was organised in each participating class to explain to the students in an age-appropriate way both the importance of having their opinions represented in the research and, more significantly, their rights and the nature of informed consent. In the course of this introductory session, students were informed that there were no right or wrong answers, that they did not have to answer any questions they do not wish to, and that they had the right to withdraw from the research at any stage. It was also emphasised that neither teachers nor parents would be informed of any act of non-participation in the research. The participants were then asked to sign a tear-off slip acknowledging that they understood their rights and whether they give their assent for participation in the survey. As the student respondents were at least 14 years of age, they were considered competent, after the careful explanation of their rights, to make an informed decision regarding whether they wished to participate in the study. Following the completion of the survey, the tear-off strips were removed from the questionnaire, and, hence, the data were made totally anonymous prior to data entry at the national level. Once the tear-off slips were removed from the questionnaire it was not possible to identify directly or indirectly the responses of individual students. In the case of the surveys with parents and school principals, which were not administered directly but through school distribution (parents) or an online survey (principals), the surveys were accompanied by an introductory letter that outlined the aims and objectives of the research and the confidentiality and anonymous nature of participation. While the respondents were asked to provide personal details in order to monitor and reduce attrition through follow-up, all responses were made fully anonymous prior to national data entry and analysis.

7   Overview of the Four Studies: Research Tasks and Main Findings

The topic of this chapter is the main findings of the empirical studies presented in the four research articles on which this dissertation is based. The articles examine and discuss aspects of the effects of late modernity and neoliberalism, the mechanisms and impacts of educational segregation, and the role of social structures and forms of capital in the field of education. They progress from the macro- to the micro-level as follows: the first article examines national education systems, the second one focuses on educational institutions, the third one engages with the viewpoint of families, and, in the last article, the focus is on individuals. The first two articles are comparative as they involve the eight European countries that participated in the GOETE project, while the last two concentrate on Finland and Finnish education. As Finland is the main focus of the dissertation, when presenting the results of comparative analyses, some emphasis is placed on the Finnish results. An overview of the articles is presented in Table 5.

Table 5.   Details of the four articles

No.	Level of analysis	Authors	Title	Published in	Data	Research task
I	Education systems (international, comparative)	*Tikkanen*, Bledowski, & Felczak	Education Systems as Transition Spaces	International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education; 2015	Eight national GOETE reports and their comparative analysis, European education system descriptions (Eurydice), European guidance system descriptions (Euroguidance)	Discussing ▪ Including a welfare dimension to classical comparative frameworks of education to highlight how educational and vocational guidance as a form of social support is integrated into and regulated in different national education systems
II	Educational institutions (international, comparative)	Rinne, Järvinen, *Tikkanen*, & Aro	Changes in Education Policies and the Status of Schools in Europe: The Views of School Principals from Eight European Countries	Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education; 2016	Survey data: school principals from the eight GOETE countries; N = 984	Analysing principals' views on ▪ Decision-making power and the importance of different decision-making areas ▪ The main objective of school with regard to educational equality ▪ Factors affecting students' coping with and access to education
III	Family (national; Finland)	*Tikkanen*	Parental School Satisfaction in the Context of Segregation of Basic Education in Urban Finland	Nordic Journal of Studies in Educational Policy; 2019	Survey data: parents of lower secondary school students from three Finnish cities; N = 318	Analysing ▪ The general level of parental school satisfaction ▪ The connection of the socio-economic status of child's school to parental school satisfaction
IV	Individual (national; Finland)	*Tikkanen*	Concern or Confidence? Adolescents' Identity Capital and Future Worry in Different School Contexts	Journal of Adolescence; 2016	Survey data: lower secondary school students from three Finnish cities; N = 354	Analysing ▪ The relationship of lower secondary school students' identity capital and their worry about future education, employment and social status ▪ The connection of school's socio-economic status and future worry

7.1 Article I: Education Systems as Transition Spaces

The main premise of the first article is that the choices individuals make at each of the transition points from one stage of education to the next are not products of free individual decision-making, as implied by the neoliberal discourse, but result from complex interactions between students and other actors within the surrounding social and systemic structures. In this regard, national configurations of education play a significant role: access to and progression through education are regulated, to a substantial degree, along more or less stratified paths in different education systems and are, therefore, dependent to a lesser extent on individual choices. The article aims to contribute to the comparative literature on education systems by offering a discussion on the current frameworks in which education takes place and by adding a welfare dimension to more classical comparative dimensions, thereby highlighting how educational and vocational guidance as a form of social support is integrated into and regulated in different national education systems. Assistance in choosing appropriate educational and professional pathways is one of the most crucial issues related to students' life courses (e.g. Sultana, 2018), which highlights the importance of including this dimension.

Thus, the article focuses both on the ways educational trajectories are regulated through the organisation of schooling and on the structures of educational and vocational guidance in the eight GOETE countries. As can be expected, the description of the institutional structures of the education and guidance systems reveals considerable between-country differences in the opportunities of choice enabling biographical construction as well as in the institutional barriers that confront young people. The comparative analysis builds on the typology of education systems suggested by Allmendinger (1989) and also considers the transition regime model (Walther et al., 2006; Walther et al., 2009). The article suggests three country clusters of education and welfare,[49] which illustrate how education and life courses influence each other in different national contexts and

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[49] It is important to note here that the suggested classification of the eight countries should not be understood as descriptive but ought to be considered as a heuristic device for presenting and analysing the differences in the organisation of schooling and the provision of support across the countries by illustrating the relative positions of the countries in terms of the different dimensions identified by a particular cluster. It is also highly important to acknowledge the changes that are taking place in contemporary education systems; positions are not static over time as the education systems are reformed to meet the challenges resulting from both national and supranational changes.

how different forms of regulation of access to education and training are connected to different provisions of support.

In this study, a concept of transition intensity is used to refer to the 'intensity' of the institutionally foreseen transitions in the education systems. The question here is not only about the number of transitions but also about their stages and levels of reversibility, particularly of the first one. An early first transition, a high level of stratification, and an irreversible nature of transitions all signify a high level of transition intensity in an education system. Hence, in systems at the higher end of this spectrum, students are already separated into tracks of unequal status by the end of primary school, indicating that their life courses are affected at an early age. The transitions between different education levels and programmes are often rather irreversible, and the systems are rigid in this sense, which increases the intensity of the transitions. Non-stratified education systems with a single structure of basic education and no dead-end tracks to the highest levels of education mark the low end of the spectrum of transition intensity.

The first country cluster suggested in the article is '*high-level standardised and comprehensive*' (Finland and Slovenia). In these systems, level of transition intensity is low, and the organisation of educational and vocational guidance is school-based. All students go through the same basic education covering the whole period of compulsory education, which does not contain any 'official' transitions. Due to the single structure of basic education, the degree of selecting and grouping students according to their individual or group characteristics, such as level of achievement and language proficiency, is substantially lower when compared to the other two clusters. Furthermore, the quality and content of education typically meet the same standards nationwide. In school-based systems of educational and vocational guidance, guidance is provided for students within schools by teachers and internal experts, such as guidance counsellors, while vocational guidance provided by employment agencies is also at their disposal when relevant. The relatively clear organisation of educational and vocational guidance provided in the school-based guidance systems implies good visibility of and easy access to comparatively well-developed transitional support for students at different points in their educational trajectories.

'Low-level standardised and differentiated' systems (Italy, Poland, and the United Kingdom), which display a medium level of transition intensity and have particularistic guidance systems, are on the low end of the standardisation dimension due to differences in the content and quality of education at the national level. In this cluster, the education systems are also clearly less comprehensive than in the first cluster as the degree of organisational differentiation is higher, and there is a transition within compulsory education. However, the level of selectivity in this transition is comparatively low. One relevant characteristic of this cluster is the level

and sources of support students receive from the particularistic guidance system to cope with educational transitions. Generally, the level of institutionalised support provided to students at transition points is low when compared to the first cluster. Hence, the role of family as a source of support and information is considerably more important. Many significant guidance providers are located outside schools, and these external bodies may include local or regional vocational training agencies, information and guidance offices, and counselling centres as well as private agencies. There are notable differences in the availability and quality of guidance between regions and even between schools. Hence, the particularistic guidance systems in these countries provide little institutionalised support but also imply substantial regional inequalities regarding the quality and contents of the limited support available.

In 'high-level standardised and differentiated' systems (Germany, the Netherlands, and France[50]), the level of transition intensity is high and guidance systems are corporatist. In these systems, the degree of organisational differentiation is substantial, and the level of selectivity is significantly higher than that in the other two clusters. The education systems have inherent, highly selective 'bottlenecks' and early decision-making points, which reinforce social and educational inequalities and disadvantages. Education-related equality is also affected by the fragmented nature of the available guidance and support. In the corporatist guidance systems, guidance is provided by school and labour market agents working in cooperation. While these systems have many similarities with the previous cluster with regard to the significance of external sources of guidance and a lack of a uniform national guidance system, a distinctive feature of the corporatist systems is a strong market orientation and the involvement of certain labour market actors in vocational guidance. Cooperation between schools and the labour market and direct contact

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[50] Even though the French system might seem, at first glance, to be more comprehensive than the German and the Dutch systems, which allocate students to different tracks at the end of primary school, it can, nonetheless, be defined as highly unequal. In addition to the spatial segregation of schooling, whereby *de facto* qualifications from schools of the same level have different values depending on the area in which the school is located, the officially comprehensive system of non-compulsory and university education coexists with selective and discriminative tracking. France also differs to some extent from the two other countries when it comes to educational and vocational guidance. The guidance system in France is a combination of particularistic and corporatist systems; it is particularistic in the sense that it is characterised by a great variety of services that provide information and guidance, the majority of which are located outside schools. In relation to the corporatist nature of the system, there are some labour market actors that have strong stakes in vocational guidance. The main issue with regard to the French guidance system is a lack of coordination between the multiple guidance providers and actors.

between companies and students are centrally important. While this close connection has certain advantages, such as promoting encounters with the labour market and facilitating finding employment after education, it also poses problems as it has the potential to impact students' decisions extensively, and companies may use the collaboration to 'cherry-pick' the best students.

The institutional differences in the configurations of education have profound biographical implications for young people and the decision-making processes they confront in their educational transitions. In this regard, the findings of this article are twofold. Firstly, education and transition systems have different transition intensities, which are related to different ways and degrees of stratification. Secondly, the different actors involved in educational and vocational guidance suggest that varied meanings of and rationales for decision-making are evident in the course of educational transitions in the countries studied by the GOETE project.

7.2 Article II: Changes in Education Policies and the Status of Schools in Europe: The Views of School Principals from Eight European Countries

The global shift in the direction of education policies towards the neoliberal mainstream is reflected in the changing status of schools as well as in the responsibilities of school principals in Europe. As a result of the movement towards the managerialism, decentralisation, and market orientation of education, pedagogical leadership is now accompanied by responsibilities for profitability, marketing, accountability, and thriving in competition (e.g. Berkemeier, 2008; Rinne, Simola, Mäkinen-Streng, Silmäri-Salo, & Varjo, 2011). In the study presented in the second article, in order to examine the school-level impacts of neoliberal policies across Europe, principals' views on their managerial power, issues of educational equality, and the formation of educational and learning trajectories of young people are analysed. The aim is to explore how principals representing countries with different educational systems and implementations of neoliberal policy reforms have responded to the new demands imposed on their position as school leaders.

The views of primary, lower secondary, and upper secondary school principals from the eight GOETE countries were analysed on the following dimensions: decision-making power in relation to the central government and the importance of different decision-making areas, the main goal of their school with regard to educational equality, and factors affecting students' educational trajectories and their

coping with the different demands of education. The theoretical model for comparing educational systems applied in this study is Allmendinger's (1989) typology. As in the first article, the country clusters are 'high-level standardised and comprehensive' (Finland and Slovenia), 'low-level standardised and differentiated' (Italy, Poland, and the United Kindgom), and 'high-level standardised and differentiated' (Germany, the Netherlands, and France).[51]

With regard to the governing of education, decision-making power may reside in the central government or in regional and local authorities, which further delegate part of this power to schools. Within this context, the role and power of principals are very significant. The different dimensions of decision-making included in the survey were teaching methods, personnel recruitment, curricula setting, student admission criteria, and financial matters. At the overall European level, teaching methods and personnel recruitment were the areas where the principals felt they had the most power, whereas they perceived to have the least power in financial matters. Finnish principals differed to some extent from the overall trend: while they, too, found that they had the most power in personnel recruitment, they also felt comparatively powerful in financial matters. The area in which the Finnish principals perceived to have the least power was deciding on the criteria for student admission.

The results on the principals' views on the importance of the different decision-making areas showed that, at the overall level, the clearly most important area was personnel recruitment, the second most important was teaching methods, and issues related to student admission criteria were perceived to be the least important. However, there was a lot of variation between both the country clusters and the individual countries. The only clear trend was that personnel recruitment was among the two most important decision-making areas in all clusters and countries. Furthermore, while ranking lowest in the overall examination, admission criteria was either the most or second important area in Finland, the United Kingdom, and Italy. Finnish principals, who viewed personnel recruitment to be the most important and admission criteria the second most important area, felt that teaching methods have clearly less relative importance as a decision-making area than did principals in the other countries.

Principals were also asked to rank different objectives of schools in order of importance. The options were 'supporting the students with special educational needs', 'focusing on all kinds of students equally', and 'helping the most gifted students to achieve their full potential'. These response options represent different societal ideals of equality and equity. The first option can be interpreted to represent schools that strive to secure the equality of opportunities by supporting those in

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[51]   In the article, slightly shorter names for the clusters are used.

particularly challenging positions through specific educational arrangements and positive discrimination. The second option, focusing on all kinds of students equally, refers to the equality of educational opportunities – that is, offering everyone equal possibilities to compete for social opportunities and status. The third option describes schools that want to maximise their own results by supporting primarily the most gifted students and by selecting students according to their performance levels, which relates to one of the central elements of the neoliberal policy discourses: demands for directing specific educational resources to supporting gifted students.

At the level of country clusters, supporting all students equally was rated as the main goal of their school by less than half of the respondents only in the 'high-level standardised and differentiated' cluster. In the other two clusters, clearly over 50% of the principals named equal support for all students as the main objective. However, the most interesting difference between the country clusters was in the proportion of principals naming supporting students with special educational needs as the most important objective: half of the respondents in the 'high-level standardised and differentiated' cluster, almost one-third in the 'low-level standardised and differentiated' cluster, and only a quarter in the 'high-level standardised and comprehensive' cluster. The responses correspond to the types of education systems: the more stratified and unequal the system is, the more school principals saw it to be especially important to support those students who are in the weakest positions. It is also quite interesting that, in the 'high-level standardised comprehensive' cluster, 16% of the principals named supporting the most gifted students as the most important objective (in Finland, this share was 12%).

As long as the societal function of education is to select individuals for the labour market and for the different steps of the social hierarchy, all students cannot succeed equally well in school. At every transition point after compulsory education, a share of students drops (or is dropped) outside the system. The 'higher' a transition takes place in the system, the harder are the competition and demands. Furthermore, the significant increase in educational attainment, the decrease of the relative value of educational degrees, the fast development of technology, and the changing labour markets have also contributed to the level of demands that education imposes on individuals. Students differ from each other in their ability to respond to these demands. In addition to individual characteristics, also family background and the different resources held by the families impact the way students adapt to the school environment, the level of their school performance, and the kind of educational trajectories for which they are selected. With regard to the institutional level, the resources that schools have at their disposal to provide teaching and support also affect students' learning as well as different aspects of their wellbeing and, hence, the formation of their educational trajectories.

The principals were asked about the extent to which students' coping with the demands of education is influenced by different factors related to students' physical and mental wellbeing, family background, and the school's resources. Similarly, they were also asked about the impact these kinds of factors have on students' access to education. With regard to students' coping, family background was seen by the principals to be the most significant factor in all the country clusters. Also at the country level, family was viewed to be the most significant factor in all the countries but Finland, where individual challenges were found to have slightly more influence. School-level factors were found to have the least impact on students' coping in all the countries with the exception of Germany and the Netherlands, and, therefore, the 'high-level standardised and differentiated' cluster was where individual challenges were perceived to be the least important. Also in relation to access to education, family was the most relevant factor according to the principals in all the country clusters. This was the case also at the country level with the exception of Italy and Slovenia, where institution-level factors were found to be the most significant. The least important factors in all countries and country cluster were individual challenges.

With regard to the comparative analysis, an important result of this study not yet explicitly discussed is the finding that the views of the principals did not consistently reflect the structures of the national education systems. There was a lot of variation within the country clusters, especially the 'high-level standardised and differentiated' cluster (i.e. between Germany, the Netherlands, and France) – in many cases more than between the clusters. This raises a question about the applicability of Allmendinger's (1989) typology when moving from the education system level to the level of educational institutions.

7.3 Article III: Parental School Satisfaction in the Context of Segregation of Basic Education

Against the background of educational segregation and the marketisation of education (the latter of which puts much of the focus on parents as consumers of education), the third article sets out to examine, through parents' views, some aspects of the extent and mechanisms of the segregation of basic education in urban Finland. The majority of Finnish parents still believe in the principle of a social and cultural mix in comprehensive schools (Rinne, Carrasco, & Flores, 2015, p. 93), and there are research results showing that Finnish parents do not usually believe that schools differ significantly in their overall quality or the standard of teaching despite their potential reputational differences (Kosunen & Seppänen, 2015a, p. 238). However, it has also been argued that many parents think that not all of their municipality's

schools guarantee equal opportunities for success for the children (Rinne et al., 2015, p. 93).

The central question this study seeks to answer is whether the socio-economic composition of a school's student population (i.e. the school mix or socio-economic status of the school; hereafter school SES) and parental education are connected with how satisfied parents are with different aspects of their children's schools and their functioning.[52] Thus, the article aims, firstly, to contribute to the understanding of the role that school SES has in relation to parental school satisfaction and, secondly, to take part in the discussion on the segregation of basic education in Finland by providing further empirical evidence on one of the mechanisms of this segregation development. The focus is on the school satisfaction of parents of lower secondary school students in urban Finland, where the number of comprehensive schools in local school markets is relatively high (i.e. there are more than one or two schools to choose from) and where municipal policies favouring parental school choice have increased the segregation of comprehensive schools, and schools, thus, differ based on the socio-economic profile of their student populations.[53] The dimensions of parental school satisfaction included in the study are 1) child's school satisfaction and learning; 2) home-school cooperation; and 3) school culture, which is typically seen to include shared attitudes, beliefs, norms, and values at school as well as social interactions among students and between students and teachers (Engels, Hotton, Devos, Bouckenooghe, & Aelterman, 2008; Lynch, Lerner, & Leventhal, 2013).

According to the results of the study, the general level of school satisfaction among the Finnish parents was relatively high. Parents were the most satisfied with child's school satisfaction and learning, then with school culture, and least satisfied with home-school cooperation, but the differences in the satisfaction were not drastic. The results showed that parental education was positively connected to their satisfaction with home-school cooperation. However, parents' education did not

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[52]   While the relationship between parental education and school satisfaction is interesting in itself, and while there has already been quite a few studies focusing on the topic (e.g. Jónsdóttir, Björnsdóttir, & Bæck, 2017; Kaczan, Rycielski, & Wasilewska, 2014; Räty, 2010; Räty & Kasanen, 2007; Räty, Kasanen, & Laine, 2009), the importance of including parental education in this analysis is highlighted by the fact that the educational level of students' parents at a given school is, quite naturally, not independent from the school SES.

[53]   This is not to suggest that school choice is the only mechanism affecting the increasing social and ethnic segregation between schools. In this regard, especially housing segregation and so-called 'white flight' – that is, native middle-class residents avoiding or moving away from areas with immigrant concentrations that are associated also with neighbourhoods of lower socio-economic strata (Komulainen, 2012) – have been widely discussed and shown to also contribute to educational segregation (e.g. Lindbom, 2010).

contribute to their satisfaction with school culture or child's school satisfaction and learning. In other words, parents were equally satisfied with their children's school in these regards despite their own educational background. School SES was a significant predictor of parental satisfaction with both home-school cooperation and school culture. The higher the school SES was, the more satisfied were the parents. As with parental education, school SES was not associated with parental satisfaction with child's school satisfaction and learning. Furthermore, a higher school SES indicated more positive perceptions of a school's reputation and that parents whose children attended socio-economically more affluent schools felt that there was more competition between students than did parents whose children's schools were more disadvantaged.

7.4   Article IV: Concern or Confidence? Adolescents' Identity Capital and Future Worry in Different School Contexts

In late modern societies, young people planning their future educational and occupational trajectories are faced with multiple choices and possibilities but also with a number of risks and uncertainties. Whether it is the possibilities or the risks that prevail depends largely on an individual's socio-economic resources. However, this present era is characterised by risks and uncertainties that do not concern only those from more disadvantaged backgrounds. The fourth article takes the societal changes related to the contemporary processes of modernisation and the societal complexities of late modern societies as a backdrop against which it analyses young people's future worry in relation to their personal resources and social surroundings in the context of education in urban Finland.

The article focuses on lower secondary school students' worry about their future education, employment, and social status as they are approaching the important transition point at the end of compulsory education. Together with their internal motivation and educational goals, the concerns students have about the future affect the success of this transition (Salmela-aro, Mutanen, Koivisto, & Vuori, 2010). Furthermore, perceptions of the future, such as expectations and concerns, direct young people's decision-making, choices, and motivation, thus affecting the way their future will actually unfold (Rubin, 2008). While optimism and hope have been suggested to facilitate young people's positive developmental trajectories (Nurmi, 2004; Schmid, Phelps, & Lerner, 2011) and goal achievement (Snyder et al., 1997), worrying tends to increase in adolescence due to cognitive development as well as personal and social challenges typically included in the life stage (Brown, Teufel, Birch, & Kancherla, 2006). Young people's worries are also affected by less

universal factors, which are more characteristic of the cultural and historical contexts in which they occur (cf. Rubin, 2008).

Firstly, the article analyses the relationship between parental education and support for the child's schooling and the student's future worry. For this purpose, the theoretical model of identity capital (Côté, 1996, 2005, 2016) is applied. The hypothesis is that a higher level of family-related resources, conceptualised as forms of tangible identity capital, is associated with a lower level of future worry and that this relation is mediated through intangible identity capital, specifically academic self-concept and general self-efficacy. The second aim of the article is to analyse whether the socio-economic composition of a school's student population (school SES) is connected to students' future worry – that is, whether the social surroundings at school contribute to young people's views of the future.

The results showed that the general level of future worry among the Finnish lower secondary school ninth graders was relatively low, indicating that most of the students worried about their future education, employment, and social status only rarely. However, roughly one in 10 worried about their future often or constantly. With regard to the mediated relationship of tangible identity capital and future worry, tangible identity capital contributed positively to students' intangible identity capital, which, in turn, was negatively associated with their future worry. In other words, higher levels of parental education and support for schooling indicated more positive academic self-concepts and, consequently, a stronger sense of general self-efficacy, which, in turn, reduced their future worry. Lastly, there were no significant differences in students' future worry based on school SES. Hence, the Finnish students were equally concerned or confident about their future education, employment, and social status regardless of the socio-economic context of the school. This finding suggests that the stratification of the basic education system in Finland has not (or at least had not in the early 2010s) reached a point where differences in schools' socio-economic compositions start to affect young people's future images.

8 Discussion

In this final chapter, the main findings of the four empirical studies are discussed in relation to late modern individualisation and neoliberal (education) policies as well as social structures and structural inequalities. The empirical findings are interpreted through a life course framework that helps to bridge these macro-theoretical issues with the empirical data and, hence, to depict how the current societal condition and its repercussions shape the prerequisites for constructing future life courses in the context of education. The chapter is organised along the three life course principles adapted for the heuristic tool: historical time and space, life course as a cumulative and linked process, and individual agency. Before completing the dissertation with some concluding remarks with regard to the overall research task, the central limitations of this study are discussed.

8.1 Historical Time and Space

According to the life course principle of historical time and space, life courses are embedded in and shaped by the historical time and space experienced by individuals over their lifetime (e.g. Elder, 1998, 2007; Elder et al., 2015). With regard to the aim of this dissertation, the relevant historical time is the contemporary phase of modernity in Europe and, more broadly, the Western world, and the historical space is urban Finland[54] with particular emphasis on the field of education.

Making educational choices is a challenging task due to the increased alternatives and choices within education systems as well as the growing complexity of these choices and their respective labour market consequences (e.g. Cuconato et al., 2016; OECD, 2004). Thus, in their educational trajectories, young people are expected to make a series of decisions with complex and difficult-to-predict consequences. The consequences of these educational decisions, which are not free, as implied by the neoliberal discourse, but embedded in social structures providing individuals with different resources and opportunities, are often far-reaching.

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[54]   More specifically, the first part of the 2010 decade and, with regard to the survey-based studies, the cities of Helsinki, Turku, and Tampere.

However, as shown by the results of this study, there are differences between education systems in the 'reach' of the decisions and choices resulting from the way educational trajectories are regulated at the national level. In education systems with a high level of transition intensity (i.e. early first transitions, high levels of stratification, and the irreversible nature of transitions due to little or no mobility between schools or programmes that differ greatly in terms of curricula and in the access and probability of continuing to tertiary education), the consequences are often more far-reaching than in systems with a low level of transition intensity where there are no dead-end tracks to the highest levels of education, and educational transitions tend to be more 'reversible'.

8.1.1 Mechanisms and Consequences of Educational Segregation

Rasborg (2017, pp. 242–243) argues that in order to understand the interconnections between individualisation and social differentiation, there is a need to combine the micro-oriented life course perspective with a more macro-oriented perspective that makes a distinction between three different forms of differentiation in late modern societies. The three forms are segmentary differentiation (based on affiliation with subsystems and groups; e.g. ethnic conflicts), hierarchical differentiation (based on class structures), and functional differentiation (based on inclusion to and exclusion from differentiated social systems).[55] According to Rasborg, in an individualised society, functional differentiation becomes increasingly predominant in relation to hierarchical and segmentary differentiation. For example, there is horizontal differentiation within the system of wage labour, which is connected to the individualised inclusion and exclusion of individuals from the 'standard', traditional labour market and the 'risk-fraught system of flexible and pluralised underemployment' that cannot be reduced to the traditional class-related vertical differentiation (see Beck, 1992). Within the Finnish basic education system, a similar kind of functional differentiation can be argued to exist in relation to students' inclusion to and exclusion from schools with high status and popularity and the selective special emphasis classes offering special subject profiles. This functional differentiation, which is characteristic of late modernity, does not, however, replace hierarchical differentiation but is overlaid with it (Rasborg, 2017). For instance,

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[55] It should be noted that Rasborg uses the concept of functional differentiation in a different way than Luhmann did in his well-known theory of modern society, in which he uses it to refer to the establishment of autonomous, 'autopoietic' sub-systems (see Vanderstraeten, 2004), or Durkheim, who used the concept to characterise the growth in the number of possibilities for individuals to shape their own lives (Mills, 2007, p. 67).

more socially advantaged positions are related to the inclusion into the more stable labour market and, hence, to lower levels of labour market precarity (e.g. Pyöriä & Ojala, 2016). In a similar vein, inclusion into high-status schools and school classes is strongly associated with students' socio-economic backgrounds (Berisha & Seppänen, 2017; Kalalahti, Silvennoinen, & Varjo, 2015b; Kosunen & Seppänen, 2015a; Silvennoinen et al., 2015).

The results of this study add to the compiling evidence of the segregation of comprehensive schools in urban Finland, which is an increasingly important feature of the 'spatial and temporal' context in which young people are constructing their life courses. This study shows that the socio-economic composition of lower secondary school's student population is a predictor of parents' satisfaction with both home-school cooperation and the culture of the child's school. The higher the school SES was, the more satisfied were the parents with these factors. School SES was also connected with parents' perception of the amount of competition between students at school; parents' felt that there is more competition in socio-economically affluent schools than in disadvantaged schools.

Parents' orientation to and participation in communication and cooperation with schools differ based on their social position and education (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Friedman, Bobrowski, & Markow, 2007; Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; Kalalahti et al., 2015b; Reay, 1998). Highly educated middle-class parents are more inclined and able to engage in cooperation with schools (Lareau, 2003; Ball, 2003; Miller, 2015; Räty, Ruokolainen, & Kasanen, 2012), their habitus is more compatible with the culture of school (Bourdieu, 1993), and their position in an educational hierarchy is higher and their social-psychological distance from school is smaller (Räty et al., 2009). Hence, it can be assumed that when the socio-economic status of a school's student population is high, involving parents and carrying out home-school cooperation is easier for the school, and it can be done more efficiently, which increases parents' satisfaction. Moreover, it has been found that Finnish schools situated in middle-class neighbourhoods can be more prone to take parents into consideration in their activities and to make room for cooperation and parents' own initiatives more actively when compared to schools located in working-class neighbourhoods, which can be more passive in relation to parents and leave less room for cooperation and parents' initiatives (Metso, 2004). When parents are not adequately included in making important decisions, it can indicate that they are not respected as equal partners by the school (Bæck, 2009). Hence, it is not only the general disposition of parents towards cooperation with the school and the ensuing 'easiness' of this collaboration but also the disposition of the school towards parents that can explain the association between school SES and parental satisfaction in this regard.

Also, the observation that school SES is a predictor of parental satisfaction with school culture is in consonance with the view that the values, meanings, and principles of action that middle-class parents and students have internalised to their habitus are more compatible with the norms and values of the school (e.g. Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Previous studies have shown that Finnish parents prefer moderately socially mixed classes and that they perceive a high share of students from immigrant and lower socio-economic backgrounds as a potential threat to their children's school engagement and wellbeing (Kosunen & Carrasco, 2016; Kosunen & Seppänen, 2015a). Hence, higher school SES indicates a more 'middle-class-compatible' school culture, which parents see as beneficial for their children's schooling and which, therefore, increases their satisfaction.

An increase in school SES can, however, also have adverse effects on parental school satisfaction. Those parents whose children attended socio-economically affluent schools felt that there is more competition between students at school than did parents whose children attended more disadvantaged schools. While higher school SES has been associated with more favourable school reputation by this and other studies (e.g. Oplatka & Nupar, 2012), perceptions of a high degree of competition among students can have a negative influence on the desirability of the school as parents tend to view excessive competition as a risk for their children's school wellbeing (Kosunen & Seppänen, 2015a, p. 257). Indeed, there is evidence that competition can discourage students from learning (Wang & Yang, 2003), and it is associated with bullying and victimisation (Di Stasio, Savage, & Burgos, 2016) as well as with stress and anxiety (Gilbert, McEwan, Bellew, Mills, & Gale, 2009), supporting parents' perceptions in this regard.

Even though there are complex social processes behind parents' views on their children's school that cannot be explained only with school-level factors (see Goldring & Phillips, 2008; Meier & Lemmer, 2019; Rasmussen, 2012; Räty, 2007), the results obtained in this study suggest that school SES is connected – in addition to the immediate prerequisites of producing learning results (see Kauppinen & Bernelius, 2013) – to the extent to which schools can invest in those aspects of their functioning that are related to learning more indirectly, such as home-school cooperation and a safe and encouraging school culture. This indicates that there are differences in the prerequisites of the life course construction of Finnish young people based on the school they attend. Previous studies have shown that successful home-school cooperation is associated with the attainment of good educational results (e.g. Egido Gálvez & Bertran Tarrés, 2017) and that school culture contributes to students' academic behaviour, their academic achievement, and the quality of their peer relationships (Lynch et al., 2013; Perry, 2012) as well as to their sense of belonging and engagement at school (Cohen, McCabe, Michelli, & Pickeral, 2009; Järvinen & Tikkanen, 2019; Virtanen, Lerkkanen, Poikkeus, & Kuorelahti,

2016). These factors are, in turn, associated with students' future educational and occupational trajectories (Abbott-Chapman et al., 2014; Archambault, Janosz, Morizot, & Pagani, 2009), self-concepts and self-efficacy (Linnakylä & Malin, 2008), and general adjustment and wellbeing (Virtanen, 2016), all of which can affect the way young people's future life courses will unfold.

Moreover, the results discussed above shed further light on one of the mechanisms behind the segregation development in the Finnish basic education and, thereby, on the interplay of the neoliberal marketisation of education and the continued importance of social structures. That is, the connection between school SES and parental school satisfaction found in this study provides more empirical evidence of the self-perpetuating cycle, which is argued to be in motion in the school markets of Finnish cities (see Kosunen & Seppänen, 2015a, pp. 232–233), and the way it works. As higher school SES is connected with higher levels of parental satisfaction, which, in turn, has been shown to improve the reputation and attractiveness of the school (Skallerud, 2011) and, hence, to strengthen its position in the local school market, making it more desirable for parents choosing a school for their children (Ball & Vincent, 1998; Kosunen, Carrasco, & Tironi, 2015; van Zanten, 2013), the segregation of schools is intensified further. This is because families with more educational and cultural resources are typically those exercising the right to choose a school other than the neighbourhood one for their children, and students from more advantaged socio-economic backgrounds excel in the competition for the most sought-after study places (e.g. Reay et al., 2008; Kosunen & Seppänen, 2015b).

8.1.2 Competition in the School Markets

The views of school principals reflect the features of the historical time and space in which they occur, such as the neoliberal education policy context and the consequent marketisation of education (see e.g. Baltodano, 2012; Bunar, 2008; McGregor, 2009). Their position as school leaders has become increasingly similar to the position of business managers in the private sector (Olssen, Codd, & O'Neill, 2004, pp. 160–162; Rinne et al., 2011, pp. 79–83). For principals, success in the competition between educational institutions requires the ability to sell and market their schools to convince 'customers' and steer student flows towards and not away from their own institution. When there are more applicants than available study places, the 'better' institutions with high status and popularity are able to pick and choose their students. Moreover, such differentiation can be assumed to enable these institutions to select the most suitable teachers. As the reality of the education market is, hence, competition both between students for access to the 'best' schools and between schools for the most motivated students and teachers, it is understandable

that European principals rank the importance of the right to decide on personnel recruitment – and in some of the countries also on admission criteria – higher than the right to decide on pedagogical issues, as observed in this study.

In Finland, the most important decision-making areas for principals were personnel recruitment and student admission criteria (however, they felt that they had the least decision-making power in regard to the latter), and they placed less relative importance on the right to decide on teaching methods than the majority of their European colleagues. Furthermore, over 10% of the Finnish principals stated that the main objective of their school is supporting the most gifted students in achieving their full potential – a view that can be seen to reflect the prevailing neoliberal policy discourses as well as principals' aim to maximise the results of the school and, thus, to thrive in the local school market. Given the officially non-stratified nature of the Finnish basic education system,[56] these kinds of results are somewhat unexpected. However, when taking into account the fact that the Finnish principals who participated in this study are from cities where municipal educational policies favour parental school choice (see Berisha & Seppänen, 2017; Varjo et al., 2015), the observation becomes more explicable. Hence, it can be argued that the emerging, albeit in international comparison still comparatively moderate, marketisation of basic education is also reflected in the profession of school principals in urban Finland.

8.1.3   Young People's Future Views

The results of this study indicated that the overall level of future worry among Finnish students is rather low. Given the 'high-risk' premise of the late modernist perspective (Bauman, 2001; 2014; Beck, 1992, 2002; Beck et al., 1994; Giddens, 1991), the consequences of the financial crisis in 2008 (Aassve et al., 2013; Antonucci & Hamilton, 2014; Sironi, 2018), and results of previous studies showing that worrying tends to increase in adolescence (Brown et al., 2006; Laugesen, Dugas, & Bukowski, 2003; Vasey, 1993), this observation seems somewhat surprising. While the relative equality of the Finnish education system – and of the Finnish society – is naturally related to young people's future images, it needs to also be noted that the surveyed students were from large cities. It is possible that the wider scope of educational and occupational opportunities available in urban settings contributes to this rather low level of future worry especially in relation to education and employment. In addition, it is important to consider the relatively young age of the respondents as the increased worrying in mid-adolescence is often related mainly

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[56]   It should be noted that the data also included principals of upper secondary schools, and their views reflect a somewhat different situation than those of primary and lower secondary school principals.

to present-day issues, such as school work, problems at home and with friends, and personal physical attributes (Anniko, Boersma, & Tillfors, 2019; Brown et al., 2006) rather than to the more distant future. Furthermore, even though societal conditions and changes create a context for young people's views on their future even though they are not necessarily aware of them (Aapola-Kari & Wrede-Jäntti, 2017), it has been argued that young people often over-emphasise their ability to direct their own life courses (Brannen & Nilsen, 2005; Furlong & Cartmel, 2007), and if some type of risk has not been experienced or made tangible in some other way, young people are not likely to consider it in relation to their own lives (O'Connor, 2014).

However, students' low level of future worry can also be partly explained by the features of late modernity itself. While, on one hand, increased risks and uncertainties can have negative effects on young people's future images (Aapola-Kari & Wrede-Jäntti, 2017; Côté, 2005; Lundahl et al., 2013), on the other hand, when everything tends to be presented as a possibility for young people in the late modern era (Furlong & Cartmel, 2007), it makes it more difficult for them to recognise what is truly achievable. Thus, even though risks and demands have multiplied and become more complicated, if the surrounding discourses constantly suggest that anything and everything is possible just by making the right choices, it might seem that there is little to worry about – maybe with the exception of making a wrong choice (c.f. Lindfors et al., 2012).

8.2   Linked and Cumulative Life Course

The second life course principle applied in this study, which combines elements of two of Elder's principles, namely linked lives and life course cumulation, draws attention to how people's lives are lived interdependently, family being the major life-linking institution, and how (dis)advantages cumulate in the life course (Elder, 1998, 2007; Elder et al., 2015; see also Dannefer et al., 2015; Levy & Bühlmann, 2016). It should be noted that, in Finland, the 'strength' of the family as a life-linking institution is relatively low in international comparison due to the social-democratic welfare state model, which, despite its recent changes (see Antonucci & Hamilton, 2014; Hellman et al., 2017), reduces individuals' reliance on the family and encourages autonomous behaviour (Buchmann & Kriesi, 2011; Halvorsen & Hvinden, 2018). In the context of education, relevant in this regard is that students are separated into vocational and academic tracks relatively late, at the age of 16, in the Finnish education system. This relates to the strength of family as a life-linking institution because the earlier the selection into different tracks occurs in the school system, the more significant are the parents' education level and socio-economic status for their children's educational trajectories (Horn, 2009). Nevertheless, family background is still – or rather is increasingly – important for the formation of young

people's life courses in Finland (see Harkko, 2018; Ilmakunnas, 2019; OECD, 2013; 2016). Furthermore, the processes of individualisation accentuate the importance of social structures (Bauman, 2007a; Curran, 2018; Dawson, 2012). While risks and contradictions continue to be socially produced, only the duty to cope with them is individualised (Bauman, 2001), and the resources and competences needed for coping with the results of individualisation are heavily reliant on the social position of the individual (e.g. McLeod & Yates, 2006; Threadgold & Nilan, 2009).

8.2.1 Influence of Family Background

There is a vast body of research in the field of the sociology of education from the 1950s and 1960s forwards showing that education reproduces social inequalities through the ways it structures individuals' life courses (see van Zanten, 2005) and that factors such as students' learning, academic achievement, school wellbeing, and educational attainment are affected by their socio-economic or class background (see Thomson, 2018). The results of this study show that European principals are very well aware of the significant influence that family background (e.g. Biggart, Järvinen, & Parreira do Amaral, 2015; Rinne & Järvinen, 2010) has, firstly, on students' coping with the different demands education places on them and, secondly, on the formation of their educational trajectories.

The views of the Finnish principals followed mostly the overall opinions of their European colleagues with regard to the impact of different factors on students' coping with and access to education. However, they found individual-level challenges, such as problems with physical and mental health, to be slightly more influential than family background for students' coping with the demands of education. This may reflect a high level of trust and confidence in the education system's ability to promote educational equality and level out the differences stemming from students' socio-economic backgrounds. This perception of Finnish principals is likely to be reinforced by the country's performance in different international student assessments, such as the PISA studies.

8.2.2 The Cumulation of Capital and Advantage

Young people's worry, which is a form of repetitive negative thinking revolving around future events, the outcome of which is uncertain but potentially negative (Anniko et al., 2019), and perceptions of the future have been associated with several behavioural and health outcomes. These outcomes are related to factors such as decision-making, choices, and motivation (Rubin, 2008); social and academic skills (Brown et al., 2006; Silverman, La Greca, & Wasserstein, 1995); academic and career achievement (Beal & Crockett, 2013; Seginer, 2008); and physical and mental

health, particularly stress and anxiety (Anniko et al., 2019; Brown et al., 2006). Uncertainty about future events plays a pivotal role in adolescent worry, and those with high levels of intolerance of uncertainty are more likely to worry excessively about their future (Laugesen et al., 2003). The results of this study show that, while the overall level of future worry was quite low, around 10% of the Finnish lower secondary school students worried about their future often or constantly.

Due to its potentially adverse consequences, young people's future worry can lead to negative path dependency by, for instance, interfering with coping with life course transitions, which is, in turn, highly consequential for their respective development and life course formation (Buchmann & Steinhoff, 2017). Advantage and disadvantage do not occur randomly during a lifetime but depend on individuals' socio-economic and class background and have a strong tendency to cumulate over their life courses (Bernardi, 2014; Levy & Bühlmann, 2016), which also relates to young people's future worry and, therefore, its potential effects. This study shows that those students with higher levels of tangible and, consequently, intangible identity capital did not worry about their future education, employment, and social status as often as those with less identity capital. In other words, the family background of those students whose parents are highly educated contributes positively, both directly and through increased support for schooling, to their self-concepts and self-efficacy beliefs. These positive self-beliefs reduce their future worry and, thus, protect them from its negative consequences, thereby reducing the risk of related negative path dependency.

8.3   Agency in Life Course

The obligation to take an active role in and the responsibility for constructing one's own life (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; Howard, 2007a) is basically a requirement to have agency in one's life course (O'Connor, 2014). With regard to the life course perspective, the principle of agency emphasises that people make choices and compromises based on the alternatives that they perceive before them and are not, hence, passively acted upon by social influence and structural constraints (e.g. Elder et al., 2003). In this study, agency is understood in a way that acknowledges its inherent interrelationship with structures (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Dannefer et al., 2015). In other words, agency is not seen to be simply 'bound' by structures, nor is it associated with freedom from them. Reflexivity, a closely related but theoretically distinct concept, is an individual's way of trying to cope with structural insecurity (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). Reflexive practices, in turn, are embedded social practices oriented towards the realisation of meaningful life course trajectories in unstable and contradictory structural environments (Farrugia, 2015). Reflexive practices cannot be reduced to cognitive processes or agency, but they can include

both. In contemporary sociological youth studies, reflexivity is often included in or closely associated with habitus (e.g. Adams, 2006; Decoteau, 2016; Threadgold & Nilan, 2009), with the aim to shed light on the interplay between individualisation and the continued importance of social structures. Reflexivity is argued to be required for the dispositions of habitus to be successfully realised in practice, and habitus, with its embodied cultural capital, gives reflexive practices their content (Farrugia, 2013).

8.3.1   Prerequisites of Reflexivity and Agency

In addition to reducing the level of young people's future worry, as discussed in the previous section, a high level of identity capital has been argued to afford individuals with those cognitive and behavioural capacities that are necessary for understanding and negotiating the various obstacles and opportunities commonly encountered throughout life courses in late modernity (Côté, 2005; Côté & Schwartz, 2002). The identity capital model posits that this form of capital enables individuals to take advantage of or compensate for the institutional gaps and deficits of late modernity by allowing them to adjust and navigate in different social environments in strategic and productive ways (Côté, 2002, 2007), which requires reflexivity. Reflexivity alone, however, does not indicate the ability to transform one's situation. Even though an individual might be reflexively very aware of many different possibilities potentially available, they can still find it difficult or impossible to access them due to a lack of relevant resources. (Adams, 2006.) In this regard, identity capital can be viewed as a resource needed both for reflexivity and for reflexivity to realise through reflexive practices or agency (c.f. Farrugia, 2013). While tangible identity capital can be mostly seen as the resources necessary for reflexivity to realise through reflexive practices and agency, intangible identity capital as intrapersonal resources relates more closely to reflexivity itself.

Following this logic, possessing the resources included in identity capital can also be assumed to be connected to the type of individualisation realised in individuals' lives and to the subsequent type of life course proposed by Mills (2007). According to her, achieving strategic individualisation and a de-standardised life course require resources and capabilities for reflexive and strategic planning, and individual resources, power, agency, and choice are central for life course formation. On the other end of this 'individualisation spectrum' is anomic individualisation together with fragile life courses. This type of life course is characterised by significant uncertainty, worry, and risks for individuals lacking the required resources but still forced to confront the complex and contradictory demands and increased individual responsibilisation of late modernity. Individualisation is experienced as increased anonymity and alienation, and the fragile individualisation materialises in the form of discrepant and challenging life course trajectories. In the

results of this study, when compared to students whose parents' educational level was low, students with highly educated parents had higher levels of identity capital, which provide resources for their reflexivity, reflexive practices, and agency (c.f. Farrugia, 2013; McLeod & Yates, 2006; Threadgold & Nilan, 2009). It can be argued that these resources make them more likely to achieve strategic individualisation and construct de-standardised life courses, where individualisation offers more possibilities than poses severe threats. In contrast, those students from lower socio-economic backgrounds with lower levels of identity capital can be seen to be more at risk of anomic individualisation and fragile life courses.

8.3.2   The Equalising Potential of Guidance

Educational and vocational guidance can be viewed as a normalising life course institution, which enters into action when some kind of life course turbulence, disruption, or change occurs and which works on individuals' needs and motivations as well as their social relations, individual capabilities, and resources (c.f. Levy & Bühlmann, 2016). As a result of the pronounced individual responsibility in late modern societies and the increasing challenges young people face in making educational choices and gaining access to the labour market, the importance of educational and vocational guidance has become central for both individuals and societies (Watts & Sultana, 2004; Sultana, 2018, p. 63). The significance of guidance is underscored by the fact that failing to meet the challenge of acquiring the 'right' skills and knowledge has become increasingly a predictor of young people's future social exclusion (Cuconato et al., 2016), which is a serious concern in Finland and elsewhere in Europe. Hence, the availability and organisation of educational and vocational guidance are of great importance as assistance in choosing appropriate educational pathways and professional careers is one of the most crucial issues related to young people's life courses. Even though the rationales for providing

guidance vary,[57] it has the potential to help young people to recognise, mobilise, and consolidate productive and successful educational choices as well as to find their place in the labour market – in other words, to facilitate their reflexivity and agency in constructing life courses.

Well-functioning and easily and equally accessible educational and vocational guidance could, to an extent, 'even out' some of the inequality of those education systems where a high level of transition intensity implies more irreversible transitions, where family background has a strong effect on the formation of students' educational trajectories, and where students need to rely heavily on the knowledge and experiences their families have about the functioning of and pathways within the education system. However, this potential is not necessarily realised, as demonstrated by this study, which shows that different forms of regulation of access to education relate to the different national configurations of the provision of guidance in the eight analysed countries. In the countries with the most equal education systems, educational and vocational guidance is also organised in a way that implied good visibility of and easy access to comparatively well-developed transitional support for students at different points in their educational trajectories. In contrast, in those countries with more unequal education systems, where the relevance of guidance would be especially high, the level of institutionalised support provided for students is lower, the organisation of guidance is fragmented, there are considerable regional differences in the availability and quality of guidance, and the strong involvement of labour market actors in guidance has potentially adverse effects for students.

8.4   Limitations

There are some limitations that need to be considered in regard to this dissertation and its results. Some of these limitations are data-related, while others have more to

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[57]   There is a range of different rationales for educational and vocational guidance many of which do not focus on guaranteeing individuals access to a good life. From policy makers' viewpoint, guidance is often a means to secure more efficient labour markets and education systems, more efficient use of human capital, and increased social equity (OECD, 2004; Watts & Sultana, 2004). However, the goals of increased efficiency and social equality can be seen as contradictory to each other. While guidance is introduced as a welfare service aimed at helping young people to find their place in the labour market, the increased political emphasis put on guidance is a factor of the neoliberal economic rationality. '[I]n the context of a neoliberal state, the interests of individuals and the state are not always aligned. In such situation, career guidance can easily serve as a mechanism for responsibilisation and co-option. Individuals are schooled through neoliberal discourse to desire certain outcomes from their lives and then "guided" in directions which serve those interests' (Hooley, Sultana, & Thomsen, 2018, pp. 17–18).

do with the applicability of the rather eclectic theoretical framework. The limitations of the four empirical studies are discussed in the respective articles, which can be found in the appendix, and the focus here is on the overall dissertation. With regard to the design, rationale, and execution of data collection, the datasets used in the four empirical studies come from the European GOETE research project, and the related methodological issues are, thus, excluded from this discussion (in this regard, the reader is referred to the final report of the project; Parreira do Amaral, Walther, & Litau, 2013). Thus, this section addresses the limitations related to the methodological and theoretical choices made in this dissertation.

The first data-related limitation is that the cross-sectional data did not allow an examination of temporal changes in school principals' views and lower secondary students' future worry, which would have been particularly relevant subjects of analysis given the emphasis on change and increasing risks, uncertainties, and complexities in the theoretical approach adopted in this study. Another central limitation is that the statistical analyses of articles III (families) and IV (individuals) included information only about parental education in relation to the students' social background. While parental education level can be, and often is, used as one proxy of a family's socio-economic status, the picture it alone provides is only partial at best. For defining students' socio-economic status, factors such as parental occupation and family's financial resources and cultural capital would have also been relevant (c.f. Perry & McConney, 2010). When it comes to social class, family income is often used as the single indicator, but there are also much more multidimensional understandings of how one's class position is determined, which include factors such as occupational prestige, education level, power, and wealth (e.g. Fulcher & Scott, 1999; Melin, 2019). Again, parental education is only one factor among many – and arguably not the most relevant one. Thus, while social class has a particularly significant role in discussions about the consequences of late modernity and individualisation, the analyses and their results have significant limitations in this regard.

It needs to be acknowledged that the results obtained here can only be generalised to large cities in southern Finland, which are represented in the data. Furthermore, the data were collected at the beginning of this decade, which should be taken into account when considering the results of this study in relation to more present-day issues. However, as there have not been any significant changes in the direction of the neoliberal policy developments or their consequences in Finland over this decade (e.g. Hellman et al., 2017; National Institute for Health and Welfare, 2019; OECD, 2016), it can be assumed that the issues observed in this study have persisted or even gained more strength. The last central data-related limitations are that the principal data did not contain information about the socio-economic status of the schools' student populations, and the student and parent data did not indicate

whether students were attending selective classes with special emphasis or 'regular' classes. While not perceived to be a major validity concern, including these factors in the analyses would have been very interesting and could have provided a more accurate understanding of some of the analysed dimensions given the significance of the selective practises in Finnish basic education (e.g. Berisha & Seppänen, 2017; Kosunen & Seppänen, 2015a; Varjo & Kalalahti, 2015).

With regard to the applicability of the theoretical framework of this dissertation, few things need to be particularly emphasised. Firstly, as shown in article II (educational institutions), Allmendinger's (1989) typology of national education systems does not work in a meaningful way when applied at the level of educational institutions. On a more general level, using typologies or classifications, which cluster complex and multidimensional entities, such as education systems, together based on some shared characteristics, has the potential to hide many significant issues from sight. In addition, systems such as education and the welfare state are not static over time but change and develop to adapt to national and supranational changes, which causes further challenges for the applicability and usefulness of these kinds of typologies.[58]

Alongside social class, changes in the meanings, roles, and categories of gender have been and still are at the heart of many of the debates about the effects of late modernity and the consequences of the individualisation process. Despite claims that gender as a sociological category has lost most of its meaning (Beck, 1992, 2013) and that a central feature of modernisation is increasing gender equality (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005), there is ample evidence of the persistence of gender inequalities, and highly relevant questions have been raised about the gendered nature of the individualisation process and life course formation in late modernity. As Adkins (1999, p. 136) states: 'far from being transgressive of the social categories of gender, individualization may re-embed "women" in new socialities. Thus individualization may not be emptying out gender but creating new lines of gender demarcation and domination' (see also e.g. Eldén, 2012; McNay, 1999; Scherger, 2009; Skeggs, 2005; Widmer & Ritschard, 2009). Although it is always necessary to sufficiently narrow the focus of a study, given the high relevance of gender to studying individualisation and equality, the lack of discussion of gender is a major limitation of this dissertation and its theoretical framework.

Many of the theories that the theoretical framework of this study is built on are very French (Bourdieu), German (Beck), and British (Giddens, class theories). All these countries represent societies that are in many aspects very different from the Finnish one, and a justifiable question regards the extent to which these theories are

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[58] For discussions on the divergence within the Nordic education systems and the social-democratic transition regime, see Jørgensen et al. (2019) and Lundahl (2016).

applicable in the Finnish context. The theories of Beck, Bauman, Giddens, and Bourdieu have been rather widely applied in Finnish research in the fields of education and sociology, but their applicability outside their 'birth places' has also been criticised, which seems to be particularly the case with Bourdieu (see Rahkonen, 2008). Lastly, it is not only systems and institutions that evolve, but the nature of modernity also changes. In the era of Donald Trump, Brexit, and the rise of the 'Alt-right', post-truth politics, and right-wing 'post-neoliberalism' (e.g. Allen, 2016; Hooley et al., 2018; Sismondo, 2017), many argue that something fundamental has changed. The question is, therefore, whether the theorisations of late modernity and individualisation still capture or touch upon the relevant features of the current historical time.

8.5   Concluding Remarks

With its all-encompassing demands of reflexivity, choice-making, and self-responsibility, individualisation is said to be 'neoliberalism in action', and neoliberalism is, in turn, argued to take individualisation to its highest degree (Lazzarato, 2009). When acknowledging this inseparable interconnection of late modern individualisation and the highly pervasive and influential neoliberal policy ideology wherein neoliberalism exists under the contemporary late modern condition but also gives shape to it (Dawson, 2013), reflections of both individualisation and the relevance of social structures can be identified at the different levels of analysis of this study.

With regard to young people's life course construction, educational and vocational guidance has become increasingly significant due to individualisation with its strong individual responsibilisation as well as the growing challenges of making educational choices and gaining access to the labour market. Despite its pronounced importance across Europe, the availability and quality of this type of institutional support differ significantly between countries. As a result of this variance in the organisation of guidance, the effects individualisation has on young people's life courses also vary between countries depending on the amount and quality of support available to build a 'life of one's own' in the increasingly uncertain and challenging societal context of late modernity. Furthermore, the different arrangements of educational and vocational guidance relate to the different ways in which access is regulated at the level of national education systems. In those analysed European education systems where higher levels of transition intensity imply that the choices students make are often rather irreversible and their consequences thereby particularly far-reaching and guidance, hence, especially important, the institutional support available is comparatively limited, fragmented, and of uneven quality. In these systems students have to depend on their families as

a source of information and support more than in those systems where students have easier and more equal access to relatively well-developed guidance. Therefore, in the context of national institutions, the impact of family background on students' educational trajectories and, thus, life courses does not stem only from the way access to education is regulated but also from the way educational and vocational guidance is organised. What follows is that not only the effects of individualisation but also the effects of the interplay of individualisation and social stratification vary between countries due to the different national configurations of guidance. The more young people have to rely on their families' ability to provide them with support, the more likely the ways in which the impacts of individualisation are realised in their lives are affected by their social background.

With regard to the level of educational institutions, the views of European school principals reflected both the importance of students' family background on their schooling and educational trajectories but also the way the neoliberal education policies and the consequent marketisation of education have affected their profession. It seems that a share of the principals have adopted, or given in to, the neoliberal ideology emphasising competition and excellence as they stated that the main objective of their school is to support the most gifted students to realise their full potential.

The results obtained from the family-level shed light on the consequences that the interplay of the neoliberal marketisation of education and structural inequalities can have on young people's life course construction in urban Finland. The differences in the socio-economic statuses of schools' student populations, which are increased by the school choice policy, are not connected only to the schools' immediate prerequisites of producing learning results. They are also related to the extent to which schools can invest in those aspects of their functioning that are connected with students' wellbeing, adjustment, and self-concepts through school culture and home-school cooperation. These include factors such as students' sense of belonging and engagement at school and their relationships with their peers. Thus, it can be argued that the segregation of basic education results in effects on students' life courses beyond those it has on their learning and academic achievement. As it is those students from more socio-economically advantaged backgrounds who most often gain access to the schools with affluent student populations and with the consequent high status and popularity, they are also the ones who benefit from this differentiation. Not only do they have better conditions for learning and high achievement, but the school environment also facilitates their life course construction in other, more indirect ways.

At the level of individuals, the results of this study highlight the importance of family background on students' future views. In comparison to those students whose parents' education level is lower, students with highly educated parents had higher

levels of identity capital and were, consequently, less worried about their future in the uncertain and complex societal context of late modernity. They are, therefore, also less likely to suffer from the negative life course consequences future worry is prone to have. Their higher level of identity capital also suggests that they are more likely to be the ones who are able to manage with or even benefit from individualisation instead of being the ones who develop fragile and discrepant life course trajectories.

In a European comparison, Finnish young people build the foundations for their future lives in a national context in which significant life course institutions, such as education and the welfare state, provide them with comparatively equal opportunities and high levels of support and in which the intensity of making educational choices is relatively low due to the way access to education is regulated. Nevertheless, as illustrated in this dissertation, both the process of late modern individualisation inseparably intertwined with the neoliberal ideology and the continued, or even increasing, significance of social stratification are reflected on the prerequisites of young people's life course construction in the context of education in Finland. Those with advantaged social backgrounds and ensuing high levels of capital, which are needed for successfully realising the dispositions embedded in their habitus and for reflexively manoeuvring in complex, uncertain, and risk-fraught late modernity, gain further advantage for their life courses. This happens through various channels as schools engage in the competition in the school market benefitting the most affluent students, as family background works through multiple routes in their favour due to the increasingly neoliberal education policies, and as the resources, which they and their families have, provide them with compensatory advantage and protect them from unfavourable path dependency and the cumulation of disadvantage in case they do not succeed in some of their life course transitions.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Finnish Student Survey

Goete | Governance of Educational Trajectories in Europe

OPPILASKYSELY

Vastausohjeet

Kysely on osa eurooppalaista tutkimusprojektia, johon osallistuu nuoria kaikkiaan 24 kaupungista. Mukana olevat maat ovat Suomen lisäksi Pohjois-Irlanti/Englanti, Italia, Saksa, Ranska, Hollanti, Slovenia ja Puola. Suomen osalta kyselyn toteuttaa Turun yliopiston Kasvatustieteiden laitos. Lomakkeen täyttämiseen kuluu noin 40 minuuttia.

Lue jokainen kysymys ja ohjeet huolellisesti ja yritä vastata kaikkiin kysymyksiin. Yritä olla miettimättä liikaa yksittäisiä kysymyksiä, anna se vastaus joka ensimmäisenä tulee mieleesi. Kysymyksiin ei ole oikeita tai vääriä vastauksia. Kysely on anonyymi, yksittäiset vastaajat eivät ole tunnistettavissa tutkimusaineistosta.

Jotkut kysymykset ja/tai vastausvaihtoehdot saattavat Suomen oloissa vaikuttaa erikoisilta. Tämä johtuu siitä, että lomake jaetaan samanlaisena kaikissa kyselyyn osallistuvissa maissa. Olemme käännöksissä pyrkineet huomioimaan Suomen olot niin pitkälle kuin mahdollista, mutta kokonaisten kysymysten poistaminen ei ole ollut mahdollista.

Kun olet vastannut kysymyksiin, jätä täytetty oppilaslomake tutkijalle lähtiessäsi ja vie vanhempien lomake kotiisi isäsi, äitisi (tai muun huoltajasi) täytettäväksi.

Kiitos osallistumisesta tutkimukseen.

Turun yliopisto
University of Turku

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Osio 1: Taustatietoja

1. Oletko: Mies ☐
   Nainen ☐

2. Minä vuonna olet syntynyt? 19_____

3. Missä maassa olet syntynyt?
Suomessa ☐
Jossakin muualla (missä?) ☐ _____

4. Jos et ole asunut Suomessa syntymästäsi lähtien, kauanko olet asunut Suomessa ?

_____ vuotta

5a. Mikä on kansallisuutesi?
Suomalainen ☐
Jokin muu (mikä?) ☐ _____

5b. Mikä on kotonasi puhuttu kieli / äidinkielesi?
Suomi ☐
Jokin muu (mikä?) ☐ _____

6. Vaihdoitko koskaan koulua alakoulun aikana? (luokat 1–6)
Valitse yksi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista:

En, olin koko alakoulun ajan samassa koulussa ☐ → SIIRRY KYSYMYKSEEN 8
Kyllä, vaihdoin koulua yhden kerran ☐
Kyllä, vaihdoin koulua kaksi kertaa tai enemmän ☐

7. Jos vaihdoit alakoulua, mikä oli syynä siihen?
Voit valita seuraavista vaihtoehdoista yhden tai useampia syitä:

Perheeni muutti eri kaupunkiin tai eri alueelle ☐
En pitänyt edellisestä koulusta ☐
Minut erotettiin aiemmasta koulusta ☐
Vaihdoin kouluun, jossa oli painotetun opetuksen luokka
(esim. kieli- tai musiikkiluokka) ☐
Perheeni muutti eri maahan ☐
Vanhempani halusivat minun vaihtavan koulua ☐
Jokin muu syy (mikä?) _____ ☐

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8. Oletko vaihtanut koulua yläkoulun aikana? (luokat 7–9)
Valitse yksi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista:

En, olin koko yläkoulun ajan samassa koulussa ☐ → SIIRRY KYSYMYKSEEN 10
Kyllä, vaihdoin koulua yhden kerran ☐
Kyllä, vaihdoin koulua kaksi kertaa tai useammin ☐

9. Jos olet vaihtanut yläkoulua, mikä oli syynä siihen?
Voit valita seuraavista vaihtoehdoista yhden tai useampia syitä:

Perheeni muutti eri kaupunkiin tai eri kaupunginosaan ☐
En pitänyt edellisestä koulusta ☐
Minut erotettiin aiemmasta koulusta ☐
Vaihdoin kouluun, jossa oli painotetun opetuksen luokka
(esim. kieli- tai musiikkiluokka) ☐
Perheeni muutti eri maahan ☐
Vanhempani halusivat minun vaihtavan koulua ☐
Jokin muu syy (mikä?) _____ ☐

10. Kun siirryit alakoulusta yläkouluun, pääsitkö haluamaasi kouluun?

Kyllä ☐ → SIIRRY KYSYMYKSEEN 13
En ☐

11. Jos et päässyt haluamaasi kouluun, mikä oli syynä siihen?
Valitse yksi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista:

Vanhempani halusivat minun menevän eri kouluun ☐
Arvosanani eivät olleet tarpeeksi hyvät ☐
Kouluun ei mahtunut (oppilaspaikat täynnä) ☐
Muutimme eri alueelle ☐
Muu syy (mikä?) _____ ☐

12. Mistä syystä et olisi halunnut nykyiseen kouluusi?
Valitse yksi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista:

En vain pidä tästä koulusta ☐
Kaikki kaverini käyvät muuta koulua/muita kouluja ☐
Tässä koulussa ei ole sellaista painotetun opetuksen luokkaa
josta olisin ollut kiinnostunut ☐ → SIIRRY KYSYMYKSEEN 14
Koulu on liian kaukana kotoani ☐
Koulun maine ei ole hyvä ☐
Muu syy (mikä?) _____ ☐

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13. Mikä oli syynä siihen, että halusit juuri nykyiseen kouluusi?

Valitse yksi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista:

Pidin tästä koulusta ☐
Tiesin kaverieni menevän tähän kouluun ☐
Koulussa on painotetun opetuksen luokka josta olen kiinnostunut ☐
Vanhempani valitsivat tämän koulun ☐
Tämä koulu on lähimpänä kotiani ☐
Koululla on hyvä maine ☐
Alakoulun opettajani suositteli tätä koulua ☐
Veljeni tai siskoni käy tätä koulua ☐
Muu syy (mikä?) _____ ☐

14. Kun muistelet siirtymistäsi alakoulusta yläkouluun, mitä mieltä olet asiasta nyt?

Valitse yksi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista:

Olen tyytyväinen että menin tähän kouluun ☐
Koulu on ihan hyvä, mutta ehkä olisin viihtynyt paremmin muualla ☐
Olisi ollut parempi jos olisin mennyt johonkin toiseen kouluun ☐

15. Oletko kertaakaan jäänyt luokalle alakoulussa tai yläkoulussa?

Kyllä ☐
En ☐ → SIIRRY KYSYMYKSEEN 18

16. Montako kertaa olet jäänyt luokalle? _____

17. Mikä luokalle jäämiseen oli mielestäsi pääasiallisena syynä?

Valitse yksi vaihtoehto:

Opettajat eivät pitäneet minusta ☐
Opettajat eivät olleet tarpeeksi hyviä ☐
Minulla oli ongelmia kotona ☐
En opiskellut tarpeeksi ☐
Kaverit vaikuttivat asiaan tavalla tai toisella ☐
Muu syy (mikä?) _____ ☐

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18. Seuraavat kysymykset liittyvät tuntemuksiisi kuluneen viikon aikana.

Valitse kunkin kysymyksen kohdalla sopivin vaihtoehto:

	Ei koskaan	Harvoin	Silloin tällöin	Usein	Aina
Voitko hyvin?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Menikö koulussa hyvin?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tunsitko itsesi energiseksi?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tunsitko itsesi surulliseksi?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tunsitko itsesi yksinäiseksi?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pystyitkö olemaan tarkkaavainen?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Oliko sinulla tarpeeksi aikaa itsellesi?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kohtelivatko vanhempasi sinua oikeudenmukaisesti?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Oliko sinulla hauskaa ystäviesi kanssa?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Saitko vapaa-aikanasi tehdä haluamiasi asioita?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

19. Miten kuvailisit yleistä terveydentilaasi?

Terveydentilani on…

Huono	Tyydyttävä	Hyvä	Erittäin hyvä	Erinomainen
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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Osio 2: Kysymyksiä kouluusi liittyen

20. Miltä koulunkäynti on sinusta tuntunut <u>viimeisten 12 kuukauden aikana</u>?
Rastita yksi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista:

Pidän siitä paljon ☐
Pidän siitä jonkin verran ☐
En juuri pidä siitä ☐
En pidä siitä yhtään ☐

21. Kuinka monta läheistä ystävää sinulla on, jotka käyvät tätä samaa koulua?
Rastita yksi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista:

Ei yhtään ☐
Yksi ☐
Kaksi ☐
Kolme ☐
Neljä tai enemmän ☐

22. Kuinka monta läheistä ystävää sinulla on, jotka käyvät jotakin toista koulua?
Rastita yksi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista:

Ei yhtään ☐
Yksi ☐
Kaksi ☐
Kolme ☐
Neljä tai enemmän ☐

23. Oletko <u>viimeisten 12 kuukauden</u> aikana ollut kertaakaan poissa koulusta luvatta, edes yksittäisen oppitunnin ajan?

Kyllä ☐
En ☐ → SIIRRY KYSYMYKSEEN 26

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24. Jos olet ollut poissa koulusta, mikä oli pisin aika jonka olet ollut poissa?
Rastita yksi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista:

Useita viikkoja kerralla ☐
Useita päiviä kerralla ☐
Joitakin tiettyjä oppitunteja ☐
Vain jonkin yksittäisen päivän tai oppitunnin ☐

25. Kun olit luvatta poissa koulusta, mikä oli siihen pääasiallinen syy?
Rastita yksi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista:

Kiusaaminen ☐
Kyllästyneisyys ☐
En vain pidä koulusta ☐
En pidä jostakin tietystä opettajasta ☐
En pidä jostakin tietystä oppiaineesta ☐
Perheen yhteiset menot (esim. matka) ☐
Kaveritkin olivat luvatta poissa ☐
En ollut tehnyt kotitehtäviäni tai valmistautunut kokeeseen ☐
Muu syy (mikä?) _____ ☐

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26. Kun ajattelet tavallista koulupäivääsi, miten tyypillisiä seuraavat asiat ovat oppitunneilla? *Valitse kussakin kohdassa sopivin vaihtoehto:*

	Ei koskaan	Hyvin harvoin	Joskus	Melko usein	Erittäin usein
Istumme ja kuuntelemme kun opettaja puhuu	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Opettaja kyselee meiltä kysymyksiä	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Keskustelemme luokassa	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Työskentelemme ryhmissä	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kaikki oppilaat tekevät samoja harjoituksia samanaikaisesti	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Teemme itse valittuja harjoituksia omaa tahtia	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Teemme yhdessä ryhmätöitä	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Teemme harjoituksia työkirjasta/ tehtävämonisteista	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Katsomme opetuselokuvia	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Eri alojen asiantuntijat tulevat puhumaan oppitunnille	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Käytämme internetiä oppitunnin aikana	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Käytämme tietokonetta oppitunnin aikana muihin tarkoituksiin kuin internetiin (esim. matematiikka, tekstinkäsittely)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

27. Missä määrin olet samaa tai eri mieltä seuraavien oppilaisiin ja opettajiin liittyvien väittämien kanssa? *Valitse kunkin väittämän kohdalla sopivin vaihtoehto:*

	Täysin eri mieltä	Jossakin määrin eri mieltä	Samaa mieltä	Täysin samaa mieltä
Luokkani oppilaat ovat keskenään kavereita	☐	☐	☐	☐
Luokkani oppilaat tukevat toisiaan	☐	☐	☐	☐
Opettajat panostavat paljon tehdäkseen oppitunneista mielenkiintoisia	☐	☐	☐	☐
Opettajat arvostavat oppilaita	☐	☐	☐	☐
Opettajat kannustavat oppilaita käymään koulun kerhoissa	☐	☐	☐	☐

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28. Seuraavat väittämät liittyvät kokemuksiisi koulussa <u>viimeisten 12 kuukauden</u> aikana.

Valitse kunkin väittämän kohdalla sopivin vaihtoehto:

	Täysin eri mieltä	Jossakin määrin eri mieltä	Samaa mieltä	Täysin samaa mieltä
Tunnen kuuluvani porukkaan	☐	☐	☐	☐
Useimmat opettajat kohtelevat minua niin että tunnen itseni hyväksytyksi	☐	☐	☐	☐
En halua mennä kouluun	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ikävystyn	☐	☐	☐	☐
Saan kavereita helposti	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tunnen itseni usein ulkopuoliseksi	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tunnen itseni yksinäiseksi	☐	☐	☐	☐
Oloni on tukala	☐	☐	☐	☐
Muut oppilaat pitävät minusta	☐	☐	☐	☐

29. Verrattuna muihin oppilaisiin, miten hyvin uskot pärjääväsi koulussa tänä lukuvuonna?

Rastita yksi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista:

Paljon huonommin kuin muut oppilaat	☐
Huonommin kuin muut oppilaat	☐
Suunnilleen yhtä hyvin kuin muut oppilaat	☐
Paremmin kuin muut oppilaat	☐
Paljon paremmin kuin muut oppilaat	☐

30. Miten hyvin uskot pärjääväsi matematiikassa tänä lukuvuonna?

Rastita yksi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista:

Erittäin hyvin	☐
Hyvin	☐
Tyydyttävästi	☐
Huonosti	☐
Erittäin huonosti	☐

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31. Miten hyvin uskot pärjääväsi äidinkielessä (suomi) tänä lukuvuonna?

Rastita yksi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista:

Erittäin hyvin	☐
Hyvin	☐
Tyydyttävästi	☐
Huonosti	☐
Erittäin huonosti	☐

32. Oletko koskaan saanut koulun ulkopuolista yksityisopetusta missään oppiaineessa?

Kyllä	☐
En	☐ → SIIRRY KYSYMYKSEEN 35

33. Jos olet saanut koulun ulkopuolista yksityisopetusta, missä oppiaineissa?

Rastita kaikki ne oppiaineet, joissa olet saanut yksityisopetusta:

Matematiikka	☐
Fysiikka	☐
Kemia	☐
Äidinkieli (suomi)	☐
Englanti	☐
Ruotsi	☐
Muu vieras kieli (mikä?) _____	☐
Jokin muu aine (mikä?) _____	☐

34. Mistä syystä tai syistä sait koulun ulkopuolista yksityisopetusta?

Voit valita useampia syitä.

Olin ollut poissa koulusta ja minun täytyi saada muut kiinni	☐
En opi normaalissa opetuksessa tarpeeksi hyvin	☐
Koulu ei järjestä tarpeeksi tukiopetusta	☐
Koulussa suositeltiin että hankkisin ulkopuolista apua	☐
Sisäänpääsykoetta varten	☐
Minulla on jokin oppimiseen liittyvä erityistarve	☐
Saadakseni parempia arvosanoja kuin luokkakaverini	☐

35. Kun mietit tavallista koulupäivääsi, paljonko aikaa vietät seuraavien asioiden parissa päästyäsi koulusta? *Rastita yksi vaihtoehto kunkin asian kohdalla:*

	En koskaan tee tätä	Harvemmin kuin päivittäin	Alle 1 tunnin	1–2 tuntia	2–4 tuntia	Yli 4 tuntia
Kotiläksyjen teko / opiskelu	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Television katselu	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Musiikin kuuntelu	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pelaaminen pelikonsolilla	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tietokoneen "huvikäyttö" (netti, pelit, chatit jne.)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tietokoneen käyttö koulutöihin	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Auttaminen kotitöissä	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Nuoremmasta veljestä tai siskosta huolehtiminen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Koulun järjestämä kerhotoiminta	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Koulun ulkopuoliset harrastukset	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Koulumatkat	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ajanvietto kaverien kanssa	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Muiden kuin kouluun liittyvien kirjojen tai lehtien lukeminen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Poika- tai tyttökaverin kanssa oleminen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Osa-aikainen työ	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Muu (mikä?)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

_____

36. Jos joku oppilas ei ole tyytyväinen siihen miten häntä kohdellaan koulussa, onko asiaan mielestäsi mahdollista vaikuttaa virallisesti? *Rastita yksi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista:*

Kyllä	☐
Ei	☐
En osaa sanoa	☐

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37. Missä määrin koulussasi oppilailla on mahdollisuus ilmaista mielipiteitään siitä miten koulun asioita hoidetaan? *Rastita yksi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista:*

Paljon ☐
Jonkin verran ☐
Ei lainkaan ☐
En osaa sanoa ☐

38. Missä määrin sinun mielipiteitäsi kuunnellaan koulussa? *Rastita yksi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista:*

Paljon ☐
Jonkin verran ☐
Ei lainkaan ☐
En osaa sanoa ☐

39. Keiltä seuraavista henkilöistä kysyisit todennäköisimmin neuvoa, jos sinulla olisi ongelmia yleisesti elämään liittyen (esim. parisuhde, ongelmat poliisin kanssa) ?

	Kyllä	Ei	Ei tällaista mahdollisuutta
Äiti	☐	☐	☐
Isä	☐	☐	☐
Veli tai sisko	☐	☐	☐
Muut perheenjäsenet	☐	☐	☐
Psykologi	☐	☐	☐
Ystävät	☐	☐	☐
Internet (esim. keskustelupalstalta)	☐	☐	☐
Luokanvalvoja tai muu opettaja	☐	☐	☐
Opintojenohjaaja/koulukuraattori	☐	☐	☐
Pappi	☐	☐	☐
Nuorisotyöntekijä	☐	☐	☐
Joku muu (kuka?) _____	☐	☐	☐

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40. Keiltä seuraavista henkilöistä kysyisit todennäköisimmin neuvoa, jos sinulla olisi ongelmia koulutyöhön liittyen (esim. huonot arvosanat, ongelmia jaksamisen kanssa) ?

	Kyllä	Ei	Ei tällaista mahdollisuutta
Äiti	☐	☐	☐
Isä	☐	☐	☐
Veli tai sisko	☐	☐	☐
Muut perheenjäsenet	☐	☐	☐
Psykologi	☐	☐	☐
Ystävät	☐	☐	☐
Internet (esim. keskustelupalstalta)	☐	☐	☐
Luokanvalvoja tai muu opettaja	☐	☐	☐
Opintojenohjaaja/koulukuraattori	☐	☐	☐
Pappi	☐	☐	☐
Nuorisotyöntekijä	☐	☐	☐
Joku muu (kuka?) _____	☐	☐	☐

41. Missä määrin olet samaa tai eri mieltä seuraavien väittämien kanssa?
Rastita jokaisesta se vaihtoehto, joka parhaiten vastaa käsitystäsi tällä hetkellä.

	Ei pidä lainkaan paikkaansa	Ei pidä juuri lainkaan paikkaansa	Pitää melko hyvin paikkansa	Pitää täysin paikkansa
Selviän aina vaikeistakin haasteista, jos vain yritän tarpeeksi.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Vaikka kohtaisinkin vastustusta, keksin kyllä keinot, joilla saavutan päämääräni.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Päämäärissä pysyminen ja niiden saavuttaminen on minulle helppoa.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Olen varma, että pystyisin toimimaan tehokkaasti ennalta-arvaamattomissa tilanteissa.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Neuvokkuuteni ansiosta tiedän miten toimia yllättävissä tilanteissa.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pystyn ratkaisemaan useimmat ongelmat, jos vain yritän tarpeeksi.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pysyn ongelmatilanteissa rauhallisena koska voin luottaa selviytymiskykyyni.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Keksin ongelmille yleensä useita ratkaisuja.	☐	☐	☐	☐

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	En koskaan	Harvoin	Joskus	Usein	Aina
Jos joudun vaikeuksiin, keksin niihin yleensä ratkaisun.	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Selviän yleensä kaikesta, mitä elämä eteeni tuo.	☐	☐	☐	☐	

42. Kun sinulla on kouluun liittyviä ongelmia, miten usein toimit seuraavilla tavoilla?
Rastita sopiva vaihtoehto kunkin asian kohdalla:

	En koskaan	Harvoin	Joskus	Usein	Aina
Puhun jonkun kanssa	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Syytän vain itseäni	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Suutun	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pysyn omassa huoneessani	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Yritän ratkaista asian itsenäisesti	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Poltan tupakkaa	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Käytän alkoholia tai huumeita	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mietin miten aiemmin olen selvinnyt vastaavista tilanteista	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Teen asioita jotka saavat ajatukseni pois ongelmasta (esimerkiksi television katselu)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

43. Miten usein olet huolissasi siitä, että seuraavista asioista tulee sinulle ongelma jossakin vaiheessa tulevaisuudessa? *Rastita sopiva vaihtoehto kunkin asian kohdalla:*

	En koskaan	Harvoin	Joskus	Usein	Aina
Työttömyys	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pärjääminen huonosti koulussa tai jatkokoulutuksessa	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Huonoihin piireihin joutuminen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Yksinäisyys	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Köyhyys	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sairastuminen vakavasti	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Huume- tai alkoholiongelma	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Internet- tai peliriippuvuus	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Syömishäiriö	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Muu (mikä?) _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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44. Miten usein olet tehnyt seuraavia asioita <u>viimeisten 12 kuukauden</u> aikana?

Rastita sopiva vaihtoehto kunkin asian kohdalla:

	En ikinä	En viimeisten 12 kk aikana	Harvemmin kuin kerran kuussa	Kuukausittain	Viikoittain tai useammin	En halua vastata
Polttanut tupakkaa	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Juonut alkoholia	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Käyttänyt huumeita	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Käyttänyt muita päihteitä	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Harrastanut seksiä	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Maalannut graffiteja tms. rakennuksiin tai muualle	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kiusannut jotakin ihmistä	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kantanut veistä tai muuta asetta itsepuolustukseksi	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

45. Oletko ollut tekemisissä poliisin kanssa <u>viimeisten 12 kuukauden</u> aikana?

Kyllä ☐
En ☐ → SIIRRY KYSYMYKSEEN 47

46. Mistä syystä olit tekemisissä poliisin kanssa? *Rastita yksi tai useampia vaihtoehtoja:*

Minua käskettiin siirtymään muualle ☐
Hain apua johonkin asiaan ☐
Ilmoitin rikoksesta ☐
Poliisi puhui koulussa oppitunnilla ☐
Olin tehnyt jotakin väärää/minut vietiin poliisiasemalle tai varoitettiin ☐
Jostakin muusta syystä _____ ☐

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Osio 3: Tulevaisuuden suunnitelmat

47. Minkä tasoisen koulutuksen aiot hankkia?

Rastita yksi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista:

Ei mitään koulutusta	☐
Peruskoulu	☐
Lukio / ylioppilastutkinto	☐
Ammattikoulu	☐
Ammattikorkeakoulu	☐
Yliopisto, perustutkinto (kandidaatti tai maisteri	☐
Yliopisto, jatkotutkinto (lisensiaatti tai tohtori)	☐
Jokin muu koulutus (mikä?) _____	☐

48. Mitä arvioit tekeväsi noin vuoden päästä?

Valitse yksi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista. Jos et ole varma, valitse todennäköisin vaihtoehto:

Opiskelen kokopäiväisesti	☐
Olen töissä kokopäiväisesti	☐
Olen työharjoittelussa	☐
Olen oppisopimuskoulutuksessa	☐
Huolehdin perheestä (esim. nuoremman sisaruksen hoito)	☐
Minulla on itselläni lapsi	☐
Olen työttömänä	☐
Teen jotakin muuta (mitä?) _____	☐

49. Mikä olisi toiveammattisi, kun olet suorittanut kaiken sen koulutuksen jonka aiot suorittaa? *Vaikka olisit epävarma, kerro mitä mieluiten haluaisit tehdä:*

_____

50. Miten varma olet siitä, että pääset haluamaasi ammattiin?

Valitse yksi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista:

Erittäin varma	☐
Varma	☐
Epävarma	☐
Erittäin epävarma	☐

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51. Jos seuraavat asiat parantaisivat mahdollisuuksiasi saada hyvä työ, olisitko valmis…

	Kyllä	En
Muuttamaan nykyisessä kaupungissa eri alueelle	☐	☐
Muuttamaan Suomessa eri kaupunkiin	☐	☐
Muuttamaan ulkomaille	☐	☐

52. Missä määrin olet samaa tai eri mieltä seuraavista koulutukseen ja työhön liittyvistä asioista:

	Täysin eri mieltä	Jossakin määrin eri mieltä	Samaa mieltä	Täysin samaa mieltä
Vaikka pärjäisin koulussa hyvinkin, se ei auta minua saavuttamaan aikuisena sellaista elämää kuin haluan.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mahdollisuuteni menestyä elämässä eivät riipu siitä miten hyvin menestyn koulussa.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Hyvä koulumenestys ei paranna mahdollisuuksiani saavuttaa hyvä elämä.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Hyvien arvosanojen saaminen koulussa ei takaa hyvän työn saamista aikuisena.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Vaikka menestyisin koulussa hyvin, se ei auta minua saavuttamaan unelmiani.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Hyvä koulumenestys ei auta minua pääsemään hyvään ammattiin.	☐	☐	☐	☐

53. Minkä seuraavista asioista arvioisit vaikuttavan omaan ammatinvalintaasi <u>kaikkein eniten?</u> *Rastita yksi vaihtoehto.*

Haluaisin…

Hyvät tulot, jotta minulla ei olisi mitään rahahuolia	☐
Turvallisen työpaikan, jossa ei ole vaaraa toiminnan loppumisesta tai työttömyydestä	☐
Työskennellä sellaisten ihmisten kanssa, joista pidän	☐
Tärkeän työn, jossa tunnen saavani jotakin aikaan	☐
Työn, joka kiinnostaa minua palkasta riippumatta	☐
En osaa sanoa	☐
Jokin muu asia (mikä?) _____	☐

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Osio 4: Perheeseesi liittyviä kysymyksiä

54. Asutko tällä hetkellä vanhempiesi (tai ottovanhempiesi) kanssa? *Rastita yksi vaihtoehto:*

Kyllä, äitini ja isäni kanssa samassa asunnossa ☐
Kyllä, äitini mutta en isäni kanssa ☐
Kyllä, isäni mutta en äitini kanssa ☐
Kyllä, osan aikaa äitini ja osan aikaa isäni kanssa ☐
En (tarkenna) _____ ☐

55. Kuka muu asuu samassa asunnossa kanssasi? *Rastita yksi tai useampia vaihtoehtoja:*

Äidin miesystävä (muu kuin isäni) ☐
Isän naisystävä (muu kuin äitini) ☐
Veli/sisko tai useampia sisaruksia ☐
Serkku tai useampia serkkuja ☐
Isovanhempi tai isovanhemmat ☐
Joku muu (tarkenna) _____ ☐

56. Montako veljeä/siskoa sinulla on (mukaan lukien veli- tai siskopuolet)?

_____ veljeä

_____ siskoa

57. Jos sinulla on veljiä/siskoja (mukaan lukien veli- tai siskopuolet), kuinka moni heistä asuu kotona kanssasi?

_____ veljeä

_____ siskoa

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58. Mitä äitisi ja isäsi tällä hetkellä tekevät?

Rastita yksi vaihtoehto molempien vanhempien osalta:

	Äiti	Isä
Työttömänä	☐	☐
Töissä kokopäiväisesti	☐	☐
Töissä osa-aikaisesti	☐	☐
Opiskelijana kokopäiväisesti	☐	☐
Vapaaehtoistyössä	☐	☐
Huolehtimassa kodista	☐	☐
Pysyvästi työkyvytön	☐	☐
Eläkkeellä	☐	☐
En osaa sanoa	☐	☐
Ei sovellu	☐	☐
Muu (mikä?) _____	☐	☐

59. Mikä äitisi pääasiallinen ammatti on?
Jos äitisi ei ole tällä hetkellä töissä, kerro hänen viimeinen ammattinsa.

_____

60. Mitä äitisi käytännössä tekee pääasiallisessa ammatissaan?

_____

61. Mikä isäsi pääasiallinen ammatti on?
Jos isäsi ei ole tällä hetkellä töissä, kerro hänen viimeinen ammattinsa.

_____

62. Mitä isäsi käytännössä tekee pääasiallisessa ammatissaan?

_____

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63. Mikä on äitisi ja isäsi korkein suoritettu koulutustaso?
Rastita yksi vaihtoehto molempien vanhempien osalta. Jos vanhempasi ovat esimerkiksi valmistuneet Suomessa vanhan rinnakkaiskoulujärjestelmän aikana tai opiskelleet muualla kuin Suomessa, valitse lähimpänä oleva vaihtoehto.

	Äiti	Isä
Ei mitään koulutusta	☐	☐
Peruskoulu	☐	☐
Lukio	☐	☐
Ammattikoulu	☐	☐
Ammattiopisto	☐	☐
Ammattikorkeakoulu	☐	☐
Yliopisto, kandidaatin tai maisterin tutkinto	☐	☐
Yliopisto, lisensiaatin tai tohtorin tutkinto	☐	☐
Muu koulutus (mikä?) _____	☐	☐
En osaa sanoa	☐	☐
Ei sovellu	☐	☐

64. Miten usein äitisi on tehnyt seuraavia asioita <u>viimeisten 12 kuukauden</u> aikana?
Valitse yksi vaihtoehto kussakin kysymyskohdassa:

	Ei koskaan	Harvoin	Joskus	Usein	Aina
Sanonut että koulussa pärjääminen on tärkeää	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Osoittanut paljon kiinnostusta koulumenestystäni kohtaan	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tukenut minua kuuntelemalla silloin kun minulla on ollut asiaa	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tukenut minua osallistumalla koulun järjestämään toimintaan	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ei sovellu	☐				

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65. Miten usein isäsi on tehnyt seuraavia asioita <u>viimeisten 12 kuukauden</u> aikana?
Valitse yksi vaihtoehto kussakin kysymyskohdassa:

	Ei koskaan	Harvoin	Joskus	Usein	Aina
Sanonut että koulussa pärjääminen on tärkeää	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Osoittanut paljon kiinnostusta koulumenestystäni kohtaan	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tukenut minua kuuntelemalla silloin kun minulla on ollut asiaa	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tukenut minua osallistumalla koulun järjestämään toimintaan	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ei sovellu	☐				

66. <u>Viimeisten 12 kuukauden aikana</u>, miten usein olet tehnyt seuraavia asioita yhdessä vanhempiesi kanssa? *Valitse yksi vaihtoehto kussakin kysymyskohdassa:*

	En tänä vuonna	Harvemmin kuin kerran kuussa	Kuukausittain	Viikoittain	Päivittäin
Puhunut kokemuksistani koulussa	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Puhunut suunnitelmistani koulutuksen tai työn suhteen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Keskustellut koulutehtävistä	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Keskustellut ajankohtaisista asioista (esim. politiikka)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Puhunut elämästä yleensä	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Vieraillut sukulaisten tai perheystävien luona	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Harrastanut urheilua tai käynyt elokuvissa	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Käynyt teatterissa, museossa tai oopperassa	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

KIITOS VASTAUKSISTASI!

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Appendix 2. Finnish Parent Survey

Goete | Governance of Educational Trajectories in Europe

VANHEMPIEN KYSELY

Vastausohjeet

Kysely on osa eurooppalaista tutkimusprojektia, johon osallistuu nuorten vanhempia/huoltajia kaikkiaan 24 kaupungista. Mukana olevat maat ovat Suomen lisäksi Pohjois-Irlanti/Englanti, Italia, Saksa, Ranska, Hollanti, Slovenia ja Puola. Suomen osalta kyselyn toteuttaa Turun yliopiston Kasvatustieteiden laitos. Lomakkeen täyttämiseen pitäisi kulua noin 10–20 minuuttia.

Jos teillä on useampia lapsia, vastauksien tulisi koskea 9-luokkalaista lasta, joka on hiljattain vastannut GOETE-projektin oppilaskyselyyn koulussaan.

Lue jokainen kysymys ja ohjeet huolellisesti ja pyri vastaamaan kaikkiin kysymyksiin. Yritä olla miettimättä liikaa yksittäisiä kysymyksiä, anna se vastaus joka ensimmäisenä tulee mieleesi. Kysymyksiin ei ole oikeita tai vääriä vastauksia. Kysely on anonyymi, yksittäiset vastaajat eivät ole tunnistettavissa tutkimusaineistosta.

Jotkut kysymykset ja/tai vastausvaihtoehdot saattavat Suomen oloissa vaikuttaa erikoisilta. Tämä johtuu siitä, että lomake jaetaan samanlaisena kaikissa kyselyyn osallistuvissa maissa. Olemme käännöksissä pyrkineet huomioimaan Suomen olot niin pitkälle kuin mahdollista, mutta kokonaisten kysymysten poistaminen ei ole ollut mahdollista.

Kysymyksiä ja palautetta kyselystä voi esittää tutkija Mikko Arolle (puh. 02-3338826), yliassistentti Tero Järviselle (puh. 02-3338862) tai professori Risto Rinteelle (puh. 02-3338818).

Pyydämme palauttamaan kyselyn lapsesi mukana kouluun 10.12.2010 mennessä.

Kiitos osallistumisesta tutkimukseen.

Turun yliopisto
University of Turku

Vastaajan taustatietoja

1. Oletko: Mies ☐

                        Nainen ☐

2. Mikä on syntymävuotesi?   19_____

3. Mikä on suhteesi lapseen?

Äiti ☐
Äitipuoli ☐
Isä ☐
Isäpuoli ☐
Muu holhooja (naispuolinen) ☐
Muu holhooja (miespuolinen) ☐
Muu (mikä?) _____ ☐

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Osio 1: Kysymyksiä lapseesi liittyen

4. Kun mietit lapsesi tavallista koulupäivää, paljonko hän viettää aikaa seuraavien asioiden parissa päästyään koulusta? *Rastita yksi vaihtoehto kunkin asian kohdalla:*

	Ei koskaan	Harvemmin kuin päivittäin	Alle 1 tunnin	1–2 tuntia	2–4 tuntia	Yli 4 tuntia	En osaa sanoa
Kotiläksyjen teko / opiskelu	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Television katselu	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Musiikin kuuntelu	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pelaaminen pelikonsolilla	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tietokoneen "huvikäyttö" (netti, pelit, chatit jne.)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tietokoneen käyttö koulutöihin	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Auttaminen kotitöissä	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Nuoremmasta veljestä tai siskosta huolehtiminen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Koulun järjestämä kerhotoiminta	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Koulun ulkopuoliset harrastukset	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Koulumatkat	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ajanvietto kaverien kanssa	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Muiden kuin kouluun liittyvien kirjojen tai lehtien lukeminen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Poika- tai tyttökaverin kanssa oleminen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Osa-aikainen työ	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Muu (mikä?)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

_____
_

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5. Viimeisten 12 kuukauden aikana, miten usein olet tehnyt seuraavia asioita yhdessä lapsesi kanssa? *Valitse yksi vaihtoehto kussakin kysymyskohdassa:*

	En tänä vuonna	Harvemmin kuin kerran kuussa	Kuukausittain	Viikoittain	Päivittäin
Puhunut hänen kokemuksistaan koulussa	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Puhunut hänen suunnitelmistaan koulutuksen tai työn suhteen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Keskustellut hänen koulutehtävistään / läksyistään	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Keskustellut ajankohtaisista asioista (esim. politiikka)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Puhunut elämästä yleensä	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Vieraillut sukulaisten tai perheystävien luona	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Harrastanut urheilua tai käynyt elokuvissa	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Käynyt teatterissa, museossa tai oopperassa	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

6. Miten usein olet huolissasi siitä, että seuraavista asioista tulee lapsellesi ongelma jossakin vaiheessa tulevaisuudessa? *Valitse yksi vaihtoehto kussakin kysymyskohdassa:*

	En koskaan	Harvoin	Joskus	Usein	Aina
Työttömyys	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pärjääminen huonosti koulussa tai jatkokoulutuksessa	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Huonoihin piireihin joutuminen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Yksinäisyys	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Köyhyys	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sairastuminen vakavasti	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Huume- tai alkoholiongelma	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Internet- tai peliriippuvuus	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Syömishäiriö	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Muu (mikä?) _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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7. Montako lapsesi läheisistä ystävistä tunnet? *Valitse yksi vaihtoehto:*

En yhtäkään ☐ → SIIRRY KYSYMYKSEEN 9
Muutaman ☐
Useimmat ☐
Kaikki ☐

8. Montako lapsesi läheisistä ystävistä hyväksyt? *Valitse yksi vaihtoehto:*

En yhtäkään ☐
Muutaman ☐
Useimmat ☐
Kaikki ☐

9. Oletko koskaan hankkinut lapsellesi koulun ulkopuolista yksityisopetusta missään oppiaineessa?

Kyllä ☐
En ☐ → SIIRRY KYSYMYKSEEN 12

10. Jos hän on saanut koulun ulkopuolista yksityisopetusta, missä oppiaineissa?
Rastita kaikki ne oppiaineet, joissa lapsesi on saanut yksityisopetusta:

Matematiikka ☐
Fysiikka ☐
Kemia ☐
Äidinkieli (suomi) ☐
Englanti ☐
Ruotsi ☐
Muu vieras kieli (mikä?) _____ ☐
Jokin muu aine (mikä?) _____ ☐

11. Mistä syystä tai syistä hankit lapsellesi yksityisopetusta?
Rastita yksi tai useampia kohtia:

Hän oli ollut poissa koulusta ja hänen täytyi saada muut kiinni ☐
Hän ei opi normaalissa opetuksessa tarpeeksi hyvin ☐
Koulu ei järjestä tarpeeksi tukiopetusta ☐
Koulussa suositeltiin että hankkisin lapselleni ulkopuolista apua ☐
Sisäänpääsykoetta varten ☐
Hänellä on oppimiseen liittyviä erityistarpeita ☐
Että hän saisi parempia arvosanoja kuin luokkakaverinsa ☐
Jostakin muusta syystä (mikä?)_____ ☐

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12. Onko lapsellasi koskaan havaittu mitään erityistarvetta oppimiseen liittyen?

Kyllä   ☐

Ei   ☐ → SIIRRY KYSYMYKSEEN 14

13. Voitko tarkentaa, millainen tämä erityistarve on? *Valitse yksi tai useampia vaihtoehtoja:*

Puhehäiriö   ☐
Luku- ja kirjoitushäiriö tai –vaikeudet   ☐
Matematiikan oppimisen vaikeudet   ☐
Vieraan kielen oppimisen vaikeudet   ☐
Sopeutumisvaikeudet tai tunne-elämän häiriö   ☐
Muut vaikeudet oppimisessa   ☐
Jokin muu syy (mikä) _____ ☐

14. Kuinka tyytyväinen olet siihen, millaista tukea lapsesi saa koulussa tähän erityistarpeeseensa liittyen? *Valitse yksi vaihtoehto:*

Erittäin tyytyväinen   ☐
Tyytyväinen   ☐
Tyytymätön   ☐
Erittäin tyytymätön   ☐

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Jenni Tikkanen

Osio 2: Lapsesi koulunkäynti

15. Kun lapsesi siirtyi alakoulusta yläkouluun, menikö hän toivomaasi kouluun?

Kyllä ☐ → SIIRRY KYSYMYKSEEN 18
Ei ☐

16. Jos lapsesi ei mennyt toivomaasi kouluun, mikä oli syynä siihen?
Valitse yksi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista:

Lapseni halusi mennä eri kouluun ☐
Lapseni arvosanat eivät olleet tarpeeksi hyvät ☐
Kouluun ei mahtunut (oppilaspaikat täynnä) ☐
Muutimme eri alueelle ☐
Muu syy (mikä?) _____ ☐

17. Mistä syystä et olisi halunnut lapsesi menevän hänen nykyiseen kouluunsa?
Valitse yksi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista:

En pidä tästä koulusta ☐ ⎫
Kaikki lapseni kaverit käyvät muuta koulua/muita kouluja ☐ ⎪
Tässä koulussa ei ole sellaista painotetun opetuksen luokkaa ⎪
josta lapseni olisi ollut kiinnostunut ☐ ⎬ SIIRRY KYSYMYKSEEN 19
Koulu on liian kaukana kotoamme ☐ ⎪
Koulun maine ei ole hyvä ☐ ⎪
Muu syy (mikä?) _____ ☐ ⎭

18. Mikä oli syynä siihen, että halusit lapsesi menevän juuri hänen nykyiseen kouluunsa?
Valitse yksi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista:

Lapseni pitää tästä koulusta ☐
Lapseni kaverit menivät tähän kouluun ☐
Koulussa on painotetun opetuksen luokka lapseni on kiinnostunut ☐
Tämä koulu on lähimpänä kotiamme ☐
Koululla on hyvä maine ☐
Alakoulun opettaja suositteli tätä koulua ☐
Lapseni veli/sisko (tai useampia sisaruksia) käy samaa koulua ☐
Muu syy (mikä? _____ ☐

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19. Oletko tyytyväinen lapsesi koulumenestykseen?

Kyllä ☐
En, koska uskon että lapseni pystyisi parempaankin ☐
En, koska lapsellani voi olla vaikeuksia päästä jatkokoulutukseen ☐
En, koska hänen arvosanansa eivät vastaa sitä mitä hän oikeasti osaa ☐
En, koska _____ (täsmennä) ☐

20. Missä määrin olet samaa tai eri mieltä seuraavien lapsesi koulunkäyntiin liittyvien väittämien kanssa?

	Täysin eri mieltä	Jossakin määrin eri mieltä	Samaa mieltä	Täysin samaa mieltä
Lapseni nauttii koulunkäynnistä	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lapseni edistyy koulussa hyvin	☐	☐	☐	☐
Yleisesti ottaen olen tyytyväinen siihen, miten lapseni viihtyy nykyisessä koulussaan	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lapseni koulukavereiden kesken on paljon kilpailua	☐	☐	☐	☐
Opettajat välittävät siitä miten lapseni menestyy koulussa	☐	☐	☐	☐
Opettajat ovat kiinnostuneita lapseni hyvinvoinnista	☐	☐	☐	☐
Koulu on lapselleni turvallinen	☐	☐	☐	☐
Koulussa edellytetään että lapseni opiskelee ahkerasti	☐	☐	☐	☐
Koulussa varmistetaan että lapseni on hyvin valmistautunut hakemaan jatkokoulutukseen	☐	☐	☐	☐
Koulussa rohkaistaan lastani kehittämään itseään	☐	☐	☐	☐
Koulussa kohdellaan lastani kunnioittavasti	☐	☐	☐	☐
Koulussa pystytään vastaamaan lapseni tarpeisiin	☐	☐	☐	☐
Koulua johdetaan tehokkaasti	☐	☐	☐	☐
Koululla on hyvä maine	☐	☐	☐	☐
Koulussa järjestetään monenlaisia aktiviteetteja, kuten matkoja, joihin lapseni voi osallistua	☐	☐	☐	☐
Koulu pitää minut ajan tasalla lapseni edistyksen suhteen	☐	☐	☐	☐
Koulussa on selitetty miten voin auttaa lastani koulutöissä	☐	☐	☐	☐
Minua on kannustettu osallistumaan koulun toimintaan (esim. vanhempainillat)	☐	☐	☐	☐
Koulussa huomioidaan ehdotukseni ja huolenaiheeni	☐	☐	☐	☐

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21. Keiltä seuraavista henkilöistä lapsesi todennäköisimmin kysyisi neuvoa, jos hänellä olisi ongelmia yleisesti elämään liittyen (esim. parisuhde, ongelmat poliisin kanssa) ?

	Kyllä	Ei	Ei tällaista mahdollisuutta
Äiti	☐	☐	☐
Isä	☐	☐	☐
Veli tai sisko	☐	☐	☐
Muut perheenjäsenet	☐	☐	☐
Psykologi	☐	☐	☐
Ystävät	☐	☐	☐
Internet (esim. keskustelupalstalta)	☐	☐	☐
Luokanvalvoja tai muu opettaja	☐	☐	☐
Opintojenohjaaja/koulukuraattori	☐	☐	☐
Pappi	☐	☐	☐
Nuorisotyöntekijä	☐	☐	☐
Joku muu (kuka?) _____	☐	☐	☐

22. Keiltä seuraavista henkilöistä lapsesi todennäköisimmin kysyisi neuvoa, jos hänellä olisi ongelmia koulutyöhön liittyen (esim. huonot arvosanat, ongelmia jaksamisen kanssa) ?

	Kyllä	Ei	Ei tällaista mahdollisuutta
Äiti	☐	☐	☐
Isä	☐	☐	☐
Veli tai sisko	☐	☐	☐
Muut perheenjäsenet	☐	☐	☐
Psykologi	☐	☐	☐
Ystävät	☐	☐	☐
Internet (esim. keskustelupalstalta)	☐	☐	☐
Luokanvalvoja tai muu opettaja	☐	☐	☐
Opintojenohjaaja/koulukuraattori	☐	☐	☐
Pappi	☐	☐	☐
Nuorisotyöntekijä	☐	☐	☐
Joku muu (kuka?) _____	☐	☐	☐

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Osio 3: Lapsesi tulevaisuus

23. Mitä haluaisit lapsesi tekevän oppivelvollisuuden jälkeen?
Valitse yksi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista.

Haluaisin että hän…

Jatkaa opintoja kokopäiväisesti ☐
Menee töihin kokopäiväisesti ☐
Menee työharjoitteluun ☐
Menee oppisopimuskoulutukseen ☐
Huolehtii perheestä (esim. nuoremman sisaruksen hoito) ☐
Tekee jotakin muuta (mitä?) _____ ☐

24. Mitä arvioit tosiasiassa tapahtuvan? *Valitse yksi seuraavista vaihtoehdoista.*

Oppivelvollisuuden jälkeen lapseni todennäköisesti…

Jatkaa opintoja kokopäiväisesti ☐
Menee töihin kokopäiväisesti ☐
Menee työharjoitteluun ☐
Menee oppisopimuskoulutukseen ☐
Huolehtii perheestä (esim. nuoremman sisaruksen hoito) ☐
Tulee itse vanhemmaksi ☐
On työttömänä ☐
Tekee jotakin muuta (mitä?) _____ ☐

25. Minkä tasoisen koulutuksen haluaisit lapsesi hankkivan? *Rastita yksi vaihtoehto.*

Ei mitään koulutusta ☐
Peruskoulu ☐
Lukio / ylioppilastutkinto ☐
Ammattikoulu ☐
Ammattikorkeakoulu ☐
Yliopisto, kandidaatin tai maisterin tutkinto ☐
Yliopisto, lisensiaatin tai tohtorin tutkinto ☐
Jokin muu koulutus (mikä?) _____ ☐

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26. Mikä on pääasiallinen syy, miksi haluaisit lapsesi hankkivan tämän tasoisen koulutuksen?

Saadakseen…

Hyvät tulot, jotta hänellä ei olisi mitään rahahuolia ☐
Turvallisen työpaikan, jossa ei ole vaaraa toiminnan loppumisesta tai työttömyydestä ☐
Työskennellä sellaisten ihmisten kanssa, joista hän pitää ☐
Tärkeän työn, jossa hän tuntee saavansa jotakin aikaan ☐
Työn, joka kiinnostaa häntä palkasta riippumatta ☐
En osaa sanoa ☐
Jokin muu asia (mikä?) _____ ☐

27. Miten varma olet, että lapsesi saavuttaa toivomasi tasoisen koulutuksen?

Erittäin varma ☐
Varma ☐
Epävarma ☐
Erittäin epävarma ☐

28. Onko mitään erityistä syytä, joka voi hankaloittaa tai estää lastasi hankkimasta mainitsemasi tasoista koulutusta?

Kyllä ☐
Ei ☐ → SIIRRY KYSYMYKSEEN 30

29. Millainen tämä lapsesi koulutusta haittaava syy voisi mielestäsi olla?
Rastita yksi tai useampia kohtia:

Perheellä ei ole varaa maksaa koulutuksesta ☐
Kotimme lähellä ei ole sopivaa koulutusta ☐
Lapseni ei ehkä pääse yliopistoon, koska opiskelupaikoista on kova kilpailu ☐
Opiskelupaikan saaminen on vaikeaa heikosta koulumenestyksestä johtuen ☐
Terveyssyyt / oppimis- tai muu häiriö ☐
Lapseni haluaa töihin ansaitakseen rahaa ☐
Lapseni ei halua yliopistoon, koska siellä joutuisi ottamaan opintolainaa ☐
Lapseni ei ole ylipäätään kiinnostunut jatkokoulutuksesta ☐
Muu syy (mikä?) _____ ☐

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30. Tuetko lapsesi koulutus- ja ammattitoiveita? *Valitse yksi vaihtoehto:*

Kyllä	☐
En, koska hän pystyisi parempaankin	☐
En, koska se olisi hänelle liian vaativaa	☐
En, koska hän ei työllistyisi sillä alalla	☐
En, koska perheellä ei ole varaa siihen koulutukseen	☐
En, koska asia ei kuulu minulle millään tavalla	☐
En, koska _____ (tarkenna)	☐

31. Missä määrin olet samaa tai eri mieltä seuraavien väittämien kanssa?

	Täysin eri mieltä	Jossakin määrin eri mieltä	Samaa mieltä	Täysin samaa mieltä
Vaikka lapseni pärjäisi koulussa hyvinkin, se ei auta häntä saavuttamaan aikuisena sellaista elämää kuin hän haluaa.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lapseni mahdollisuudet menestyä elämässä eivät riipu hänen koulumenestyksestään.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Hyvä koulumenestys ei paranna hänen mahdollisuuksiaan saavuttaa hyvä elämä.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Hyvien arvosanojen saaminen koulussa ei takaa että lapseni saa hyvän työn aikuisena.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Vaikka lapseni menestyisi koulussa hyvin, se ei auta häntä saavuttamaan unelmiaan.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Hyvä koulumenestys ei auta lastani pääsemään hyvään ammattiin.	☐	☐	☐	☐

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Osio 4: Itseesi ja puolisoosi liittyviä kysymyksiä

32. Mikä on siviilisäätysi?

Yksinhuoltaja (ei koskaan naimisissa) ☐
Avoliitossa ☐
Naimisissa, asun yhdessä aviopuolisoni kanssa ☐
Naimisissa, mutta asumme tällä hetkellä erillään ☐
Eronnut tai asumuserossa ☐
Eronnut tai asumuserossa, asun uuden kumppanin kanssa ☐
Leski ☐
Leski, asun uuden kumppanin kanssa ☐
Jokin muu (mikä?) _____ ☐

33. Itsesi ja lapsesi lisäksi, keitä muita tällä hetkellä asuu kotitaloudessanne?

Lapsen isä/äiti ☐
Lapsen isäpuoli/äitipuoli ☐
Miesystäväni/naisystäväni ☐
Lapsen sisarus tai useampia sisaruksia ☐
Lapsen serkku tai useampia serkkuja ☐
Lapsen isovanhempi tai isovanhemmat ☐
Joku muu (kuka?) _____ ☐

34. Montako ihmistä tällä hetkellä asuu kotitaloudessanne? _____ henkeä

35. Mikä on oma ja avio- tai avopuolisosi korkein suoritettu koulutustaso?
Jos jompikumpi on esimerkiksi valmistunut Suomessa vanhan rinnakkaiskoulujärjestelmän aikana tai opiskellut muualla kuin Suomessa, valitse lähimpänä oleva vaihtoehto.

	Oma koulutus	Puolison koulutus
Ei mitään koulutusta	☐	☐
Peruskoulu	☐	☐
Lukio	☐	☐
Ammattikoulu	☐	☐
Ammattiopisto	☐	☐
Ammattikorkeakoulu	☐	☐
Yliopisto, kandidaatin tai maisterin tutkinto	☐	☐
Yliopisto, lisensiaatin tai tohtorin tutkinto	☐	☐
Jokin muu koulutus (mikä?) _____	☐	☐

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36. Mikä on oma ja puolisosi tämänhetkinen työmarkkinatilanne?

	Oma	Puoliso
Työttömänä	☐	☐
Töissä kokopäiväisesti	☐	☐
Töissä osa-aikaisesti	☐	☐
Opiskelijana kokopäiväisesti	☐	☐
Vapaaehtoistyössä	☐	☐
Huolehtimassa kodista	☐	☐
Pysyvästi työkyvytön	☐	☐
Eläkkeellä	☐	☐
Muu (mikä?)_____	☐	☐

Ei puolisoa tällä hetkellä   ☐

37. Mikä pääasiallinen ammattisi on? *Jos et ole tällä hetkellä töissä, kerro viimeinen ammattisi.*

_____

38. Mitä käytännössä teet pääasiallisessa ammatissasi?

_____

39. Mikä puolisosi pääasiallinen ammatti on? *Jos hän ei ole tällä hetkellä töissä, kerro hänen viimeinen ammattinsa.*

_____

40. Mitä puolisosi käytännössä tekee pääasiallisessa ammatissaan?

_____

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41. Missä maassa olet syntynyt?

Suomessa ☐
Jossakin muualla (missä?) ☐ _____

42. Jos et ole asunut Suomessa syntymästäsi lähtien, kauanko olet asunut Suomessa?

_____ vuotta

43a. Mikä on kansallisuutesi?

Suomalainen ☐
Jokin muu (mikä?) ☐ _____

43b. Mikä on kotonasi puhuttu kieli / äidinkielesi?

Suomi ☐
Jokin muu (mikä?) ☐ _____

Jos haluat kertoa vielä jotakin muuta esimerkiksi lapsesi koulunkäyntiin liittyen, voit kirjoittaa alla olevaan tilaan:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

KIITOS VASTAUKSISTASI!

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Appendix 3. English Principal Survey

GOETE | Governance of Educational Trajectories in Europe

Welcome to the GOETE survey. The questionnaire can be saved and continued later by using the "Break" button. Please move forward and back using only the buttons in the questionnaire. There are four mandatory questions on the first page (marked with *) which affect the questions shown later on in the survey.

Background questions concerning you

Gender
○ Male ○ Female

Training

Do you have training in school administration or management?
○ Yes ○ No

Work experience

Please write your work experience in full years, in the following positions.

As a principal [ ]
As teacher [ ]
In another managerial role [ ]

Background questions concerning your school

City

In which city is your school located in?
[ ]

School type
○ Public
○ Private (non-profit)
○ Private (for-profit)

School level *
○ Primary school
○ Lower secondary school
○ General upper secondary school
○ Vocational upper secondary school

Specialisation

If your school specialises in some subject or if the school has specialised classes, what is it / what are they?

School size

Number of pupils (approximately) [____]

School staff

What is the number of the following professionals in your school?

Teachers [____]

Classroom/teaching assistants [____]

Student counsellors [____]

School social workers [____]

Psychologists [____]

Nurses [____]

Other [____]

Gender distribution

What is the approximate **percentage** of females in your school in the following groups?

Among pupils [____]

Among teachers [____]

Among non-teaching staff [____]

Pupil structure

What is the approximate **percentage** of pupils in your school...

...with special educational needs [____]

...coming from lower socio-economic backgrounds [____]

...who do not speak [the official language of the country] as their native language [____]

...who receive a daily school meal free of charge or subsidised? [____]

...who are retained in their grade each year? [____]

...who leave school in the middle of the school year? [____]

Free school choice *

Is your school in the realm of free school choice (pupils/parents can affect the choice)?
○ Yes ○ No

Right to select pupils *

Does your school have administratively the right/possibility to select pupils?
○ Yes ○ No

Recruitment of teachers *

To what extent do you have power (administratively) in your school to affect the recruitment of teachers? (1 = Not at all ... 5 = Totally)

○ 1 ○ 2 ○ 3 ○ 4 ○ 5

Next -->

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Questions concerning school and pupils

Reasons for leaving school

Among those who leave school in the middle of the school year, which of the following reasons are the most common? Please **rank** the three most important ones (1st = the most important; 2nd = the second most important; 3rd = the third most important).

	1st	2nd	3rd
Family/pupil moving house	○	○	○
Transition to a special school	○	○	○
Dismissed from school for behavioural reasons	○	○	○
Some other reason (can be specified in the next question)	○	○	○

Other reason for leaving

Please specify the other reason for pupils leaving school, that you wish to add to the previous listing.

Intake of the school

If your school is in the realm of free school choice, how would you characterise its intake? (choose one option)
○ We have fewer applicants than places
○ The number of applicants equals the number of places
○ We get more applicants than there are available places

School strategies

To what extent do you use the following means in order to increase the appeal of your school to potential parents and students? (1 = Not at all ... 5 = Very much).

	1	2	3	4	5
School WWW-pages	○	○	○	○	○
Printed brochures	○	○	○	○	○
Open doors days	○	○	○	○	○
Improving the facilities	○	○	○	○	○
Improving subject choices	○	○	○	○	○
Wide range of after school activities	○	○	○	○	○
Specialisation in a specific theme (e.g. sports or music)	○	○	○	○	○
Something else (can be specified in the next question)	○	○	○	○	○

Other strategy

Please specify the other strategy, that you wish to add to the previous listing.

Factors affecting popularity

In your opinion, how much do the following factors affect the popularity of your school? (1 = Not at all ... 5 = Very much).

	1	2	3	4	5
Choice of subjects	○	○	○	○	○
Quality of teachers	○	○	○	○	○
School's reputation	○	○	○	○	○
School's proximity	○	○	○	○	○
Out-of-school activities	○	○	○	○	○
(The amount of) pupil fees	○	○	○	○	○
Social composition of school	○	○	○	○	○
School rankings	○	○	○	○	○
Religious denomination	○	○	○	○	○
Language of instruction in school	○	○	○	○	○
Homework classes or other forms of extended school day	○	○	○	○	○
Something else (can be specified in the next question)	○	○	○	○	○

Other reason for popularity

Please specify the other reason for your school's popularity, that you wish to add to the previous listing.

Collaboration and competition

To what extent do you consider your school collaborates or competes with other (neighbouring) schools? (1 = Not at all ... 5 = Very much)

	1	2	3	4	5
Collaborate	○	○	○	○	○
Compete	○	○	○	○	○

Criteria in selection of pupils

If your school is able to be involved in the selection of pupils, how much are the following criteria taken into account? (1 = Not at all ... 5 = Very much).

	1	2	3	4	5
Results of an aptitude test	○	○	○	○	○
Social skills	○	○	○	○	○
Motivation to study	○	○	○	○	○
Siblings in school	○	○	○	○	○
Proximity of residence	○	○	○	○	○
Religion	○	○	○	○	○
Ethnic background	○	○	○	○	○
Gender	○	○	○	○	○
Parents' financial standing	○	○	○	○	○
Parents' educational and occupational background	○	○	○	○	○

Break

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Monitoring of later stages

Do you monitor the later stages of your pupils' careers, in the next level of schooling, or in working life, in any way?

○ Yes ○ No

Types of monitoring

In what ways do you monitor the later stages of your pupils? Please specify.

Principal's decision-making power

To what extent can you as a principal affect the following decisions in your school in relation to central authority? (1 = Not at all ... 5 = Very much). Decisions concerning...

	1	2	3	4	5
Financial matters	○	○	○	○	○
Personnel recruitment	○	○	○	○	○
Admission requirements	○	○	○	○	○
Teaching methods	○	○	○	○	○
Curriculum	○	○	○	○	○
Something else	○	○	○	○	○

Importance of decisions

Which of these decisions would you consider the most important? Rank the three most important ones (1st = the most important; 2nd = the second most important 3rd = the third most important). Decisions concerning...

	1st	2nd	3rd
Financial matters	○	○	○
Personnel recruitment	○	○	○
Admission requirements	○	○	○
Teaching methods	○	○	○
Curriculum	○	○	○
Something else	○	○	○

Other decision

Please specify the other decision area that you wish to add to the listing of the previous two questions.

Influence of different actors

How much influence do you think the following actors have on central decisions concerning your school? (1 = Not at all ... 5 = Very much)

	1	2	3	4	5
Principal	○	○	○	○	○
Teachers	○	○	○	○	○
Pupils	○	○	○	○	○
Pupils' council	○	○	○	○	○
Pupils' parents	○	○	○	○	○
School board	○	○	○	○	○
Other schools	○	○	○	○	○
Local authorities	○	○	○	○	○
Regional authorities	○	○	○	○	○
State authorities	○	○	○	○	○
Politicians	○	○	○	○	○
Trade unions	○	○	○	○	○
Labour market (in general)	○	○	○	○	○
Employers	○	○	○	○	○
Sponsoring companies	○	○	○	○	○
Religious groups	○	○	○	○	○
Media	○	○	○	○	○

Student participation

Which of the following forms of student participation are available in your school?
☐ Class representative
☐ Students' council
☐ Peer tutoring
☐ Peer conflict mediation
☐ Student-led social and cultural

Tasks of student council

How important are the following tasks for the students' council? (1 = Not at all important ... 5 = Very important). Leave blank, if there is no students' council in your school.

	1	2	3	4	5
Conflict resolution	○	○	○	○	○
Organising social activities	○	○	○	○	○
Management issues	○	○	○	○	○
Disciplinary issues	○	○	○	○	○
Curricular issues	○	○	○	○	○

School's main objective

How would you **rank** the following things in order of importance? (1st = the most important; 2nd = the second most important; 3rd = the third most important)

	1st	2nd	3rd
Supporting the pupils with special educational needs	○	○	○
Focusing on all kinds of pupils equally	○	○	○
Helping the most gifted pupils to reach their full potential	○	○	○

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Questions concerning support measures and coping of pupils

Factors affecting coping and learning

According to your experience, to what extent do the following factors affect problems concerning coping and learning in school? (1 = Not at all ... 5 = Very much)

	1	2	3	4	5
Problems with physical health or disability	○	○	○	○	○
Mental health problems	○	○	○	○	○
Behaviour problems	○	○	○	○	○
Pupils' use of intoxicants	○	○	○	○	○
Problems in the family	○	○	○	○	○
Family disinterest	○	○	○	○	○
Too large class sizes	○	○	○	○	○
Inadequate resources in school	○	○	○	○	○
Bullying in school	○	○	○	○	○
Migrant background	○	○	○	○	○
Learning disability	○	○	○	○	○
Lower socioeconomic status of the family	○	○	○	○	○

Factors affecting transition

According to your experience, to what extent do the following factors affect problems concerning transition to the next school level? (1 = Not at all ... 5 = Very much)

	1	2	3	4	5
Problems with physical health or disability	○	○	○	○	○
Mental health problems	○	○	○	○	○
Behaviour problems	○	○	○	○	○
Pupils' use of intoxicants	○	○	○	○	○
Problems in the family	○	○	○	○	○
Family disinterest	○	○	○	○	○
Difficulties in obtaining a place of study	○	○	○	○	○
Lack of places in the next educational level in the neighbourhood	○	○	○	○	○
Location of school	○	○	○	○	○
Reputation of school	○	○	○	○	○
Bullying in school	○	○	○	○	○
Migrant background	○	○	○	○	○
Learning disability	○	○	○	○	○
Lower socioeconomic status of the family	○	○	○	○	○

Support measures

Schools can support pupils' ability to cope in school, in their transitions from one schooling level to the next, and in the latter phase their transition to working life, in various ways. How would you assess the impact of the following support measures / professionals, according to your experience? (0 = Not available / 1 = Totally useless ... 5 = Very useful)

	0	1	2	3	4	5
Remedial instruction	○	○	○	○	○	○
Use of support pupils	○	○	○	○	○	○
Special education classes	○	○	○	○	○	○
Part-time special education	○	○	○	○	○	○
Communication and co-operation with parents	○	○	○	○	○	○
Work experience periods	○	○	○	○	○	○
Homework classes or other forms of extended school day	○	○	○	○	○	○
Preparatory education for immigrants	○	○	○	○	○	○
Shared personnel on different school levels (e.g. the same school nurse)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Student welfare team	○	○	○	○	○	○
School psychologist	○	○	○	○	○	○
School nurse	○	○	○	○	○	○
School social worker	○	○	○	○	○	○
Municipal social workers (incl. child welfare support)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Youth workers	○	○	○	○	○	○
Youth psychiatry	○	○	○	○	○	○
Employment service	○	○	○	○	○	○
Policies related to intercultural issues/anti-racism	○	○	○	○	○	○
Policies related to anti-violence/anti-bullying	○	○	○	○	○	○
Some other support measure (can be specified in the next question)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Other support measure

Please specify the other support measure that you wish to add to the previous listing.

Preparation of pupils

What do you do in your school to prepare pupils for the transition to the next schooling level? (several options can be chosen)

☐ Pupil career counselling
☐ Parental counselling
☐ Peer mentoring
☐ Visits to next school
☐ Something else (can be specified in the next question)

Other way of preparing pupils

Please specify the other way of preparing pupils, that you wish to add to the previous listing.

External support

According to your knowledge, what kind of external support measures are utilised by families?

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Questions concerning teaching and teachers

Recruitment situation

When recruiting new teachers, which of the following positions best describes the current situation in your school? (choose only one option)
- ○ We have a severe shortage of qualified teacher applicants
- ○ We can apply some basic criteria when recruiting teachers
- ○ We can select the best possible candidates

Factors affecting recruitment

How much attention do you pay to the following things when recruiting teachers? (1 = Not at all ... 5 = Very much)

	1	2	3	4	5
Gender	○	○	○	○	○
Age	○	○	○	○	○
Work experience	○	○	○	○	○
Social skills	○	○	○	○	○
Knowledge and skills related to multicultural issues	○	○	○	○	○
Wage claim	○	○	○	○	○
References	○	○	○	○	○
The educational institution/city from where the degree has been obtained	○	○	○	○	○
Level of qualifications	○	○	○	○	○

Teacher education

How happy are you with teacher education in [country] regarding the following issues? (1 = Very unhappy ... 5 = Very happy)

	1	2	3	4	5
General knowledge base	○	○	○	○	○
Subject-specific knowledge	○	○	○	○	○
Developing social skills	○	○	○	○	○
Teaching pedagogical skills	○	○	○	○	○
Quality of teaching practice	○	○	○	○	○
Amount of teaching practice	○	○	○	○	○
Practical relevance of teacher training in general	○	○	○	○	○
Skills to deal with pupils' problems related to alcohol, drugs and other intoxicants	○	○	○	○	○
Dealing with (threat of) violence	○	○	○	○	○
Skills to confront bullying	○	○	○	○	○
Intercultural knowledge	○	○	○	○	○
Institutionalised support given during first years of working as a teacher	○	○	○	○	○

Preparedness of teachers

How well do you think that teachers at your school are prepared regarding the following challenges and fields of knowledge? (1 = Not prepared at all ... 5 = Very well prepared)

	1	2	3	4	5
Knowledge of structures of educational disadvantage in general	○	○	○	○	○
Awareness of mechanisms of educational disadvantage with regard to the own school/local context	○	○	○	○	○
Individualised diagnostic skills (e.g. regarding reading comprehension)	○	○	○	○	○
Individualised and differentiated teaching methods	○	○	○	○	○
Counselling of students with school problems (learning and behaviour)	○	○	○	○	○
Guidance of students and parents regarding educational choices	○	○	○	○	○

Learning in school

How far do you agree with the following propositions regarding learning in school? (1 = Totally disagree ... 5 = Totally agree)

	1	2	3	4	5
The outcomes of learning are the highest if all students of a single class are equal in their abilities.	○	○	○	○	○
If gifted and weak students are taught together, the gifted students are learning less.	○	○	○	○	○
The gifted students can reach their full potential only if they are taught separately.	○	○	○	○	○
Teaching should support in particular those students with difficulties.	○	○	○	○	○
If gifted and weak students are taught together, the weak students are learning better.	○	○	○	○	○
Children of working-class families should be supported to get into higher education to a greater extent in the future.	○	○	○	○	○

Situation in your school

How accurately do the following propositions describe the situation in your school? (1= very accurately ... 5 = not at all accurately)

	1	2	3	4	5
Our school pays adequate attention to the preparation of students for later educational (or vocational) choices.	○	○	○	○	○
In our school gifted students receive more difficult exercises.	○	○	○	○	○
In our school workgroups are arranged according to performance of students.	○	○	○	○	○
In our teaching staff there are totally different opinions with regard to dealing with educational disadvantage.	○	○	○	○	○

Learning arrangements

How often are the following teaching-learning-arrangements are used in your school? (1 = Hardly ever ... 5 = Very often)

	1	2	3	4	5
Students sit and listen to the teacher.	○	○	○	○	○
Students are asked questions.	○	○	○	○	○
Students have classroom discussion.	○	○	○	○	○
Students work together in groups.	○	○	○	○	○
All students in class do the same work at the same time	○	○	○	○	○
Students work individually.	○	○	○	○	○
Students are assigned projects where they can work together.	○	○	○	○	○
Students work on worksheets and activity sheets.	○	○	○	○	○
Students watch educational movies.	○	○	○	○	○
Experts from outside the school come and talk to students during lessons.	○	○	○	○	○
Students make use of the internet in class.	○	○	○	○	○
Students make use of computers in class for other purposes than accessing internet.	○	○	○	○	○

Other questions

Current problems

What are the biggest problems in your school at the moment?

Recent reforms

What have been the most important recent reforms in the school system?

Urgent reforms

What kind of changes/reforms do you think are the most urgent?

Status of school

What do you think of the status of school in today's society?

Economic crisis

Is the economic crisis having any effect on your school? If yes, in what ways is it affecting the school and/or your students?

When you are ready, send the responses by clicking the Submit button.

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