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UVOD

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Pred nami je številka revije, ki predstavlja raziskovanja članov Oddelka za socialno pedagogiko na področju mladine. Mladost danes zaznamujejo na eni strani vse bolj kompleksne nove možnosti biografskih potekov in stilov življenja, na drugi strani pa jih zaznamujejo družbene spremembe, ki so povezane s trgom dela in zaposlovanjem, kar za mlade pomeni tvegane in negotove prehode v odraslost. Socialna pedagogika se kot poklic in znanstvena disciplina ukvarja z razmerjem med posameznikom in družbo. Njena funkcija je tako 'intermediarna' s ciljem spodbujanja avtonomije posameznika na individualni ravni in zavzemanja za več pravičnosti v družbi na strukturni ravni. Pri tem je usmerjena tako na analizo življenjskih položajev in biografij kot na strukturne, družbenosistemske okvire (različne socialne politike). Socialno pedagogiko tako zaznamuje 'integracijsko delo', ki je izpostavljeno mnogo konfliktom, ki izhajajo iz odnosa med posameznikom in družbo, kjer se socialna pedagogika zavzema za večjo pravičnost. Njena naloga je vključevanje izključenih na področju trga dela, zaposlovanja, izobraževanja, stanovanjske politike, zdravstvenega zavarovanja ... Zdi se, da zaradi mnogo družbenih sprememb in zmanjševanja socialne države postaja ta njena funkcija iz dneva v dan bolj aktualna.

Prispevki v tej reviji so zbrani z namenom, da bi z njimi opozorili na sodobne trende izključevanja mladih na različnih družbenih področjih – trgu dela in zaposlovanja, sistema zdravstva, izobraževanja – ter s tem spodbudili širšo družbeno zavest in odgovornost, ki jo ima družba do teh mladih.

Prispevek Bojana Dekleve z naslovom Mladinsko prestopništvo v Sloveniji v mednarodni primerjavi predstavlja uradne statistike

o mladoletniškem prestopništvu v Sloveniji zadnjih 30 let. Avtor v okviru mednarodne študije International self-reported delinquency study-II, v kateri je sodelovala tudi Slovenija, poda primerjalno analizo prestopništva, na osnovi katere je mogoče oblikovati sklepe o obsegu mladinskega prestopništva v Sloveniji v primerjavi z izbranimi vzhodno- in zahodnoevropskimi državami.

Olga Poljšak Škraban v članku z naslovom Zadovoljstvo z življenjem v odraslosti in z njim povezani dejavniki predstavlja rezultate longitudinalne raziskave, ki se osredotoča na raziskovanje vloge interakcij v družini, merjene v obdobju mladostništva. Dobljeni rezultati potrjujejo predpostavko, da je za napoved zadovoljstva z življenjem v obdobju odraslosti pomemben dejavnik ravnanje mater s potrebami hčerke, kot jih je zaznala mati v obdobju hčerkinega otroštva in adolescence.

Članek z naslovom Izkušnje socialne v-/izključenosti mladih v položaju dolgotrajne brezposelnosti Jane Rapuš Pavel prikazuje izkušnje socialne v-/izključenosti dolgotrajno brezposelnih mladih glede na starost in doseženo izobrazbo. Gre za prikaz rezultatov kvalitativne raziskave, ki je zajela 21 brezposelnih mladih na območju Ljubljane v starosti od 19 do 26 let. Avtorica poudari predvsem systemske ovire, ki mladim otežujejo vključevanje v delo in izbiro zelenih biografskih potekov.

Špela Razpotnik se v članku Mladi in zdravi, zakaj ne gredo delat?! Problematiziranje družbenega pogleda na brezdome mlade osredotoča na vedno večja tveganja, ki so jim mladi izpostavljeni predvsem na področju dela in vključenosti/izključenosti na področju zdravstvenega sistema. Na osnovi podatkov različnih raziskav o brezdomestvu analizira položaj mladih brezdome kot posebej ranljivo skupino med brezdome.

Namen tematske številke bo dosežen, če bodo prispevki spodbudili v različnih strokovnih javnostih ozaveščanje in kritično refleksijo o tej problematiki ter potrebe po institucionalnih in sistemskih spremembah, ki bodo socialno ranljivim skupinam mladih omogočale vključevanje v izobraževalni, zaposlovalni in zdravstveni sistem ter s tem lažje prehode v odraslost.

Mladinsko prestopništvo v Sloveniji v mednarodni primerjavi

Bojan Dekleva

Povzetek

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*Članek analizira uradne statistike o mladoletniškem prestopništvu v Sloveniji zadnjih 30 let. Pregleduje slovenske študije mladinske odklonskosti z uporabo ankete samoprijave ter opisuje mednarodno študijo *International self-reported delinquency study-II*, v kateri je sodelovala tudi Slovenija. Na koncu analizira podatke, na osnovi katerih je mogoče oblikovati sklepe o obsegu mladinskega prestopništva v Sloveniji v primerjavi z izbranimi vzhodno- in zahodnoevropskimi državami. Slovenski podatki se pri tem nanašajo na pet mest, med katerimi sta posebej izpostavljeni Ljubljana in Celje.*

Ključne besede: mladinsko prestopništvo, mladoletniki, Slovenija, metoda samoprijave, Ljubljana, Celje.

Uvod

Izraz prestopništvo se običajno uporablja za označevanje celote prestopniških vedenj mladih oseb. Prestopniška vedenja so (v širšem smislu) tista, ki pomenijo 'prestopke', namreč prestopke ali kršitve vedenjskih pravil. V ožjem smislu, kadar govorimo o tej temi v kontekstu kazenskega prava in kazenskega pregona storilcev, pa se ta izraz nanaša samo na tiste prestopke, ki so v kazenskem pravu opredeljeni kot kazniva dejanja. Prestopniškemu vedenju v širšem smislu bi lahko rekli tudi odklonskost, v ožjem smislu pa kriminaliteta. Podobno se glede na kontekst različno uporablja starostna opredelitev tega prestopništva. Če govorimo v kazenskopravnem kontekstu, uporabljamo izraz 'mladoletniško' prestopništvo, sicer pogosto 'mladinsko'. Prvo se nanaša na mladoletnike, kazenskopravno kategorijo, ki obsega skupino mladih, (po določitih slovenskega kazenskega prava) starih od 14 do 17 let (torej obdobje štirih let), drugo pa je precej bolj neopredeljeno in lahko obsega tudi del kazensko pravne kategorije 'otrok' (do 14 let) in del polnoletnih (od 18 let dalje, morda do 19, 20, 21 ... let).

Vsebina mladinskega prestopništva je zelo heterogena. Vanj sodi vse, kar v nekem času in prostoru neka družba ocenjuje kot (za mlade) nedovoljeno ali nesprejemljivo oz. kar kazenski zakon opredeljuje kot kazniva dejanja. Poleg klasičnih ali konvencionalnih prepovedanih dejanj (kaznivih dejanj ali takih, ki predstavljajo kršitve moralnih pravil), kot so tatvine, dejanja telesnega nasilja in spolno nasilje, sodijo v ta krog tudi vedenja, ki predstavljajo bolj hitro spreminjajoč se sklop značilnosti življenjskih stilov. Vanj sodijo marsikatera vedenja, povezana z uporabo drog, spolnostjo pa tudi denimo oblačenjem in priljubljeno glasbo. Nekatera od teh odklonskih ali kaznivih vedenj sodijo v tako imenovane statusne prekrške, torej v prekrške, ki so povezani s starostnim statusom storilca. To so vedenja, ki so kazniva ali obsojanja vredna le, če jih storijo (pre)mlade osebe, mladoletniki ali otroci, ne pa tudi, če jih storijo odrasli/polnoletni.

Zaradi zgoraj opisane heterogenosti mladoletniškega/mladinskega prestopništva pa tudi zaradi razmeroma hitre spremenljivosti ocen o tem, kaj je za mladostnike prepovedano,

je cilj, vsebinsko obravnavati vsa ta vedenja skupaj, največkrat preambiciozen in teoretično ne najbolj smiseln. Morda pa je le smiselno obravnavati mladoletniško prestopništvo kot celoto, ki govori o stopnji in obsegu družbene represije oz. kazenskopravnega odziva v zvezi s skupino mladih.

Mladoletniško prestopništvo v Sloveniji

V Sloveniji obstajajo kazenskopravna kategorija mladoletnikov, posebna določila zanje v kazenskih zakonih ter posebni oddelki zanje v okviru policije in v sodnem sistemu. Stopnja njihove kazenske odgovornosti je drugačna in zanje so predvidene drugačne vrste sankcij oz. vzgojnih ukrepov. Najbolj običajna statistična kazalca mladoletniškega prestopništva sta število ovadenih kaznivih dejanj ter število mladoletnikov, ki jim je bila izrečena kazenska sankcija oz. vzgojni ukrep. Prvi pokazatelj izraža – poleg samega obsega prestopništva – predvsem delovanje policije, na drugega pa vplivajo značilnosti celotnega sistema pregona, torej značilnosti delovanja policije, tožilstva in sodišč.

Tabela 1 kaže štiri osnovne pokazatelje mladoletniškega prestopništva v Sloveniji v obdobju skoraj treh desetletij 1980–2009. Prvi trije kazalci, letno število ovadenih kaznivih dejanj mladoletnikov, letno število ovadenih mladoletnih osumljencev ter delež mladoletnih osumljencev kaznivih dejanj med vsemi osumljenci kaznivih dejanj, so pridobljeni iz statističnih poročil policije. Pri kazalcu, ki se v policijskih statistikah imenuje 'ovadeni mladoletni osumljenci', je treba opozoriti, da se ne nanaša na število različnih mladoletnih oseb, ki so bile v določenem letu ovadene, temveč na zmnožek števila ovadenih kaznivih dejanj in števila osumljencev za ta dejanja. Če je bil torej nekdo osumljen petih kaznivih dejanj (in zanje tudi ovaden), potem je to število znašalo pet. Če so bili trije osumljeni storitve istega dejanja, je bilo to število tri. Težava s tem kazalcem je, da v resnici ne pove niti tega, koliko je bilo dejanj, niti tega, koliko je bilo mladoletnikov, število pa vendarle oba podatka na neki specifični način izražata. Kazalec števila izrečenih kazenskih sankcij oz. vzgojnih ukrepov je pridobljen iz kazenske statistike oz. iz podatkov slovenskih sodišč. Zadnja kolona tabele 1 kaže razmerje med dvema ključnima

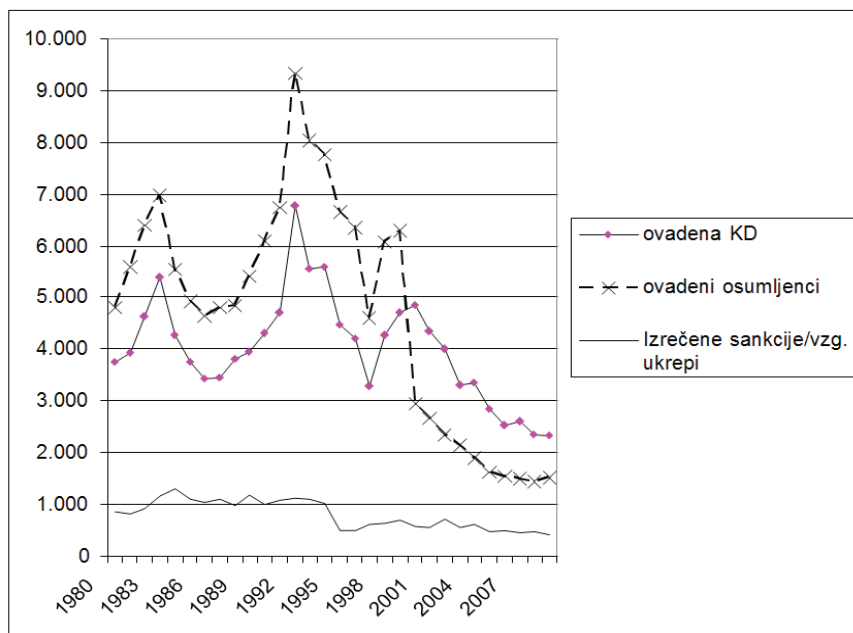
kazalcema policije in sodstva. Graf 1 kaže tri od kazalcev, ki jih najdemo v tabeli 1.

Tabela 1: Osnovni statistični kazalci mladoletniškega prestopništva v letih 1980–2009.

Leto:	Število ovadenih KD mladoletnikov (A)	Število ovadenih mladoletnih osumljencev	Delež mladoletnih osumljencev med vsemi	Izrečena kazenska sankcija oz. vzgojni ukrep (B)	Razmerje med kolonama A/B
1980	3.739	4.806	15,3	856	4,4
1981	3.937	5.591	18,0	825	4,8
1982	4.636	6.385	18,1	924	5,0
1983	5.381	6.966	15,7	1164	4,6
1984	4.262	5.552	16,4	1297	3,3
1985	3.751	4.935	15,7	1098	3,4
1986	3.422	4.643	15,4	1043	3,3
1987	3.453	4.806	16,2	1104	3,1
1988	3.802	4.855	16,7	972	3,9
1989	3.938	5.413	17,7	1183	3,3
1990	4.302	6.097	19,3	997	4,3
1991	4.709	6.737	18,9	1076	4,4
1992	6.770	9.333	22,6	1115	6,1
1993	5.554	8.029	21,8	1093	5,1
1994	5.599	7.759	22,3	1027	5,5
1995	4.475	6.657	19,4	499	9,0
1996	4.207	6.347	17,6	500	8,4
1997	3.281	4.616	13,7	617	5,3
1998	4.264	6.070	14,5	636	6,7
1999	4.709	6.291	16,9	705	6,7
2000	4.847	2.937	16,6	590	8,2
2001	4.344	2.671	14,0	571	7,6
2002	4.007	2.337	12,0	728	5,5
2003	3.308	2.147	11,4	568	5,8
2004	3.349	1.912	10,3	612	5,5
2005	2.847	1.631	9,3	479	5,9
2006	2.527	1.550	8,7	511	4,9
2007	2.596	1.508	8,6	459	5,7
2008	2.352	1.439	8,4	489	4,8
2009	2.316	1.525	8,0	418	5,5

Tabela 1 in graf 1 pokažeta dolgoročno zniževanje obsega obravnavanega mladoletniškega prestopništva v skoraj tridesetletnem intervalu. Pri policijskih podatkih (ovadena kazniva dejanja) najdemo dva izrazita vrha, in sicer okrog leta 1983 in 1992, po tem letu pa kar neobičajno strmo in vztrajno padanje vse do leta 2009. Po drugi stani pri podatkih sodišč najdemo v prvih 15 obravnavanih letih (1980–1994) precejšnjo kontinuiteto na povprečni ravni okrog 1.050 letno izrečenih ukrepov/sankcij, nato pa v drugih obravnavanih 15 letih (1995–2009) precejšnjo kontinuiteto na povprečni ravni okrog 560 letno izrečenih ukrepov/sankcij, kar je skoraj polovico manj kot v prejšnji petnajstletki. Poseben vidik delovanja celotnega kazenskega sistema izraža razmerje med ovadenimi kaznivimi dejanji in sankcioniranimi mladoletniki (zadnja kolona v tabeli 1). To razmerje v povprečju znaša približno 5,3, pri posameznih letih pa najdemo vrednosti tega razmerja vse med 3,1 in 9. Poenostavljeno –v nekem letu je bilo (1995) trikrat manj verjetno kot v nekem drugem letu (1987), da bo neko ovadeno kaznivo dejanje v kazenskem sistemu pripeljalo do sankcije oz. vzgojnega ukrepa.

Graf 1: Osnovni statistični kazalci mladoletniškega prestopništva v letih 1980–2009.



Na osnovi dolgoročnega spremljanja statističnih podatkov, ki izvirajo iz različnih delov sistema, je mogoče (vsaj hipotetično) razložiti, kaj se je v sistemu dogajalo in tudi kakšno je bilo gibanje opazovanega pojava – mladoletniškega prestopništva. Seveda pa je pri tem treba upoštevati tudi druga spoznanja in informacije o strukturnih spremembah v kazenskem sistemu in zunaj njega. Na osnovi vsega tega lahko oblikujemo naslednje (hipotetične) sklepe:

- Nenaden upad števila izrečenih sankcij/vzgojnih ukrepov mladoletnikom v letu 1995, ki pomeni, da se po letu 1994 izreče sankcijo skoraj pol manj mladoletnikom kot do leta 1994, ni v nobeni zvezi z gibanjem mladoletniškega prestopništva, temveč je posledica spremembe kazenske zakonodaje, ki je začela veljati leta 1995 in je uvedla močnejše procesne garancije, večjo zaščito obtožencev ter njihovo bolj zapleteno kazensko/sodno obravnavanje. S tem se je zmogljivost (v smislu uspešnega procesiranja ovadb vse do izreka sankcije/vzgojnega ukrepa) sodnega sistema zmanjšala in ob enakem vnosu (inputu) ovadenih v sistem jih je bilo lahko sankcioniranih le še približno pol manj letno.
- Ker je – upoštevajoč teoretska (Durkheim!) in empirična spoznanja o delovanju socialnih sistemov – tako rekoč nemogoče, da bi se obseg nekega socialnega pojava, kot je prestopništvo, v obdobju nekaj let kar podvojil ali prepolovil (število ovadenih kaznivih dejanj mladoletnikov je bilo v letu 1992 skoraj dvakrat večje kot leta 1987, nato pa v letu 1997 več kot prepolovljeno v primerjavi z letom 1992), ob zelo živahnem gibanju policijskih podatkov ne moremo misliti na substancialno spreminjanje pojava mladoletniškega prestopništva, ampak prej na spremenjen obseg odkrivanja, evidentiranja in pregona, torej kratko malo spremenjeno pozornost, ki smo jo pojavu namenjali. Oba vrha policijskih podatkov, ki sta vidna v tabeli 1, torej v obdobjih 1982–1984 ter 1992–1994, se pokrivata z dvema valoma moralne panike (Cohen, 2002), torej povečane pozornosti javnih občil ter tudi strokovnih in političnih teles tej problematiki. Prvi val, v obdobju 1982–1984, je bil povezan s pankom in javnim razburjenjem v zvezi z novim mladinskim stilom, ki je bil izrazito in izrecno protestniški in na katerega se je policija sprva odzvala s povečano represijo. Pozneje se je pank normaliziral in celo kapitaliziral s strani družbenih gibanj,

ki so so-vzpostavljala družbene okoliščine za osamosvajanje Slovenije. Drugi val, v obdobju 1992–1994, je povezan z javnim razburjenjem v zvezi z nasilnimi ‘cestnimi’ dejanji mladih (izsiljevanje, grožnje, ropi) ter tudi z odkritjem vrstniškega nasilja in trpinčenja. Porast nasilja so v pomembni (čeprav ne izključni) meri povezovali z zgodnjo fazo tranzicije, kot odziv mladih na splošno ‘brutalizacijo’ življenja, ki jo je prineslo uvajanje kapitalizma. Zelo malo verjetno je, da bi obseg nasilja tako hitro, v le nekajletnem obdobju tako zelo narasel, nato se enako hitro pomiril oz. upadel. Zato vrhunec policijskih podatkov v letih 1992–1994 lahko tolmačimo predvsem kot povezan z moralno paniko, obdobje skoraj dvajsetletnega padanja policijskih podatkov pa kot obdobje normalizacije.

- Vztrajno 18-letno padanje policijskih podatkov po letu 1992 je mogoče v veliki meri (hipotetično) povezovati z dvema dogajanjema. Prvo je to, da je mladoletniško (in mladinsko) prestopništvo v tem obdobju kratko malo prenehalo biti pomembna družbena tema, podobno kot se je mladina pacificirala in depolitizirala, izgubljala protestniški potencial, oz. zato, ker so druge teme postajale družbeno pomembnejše. Vzporedno s tem se je domnevno manjšal tudi družbeni interes za vzgojo oz. je vzgoja kot družbena tema izgubljala svojo prioriteto. Drugo (domnevno) dogajanje je prilagoditev policije na spremenjene pogoje delovanja sodstva po letu 1995, na njegove zmanjšane zmogljivosti oz. ‘pretočnost’. Razmeroma veliko število ovadenih kaznivih dejanj ob razmeroma majhnem številu izrečenih sankcij/vzgojnih ukrepov s strani policije kratko malo ni več moglo biti racionalno in smiselno, zato so se tudi v policiji uvedle spremembe (verjetno ne formalne, ampak spremembe v dejanskem diskrecijskem delovanju), ki so pripeljale do zmanjšanja števila ovadenih kaznivih dejanj.
- Skoraj dvajsetletno obdobje zniževanja števila ovadenih kaznivih dejanj pa vseeno odpira tudi vprašanje dejanskih sprememb v obsegu mladinskega prestopništva. Informacije iz več držav sveta namreč govorijo o tem, da se je obseg mladoletniškega prestopništva po obdobju nekaj desetletij rasti stabiliziral oziroma ponekod začel celo zmanjševati. To hipotetično povezujejo z virtualizacijo življenja (ki se kaže v tem, da mladi vse več časa preživijo za računalniki) ter z

izrazito izboljšanimi nadzorstvenimi tehnologijami, ki močno zmanjšujejo priložnosti za izvajanje nekaterih tipičnih kaznivih dejanj mladoletnikov (npr. tatvine v samopostrežbah). Menim, da za odgovarjanje na to 'substancialno' vprašanje analiziranje uradnih podatkov ustanov pregona ni ustrezen pristop oz. da na osnovi analiz podatkov policije in sodstva na to vprašanje ni mogoče odgovoriti.

Raziskovalno zanimanje za mladinsko prestopništvo v Sloveniji

Mladoletniško prestopništvo je mogoče raziskovati z več vidikov. Posebno pozornost lahko posvečamo njegovi pojavnosti (pojavnim oblikam, vrstam, načinom storitve, kraju in času itd.), vzročnosti (domnevno vzročno relevantnim značilnostim osebnosti, družine in drugih socializacijskih institucij, socialnega konteksta itd.) ali obravnavanju oz. družbenemu odzivanju. Zadnje se lahko ukvarja z različnimi načini (metodami, pristopi, sistemi, režimi, izhodišči, teorijami, itd.) dela s prestopniki, vključujoč vidike odkrivanja, kazenskega obravnavanja, vzgojnega ali socializacijskega delovanja, podpore, svetovanja, pomoči, itd. Možni so kvantitativni pristopi (temelječ na statistiki in velikih vzorcih), ali pa kvalitativni (temelječ na poglobljenem obravnavanju manjšega števila enot), posebne vrste raziskav so akcijske raziskave, ki s poseganjem oz. vpletanjem raziskovalcev v stvarnost razvijajo nove pristope dela, potem evalvacijske, ki vrednotijo obstoječe načine dela, nato systemske, ki jih zanima interakcija med posameznimi deli sistema, in druge. Vse te vrste raziskav smo v Sloveniji tudi izvajali.

Zdi pa se, da je v zadnjih desetletjih postaja mladoletniško prestopništvo kot osrednja tema raziskovanja manj popularno oz. pogosto. Pregled naslovov raziskovalnih nalog, ki jih je izvajal Inštitut za kriminologijo, ki je bil v prejšnjem stoletju tako rekoč edini izvajalec kakovostnih raziskovanj na tem področju, pokaže, da sta bili taki raziskavi v desetletju 1954–1963 dve, v desetletju 1964–1973 jih je bilo deset, v desetletju 1974–1983 sedem, v naslednjem obdobju 1984–1993 šest, v zadnjem zajetem desetletju 1994–2003 pa le še tri. Res je, da se je v tem času razvil oddelek za socialno pedagogiko, katerega večina raziskovalnih dejavnosti je povezana

z odklonskostjo mladih. Podobno sliko pokaže COBISS, ki zajema le majhno število člankov ali knjig na temo mladoletniškega prestopništva, pri čemer je teh enot (če izvzamemo diplomske in magistrske naloge) v desetletju 2001–2010 le devet (ali manj kot ena na leto), v prejšnjem desetletju 1991–2000 pa 27 ali skoraj trikrat več. Najpogostejši trije avtorji prispevkov v COBISS-u na temo mladinskega prestopništva in sorodnih gesel so Alenka Šelih, Vinko Skalar in Bojan Dekleva.

Opisani številčni kazalci ne govorijo samo o tem, da naj bi nas v Sloveniji mladoletniško prestopništvo nehalo zanimati. Gotovo gre tudi za to, da se je tvarina, ki jo ta koncept zajema, v slovenskih raziskavah in pisanju drugače izdiferencirala, in sicer na dva načina. Prvič so vznikle nove teme, ki bi jih prej morda obravnavali kot del mladoletniškega prestopništva, npr. tema uporabe drog ali vrstniškega nasilja, zdaj pa so si pridobile status neodvisnih tem oz. tem, ki jih koncept prestopništva ne zajame več dobro. Podobno so se pojavile še druge teme, ki so deloma povezane s prejšnjo tvarino, vendar so konceptualno (u)plenile pozornost raziskovalcev. Taka je npr. tema otrokovih (psiholoških) pravic in trpinčenja otrok. Po drugi strani pa so se raziskovalni interesi preoblikovali skladno z novimi koncepti, ki so se osredotočali na polja, ki so prečila tudi polje prestopniških mladoletnikov, vendar se niso ukvarjala samo ali predvsem z njimi. Takšne so bile npr. teme hermenevtične socialnopedagoške diagnostike, socialne izključenosti, brezposelnosti (mladih) itd. Videti je, kot da mladoletniško prestopništvo kot osrednji koncept nekako ni več dovolj produktiven oz. značilen za opis sodobnega ukvarjanja s tematikami, ki so s prestopništvom in odklonskostjo povezane.

V analizi opravljenega raziskovanja mladinske odklonskosti v obdobju 1954–1985 (Dekleva, 1985) sem našel tri faze. Prva faza (1960–1964) naj bi se ukvarjala z vprašanjem Kdo in kakšen je mladoletni prestopnik?, druga (1964–1977) z vprašanjem Kako bi bilo najbolje prestopnike obravnavati in kakšen institucionalni sistem v ta namen izgraditi?, tretja faza (1977–1985) pa naj bi raziskovalni interes močno razširila (ali razpršila) na vprašanja, Kakšna so notranja protislovja našega razumevanja in obravnavanja prestopništva?, Kako je mladoletniško prestopništvo povezano z mnogo drugimi področji življenja, vključno z vsakdanjim življenjem oz. neformalnimi sferami življenja? Postavljam tezo, da se je ta faza

še naprej razvijala v isto smer in da je pripeljala do stanja različnih raziskovalnih polj ali fokusov, ko mladoletniško prestopništvo ni več prav zelo uporabno/osrednje geslo v raziskovanju.

V zadnjih treh desetletjih pa se je začela razvijati nova vrsta empiričnega raziskovanja, ki je po mojem mnenju bolj (kot pa analiza uradnih statističnih podatkov) primerna za odgovarjanje na vprašanje, kakšno je v resnici mladinsko prestopništvo in koliko ga je. To je raziskovanje na osnovi uporabe tehnike anketnega merjenja viktimiziranosti ali tehnike anketnega samoprijavljanja odklonskih/prestopniških vedenj. Ti dve tehniki dajeta podatke, ki so praktično neodvisni od delovanja uradnih ustanov in občasnih moralnih panik, ki tako odločilno usmerjajo pozornost javnosti, posredno pa tudi vplivajo na delovanje uradnih ustanov in njihovo proizvajanje podatkov.

Prvič je bila tehnika ankete za samoprijavo prestopniških dejanj v Sloveniji uporabljena leta 1978 (Dekleva, 1978). Raziskava je med drugim z vzporejanjem podatkov iz samoprijave s podatki policije potrdila veljavnost metode. Tehnika ankete viktimizacije pa je bila v Sloveniji uporabljena v zgodnjih osemdesetih letih (Pečar, 1981). Po teh začetkih je bilo v Sloveniji opravljenih še več raziskovanj z uporabo tehnike samoprijave, le malo (ali nobene) pa je bilo takih, ki so se ukvarjale izrazito in osredotočeno s celotnim poljem prestopništva, se nanašale na celotno območje Slovenije in bile hkrati še reprezentativne. V zadnjih 15 letih je bilo izvedenih več raziskav, ki so se ukvarjale predvsem z uporabo drog ali različnimi vidiki zdravja, med njimi na primer (navajam naslove monografij, kjer so bili predstavljeni rezultati):

- Več raziskav v okviru raziskovalnega programa ESPAD Stergarjeve in sodelavcev se je osredotočalo na uporabo drog na območju cele Slovenije in z uporabo reprezentativnega vzorčenja (npr. Stergar, 1995; Stergar 2005).
- Raziskava Droge med srednješolsko mladino v Ljubljani (Dekleva, 1998) se je osredotočala na uporabo drog na območju Ljubljane in z uporabo reprezentativnega vzorčenja.
- Raziskava Na spidu (Sande, 2002) se je osredotočala na uporabo drog in nekaterih tveganih vedenj med obiskovalci plesnih prireditev na območju Slovenije, vendar z uporabo nerepresentativnega vzorčenja.

- Raziskava Tri leta kasneje: uporaba drog med dijaki ob koncu srednje šole (Dekleva in Sande, 2003) se je osredotočala na uporabo drog med starejšimi srednješolci na območju Ljubljane in z uporabo reprezentativnega vzorčenja.
- Raziskava Z zdravjem povezano vedenje v šolskem obdobju (Jeriček, Lavtar in Pokrajac, 2007) se je osredotočala predvsem na z zdravjem povezana tveganja (in tudi deloma odklonska vedenja), posebej tudi na duševno zdravje. V tem ji je bila podobna tudi starejša raziskava Dejavniki tveganja pri slovenskih srednješolcih (Tomori in drugi, 1998).

V tem obdobju je bila izvedena le ena raziskava, ki se je sistematično in celovito posvečala prestopniškemu vedenju z uporabo ankete samoprijave ter z uporabo reprezentativnega vzorčenja. To je bila raziskava Odklonskost, nasilje in kriminaliteta – problematika mladine neslovenske narodnosti oz. priseljencev druge generacije, katere rezultati so bili objavljeni v monografiji Čefurji so bili rojeni tu: življenje mladih priseljencev druge generacije v Ljubljani (Dekleva in Razpotnik, 2002). Njena omejitev je bila, da je bila izvedena le na območju Ljubljane.

V tem času (1991–1992) pa je bila v Evropi izvedena tudi prva mednarodna primerjalna raziskava prestopništva mladih. To je bila International self-reported delinquency study (s kratico ISRD; Junger-Tass, Haen Marshall in Ribeaud, 2003), v kateri je sodelovalo 11 evropskih držav in ZDA (Nebraska) ter Nova Zelandija, Slovenija pa med njimi ni bilo. V letih 2006–2008 je bila izvedena druga ponovitev te raziskave (ISRD-II), ki je zajela že 31 držav. Od teh je bilo 15 zahodnoevropskih, 12 članic EU in tri druge; 10 vzhodno- in centralnoevropskih, od teh šest novih članic EU; ter šest drugih, med njimi Kanada in ZDA (s štirimi federalnimi državami) – skupni numerus anketiranih mladostnikov je bil 71.400 (Junger-Tass in drugi, 2009). Zbiranje podatkov in njihova obdelava je za šest držav novih pristopnic (poleg Slovenije še Češka, Estonija, Litva, Ciper in Poljska) potekalo v okviru posebne raziskovalne naloge Juvenile delinquency in six new EU member states (Stekatee, Moll in Kapardis, 2008). O rezultatih te raziskave poročamo v nadaljevanju.

Namen raziskovanja

Med osnovnimi nameni raziskave ISRD-II so bili:

- ugotoviti prevalenco in incidenco prestopništva in viktimiziranosti med 12–15-letniki v vključenih državah;
- spoznati vrstni red pogostosti izvajanja posameznih prestopniških vedenj;
- ugotoviti, s katerimi dejavniki se prestopništvo povezuje, in odkriti mednarodne pravilnosti ali razlike v vzorcih teh povezav;
- ugotoviti morebitne povezave med prestopništvom in socialnim nadzorom, samonadzorom, socialno dezorganizacijo in življenjskimi stili;
- raziskati pomen družine, šole in soseske za odklonskost te starostne skupine;
- prispevati k razvoju mednarodno primerljivega instrumenta merjenja prestopništva ter k nadaljevanju tovrstnih študij.

Namena raziskovanja, kot o njem poročamo v tem članku, pa sta bila dva:

- oblikovati ocene o obsegu prestopništva v Sloveniji (in Ljubljani) v primerjavi z drugimi petimi državami pristopnicami v EU in nekaterimi izbranimi starimi članicami EU;
- oblikovati primerjano oceno o obsegu prestopništva v različno velikih slovenskih mestih.

Postopek raziskovanja

Anketiranje je bilo izvedeno z enotnim vprašalnikom. Ta je imel na 24 straneh razporejenih 67 vprašanj s podvprašanji. Vprašanja so pokrivala tematska področja demografije, družinskega nadzorovanja, viktimizacij, preživljanja prostega časa, vrstniških skupin, samonadzorovanja, značilnosti šole in soseske, predvsem pa izvajanja odklonskih/prestopniških dejanj (sam in vrstniki). Tabela 2 kaže osnovnih 15 vprašanj/področij, ki jih je anketa zajela. Pri vsakem od vprašanj so bila navedena še podvprašanja, ki so se nanašala na to, ali je anketiranec določeno stvar že naredil/delal, kolikokrat v zadnjem mesecu, sam ali s kom v družbi, ali je bil pri tem odkrit (in kdo ga je odkril) in kaznovan.

Tabela 2: Ključna vprašanja ankete samoprijave v raziskavi ISRD-II.

Uporabljeno vprašanje v anketi:	Skrajšano:
Si kdaj sodeloval/-a v skupinskem pretepu na šolskem igrišču, nogometnem stadionu, ulici ali na drugem javnem prostoru?	Skupinski pretep
Ali kdaj nosiš s seboj orožje, npr. palico, nož (a ne samo žepni nožiček) ali verigo?	Nosil orožje
Si že kdaj koga zanalasč tako pretepel/-a ali ga poškodoval/-a s palico ali nožem, da je moral iti k zdravniku?	Napad na osebo
Si že kdaj iztrgal/-a torbico, torbo ali kaj drugega od druge osebe z namenom, da to ukradeš?	Roparska tatvina
Si kdaj komu grozil/-a z orožjem ali da ga boš pretepel/-a, samo da bi od njega dobil/-a denar ali kako drugo stvar?	Izsiljevanje
Si že kdaj namenoma kaj poškodoval/-a ali razbil, npr. klop na avtobusni postaji, telefonsko govornico, okno, sedež na avtobusu, vlaku ali avtu?	Vandalizem
Si že kdaj kaj ukradel/-a iz trgovine ali veleblagovnice?	Kraja v trgovini
Si že kdaj ukradel/-a kolo, skuter ali moped?	Kraja kolesa ali mopeda
Si že kdaj ukradel/-a kaj iz avta ali na avtu?	Kraja iz avta
Si že kdaj vlomil/-a v neko hišo z namenom, da bi kaj ukradel/-a?	Vlom v hišo
Si že kdaj ukradel/-a motor ali avto?	Kraja motorja ali avta
Si že kdaj uporabil svoj računalnik za 'hekanje' – vdiranje v tuje računalnike?	Računalniško 'hekanje'
Si kdaj komu prodal/-a katerokoli (mehko ali trdo) drogo ali mu pomagal pri nakupu?	Preprodaja drog
Si že kdaj uporabljal/-a droge, kot sta ekstazi in spid?	Uporaba ekstazija ali amfetamina
Si že kdaj uporabljal/-a droge, kot so LSD, heroin ali kokain?	Uporaba LSD/heroina/kokaina

V raziskavi je bila uporabljena na mestih temelječa metoda vzorčenja (city-based sampling). V raziskovalnem timu mednarodne raziskave je bilo dogovorjeno, da se v vsaki deželi vzame v vzorec največje mesto, eno srednje veliko mesto ter tri manjša mesta glede na število prebivalcev. Pri tem naj bi bil kriterij za malo mesto to, da ima vsaj 20 tisoč prebivalcev. Dodatni pogoj je še bil, naj bodo mesta izbrana iz različnih regij države. Glede na majhnost Slovenije smo ob teh pogojih nujno morali izbrati mesta, ki se med seboj po številu prebivalcev razlikujejo manj kot izbrana mesta v kateri od večjih držav, kjer imajo največja mesta tudi po več milijonov

prebivalcev. V Sloveniji smo tako izbrali Ljubljano kot največje mesto, Celje kot srednje veliko mesto ter Jesenice, Piran in Kočevje kot tri manjša mesta. S tem smo zajeli naslednje slovenske regije: ljubljansko, štajersko, gorenjsko, dolensko in primorsko. Seveda s tem še nismo izčrpali vseh regij, vendar smo zagotovili razmeroma veliko geografsko razpršenost izbranih mest. Izbrana mesta so bila torej glede na število prebivalcev po vrsti prvo (Ljubljana) in četrto (Celje), preostala tri pa so se razvrščala bolj na repu lestvice velikosti mest.

Dogovorjeno vodilo je bilo, da naj bi vsak od treh stratumov mest obsegal vsaj 700 učencev sedmih in devetih razredov, vsakih pol. Vzorčenje učencev je bilo povsem slučajno, to pomeni, da je imel vsak učenec načelno enako možnost, da pride v vzorec. Ker naj bi vsak stratum obsegal vsaj 700 učencev in ker smo predvidevali, da je v posameznem razredu v povprečju 22 učencev, smo s seznama vseh rednih osnovnih šol v izbranih mestih in razredov na teh šolah med vsemi sedmimi in devetimi razredi slučajno izbrali toliko razredov, da bi v njih predvidoma zajeli nekoliko več kot 700 učencev.

Tako smo v Ljubljani med 46 osnovnimi šolami izvedli anketiranje na 23 šolah in v 38 razredih, na Jesenicah smo zajeli vse tri šole in 14 razredov, prav tako smo vse tri šole zajeli tudi v Kočevju, kjer smo anketiranje izvedli v 15 razredih. V Piranu smo med štirimi šolami izvedli anketiranje le v dveh, saj smo italijansko šolo zaradi izredno majhnega števila učencev izpustili, ena osnovna šola pa je sodelovanje odklonila. To je povzročilo, da smo posledično v Piranu zajeli manjše število učencev, kar pa bi pomenilo, da v eni strati, ki obsega Jesenice, Kočevje in Piran, ne bi anketirali dovolj velikega števila učencev. Zato smo v anketiranje vključili še eno osnovno šolo iz Izole, najbližjega mesta, in tako na Obali skupaj anketiranje izvedli v 11 razredih. V Celju¹ smo zajeli celotno populacijo učencev in učenk sedmih in devetih razredov na vseh devetih rednih osnovnih šolah v 39 razredih (tabela 3).

¹ Podatki te raziskave so bili tudi posebej obdelani za območje Ljubljane (Dekleva in Grobelšek, 2006b) in posebej za območje Celja (Dekleva in Grobelšek, 2006a). Pri raziskavi sta v posameznih fazah v manjši meri sodelovali še Mija Marija Klemenčič Rozman in Špela Razpotnik, pri izvedbi raziskave v Celju in pisanju zaključnega poročila o Celju pa je v ključni meri sodelovala Andreja Grobelšek.

Tabela 3: Šole, razredi in učenci v petih obravnavanih mestih

Mesto:	Število vseh osnovnih šol	Število šol, kjer je bilo anketiranje	Število razredov	Število vpisanih učencev
Celje	9	9	39	838
Ljubljana	46	23	38	853
Jesenice	3	3	14	309
Piran	4	3	11	220
Kočevje	3	3	15	312
Skupaj	65	41	117	2.532

Po izvedenem anketiranju smo preverili, kolikšna je bila stopnja odgovaranja na vprašalnike (torej koliko od ciljanih, v vzorec zajetih učencev ankete ni izpolnilo, ker so manjkali v šoli ali ker ankete niso želeli izpolniti) ter koliko vprašalnikov je bilo treba zaradi neustrezne izpolnjenosti zavreči. Izkazalo se je, da smo v vseh petih mestih skupaj dosegli 88,4-odstotno stopnjo vrnjenih in hkrati uporabnih vprašalnikov.

Tabela 4 kaže, kakšna je bila struktura anketiranih učencev glede na obiskovani razred ter povprečno starost v petih obravnavanih mestih. Po podatkih v zadnji koloni bi lahko sklepali, da je bila povprečna starost anketiranih učencev 13,44 leta, vendar pa je verjetneje, da je bila njihova starost precej bližje 14 letom. Vprašanje, na osnovi katerega so te številke izračunane, je namreč zahtevalo, da učenci izberejo eno od ponujenih števil, ki naj bi označevala njihovo starost (npr. 13 ali 14). Ker je utemeljena domneva, da so številko npr. 14 izbrali tako tisti, ki so bili ravno stari 14 let, kot tudi tisti, ki so bili že skoraj 15, moramo odgovor 14 razumeti kot 14,5. Zato je smiselno, da k rezultatu 13,44 prištejemo še 0,5 in tako pridemo do povprečne starosti 14,96 leta.

Za namene tega članka izmed vseh obdelav prikazujemo le tiste, ki odgovarjajo na zastavljena vprašanja. Prikazujemo rezultate za 15 ključnih prestopniških vedenj, in sicer na en način v primerjavi med izbranimi državami, na drugi način v primerjavi med glavnimi mesti izbranih držav, na tretji način pa v primerjavi med tremi stratumi mest (glede na njihovo velikost) Slovenije. Vsi rezultati so prikazani v % anketiranih, ki so določeno stvar/vedenje že storili.

Tabela 4: Struktura anketiranih učencev glede na obiskovani razred ter povprečno starost v petih obravnavanih mestih.

Mesto:	Razred				Skupaj f:	Povprečna starost učencev:
	7. razred		9. razred			
	f	%	f	%		
Ljubljana	403	53,9	344	46,1	747	13,32
Celje	368	49,9	369	50,1	737	13,50
Jesenice	147	54,0	125	46,0	272	13,48
Piran	109	55,3	88	44,7	197	13,43
Kočevje	142	49,7	144	50,3	286	13,60
Skupaj	1.169	52,2	1.070	47,8	2.239	13,44

Rezultati

A. Primerjava med glavnimi mesti šestih novih članic EU

Tabela 5 kaže vseživljenjsko prevalenco izbranih prestopniških vedenj med (pretežno) 14–15 let starimi mladostniki v prestolnicah šestih novih članic EU. Tabela pokaže tudi, da je struktura prestopniških ravnanj v šestih prestolnicah presenetljivo podobna. To pomeni, da so večinoma ravnanja, ki so v kateri od držav med pogostejšimi, pogostejša tudi v drugih državah, in obratno. Med opazovanimi ravnanji so najpogostejša: skupinski pretep, kraje v trgovinah in nošenje orožja, med redkejšimi pa kraje vozil, ropi in telesni napadi na osebe. Tudi za Slovenijo (oz. Ljubljano) to pravilo v glavnem velja. Zadnja kolona tabele 5 kaže, da se rangi odstotkov prevalence vedenj ljubljanskih mladih gibljejo najpogosteje okrog sredine, torej zasedajo (med šestimi glavnimi mesti) 3., 4. ali 5. mesto. Vendar pa je rang Ljubljane pri devetih od 15 vedenj – 4., 5. ali 6. mesto, kar pomeni, da je pri večini vedenj njihova pogostost med ljubljanskimi mladimi manjša kot pri mladih iz drugih petih prestolnic. Najbolj redka v primerjavi z drugimi prestolnicami so v Ljubljani dejanja skupinskega pretepanja ter še posebej roparskih tatvin. Dve dejanji, ki jih mladi v Ljubljani delajo precej pogosteje kot drugod, pa sta vandalizem – poškodovanje tuje stvari – in še posebej kraja kolesa ali motocikla.

Tabela 5: Odstotki mladih iz prestolnic šestih držav, ki so kadarkoli v življenju storili kakšno od 15 prestopniških dejanj. S sivo polnitvijo sta označeni polji, pri katerih Ljubljana najbolj odstopa od povprečja preostalih glavnih mest.

Mesto: Dejanje:	Nikozija, Ciper	Praga, Češka	Tallin, Estonija	Vilnius, Litva	Varšava, Poljska	Ljubljana, Slovenija	Skupaj	Rang Ljubljane
Skupinski pretep	18,7	18,2	15,7	16,8	13,3	9,9	15,4	6.
Nosil orožje	4,8	13,0	18,0	14,0	12,0	7,6	11,6	5.
Napad na osebo	3,3	1,8	3,9	2,3	2,1	2,1	2,6	4.-5.
Roparska tatvina	1,5	2,5	1,6	1,5	1,2	0,1	1,4	6.
Izsiljevanje	1,3	1,8	0,9	1,1	2,9	1,5	1,6	3.
Vandalizem	7,7	9,6	10,7	5,9	10,0	11,4	9,2	1.
Kraja v trgovini	5,7	25,9	12,7	8,3	14,4	16,3	13,9	2.
Kraja kolesa ali mopeda	2,2	0,1	0,3	0,4	1,1	1,9	1,0	2.
Kraja iz avta	1,9	2,4	2,0	3,5	1,8	2,7	2,4	2.
Vlom v hišo	1,9	1,4	0,9	0,7	1,7	1,2	1,3	4.
Kraja motorja ali avta	1,3	0,3	0,8	0,5	0,9	0,7	0,8	4.
Računalniško 'hekanje'	4,8	8,4	11,1	7,7	9,2	8,7	8,3	3.
Preprodaja drog	1,5	3,4	3,9	1,4	2,6	2,1	2,5	4.
Uporaba ekstazija ali amfetamina	2,2	1,0	3,7	0,8	2,6	1,1	1,9	4.
Uporaba LSD/ heroína/kokaina	1,4	1,1	2,8	0,4	2,3	0,7	1,5	5.

B. Primerjava med izbranimi državami

Tabela 6 kaže primerjavo vedenja slovenskega vzorca mladine z vzorci drugih petih vzhodno- in centralnoevropskih držav. Vzorec držav se deloma pokriva z vzorcem prestolnic iz tabele 5, le da v njem ni Cipra, je pa namesto njega Madžarska.

Tabela 6 pokaže podobno kot tabela 5, da je prevalenca prestopniških vedenj v Sloveniji v primerjavi s petimi drugimi državami razmeroma majhna, kar še posebej velja za skupinske pretepe, nošenje orožja in roparske tatvine. Spet pa se izkaže, da se v Sloveniji kot celoti (torej tudi z upoštevanjem mladih srednje velikih in majhnih mest) pogosteje pojavljajo kraje koles in motorjev pa tudi kraje iz trgovin.

Tabela 6: Odstotki mladih iz šestih vzhodno- in centralnoevropskih držav, ki so kadarkoli v življenju storili katero od 15 prestopniških dejanj.

Država: Dejanje:	Madžarska	Češka	Estonija	Litva	Poljska	Slovenija	Skupaj	Rang SLO
Skupinski pretep	17,5	19,8	15,1	15,4	13,1	12,4	13,5	6.
Nosil orožje	10,4	10,3	15,8	13,1	9,9	6,9	9,9	6.
Napad na osebo	2,3	1,3	3,8	2,4	1,9	2,3	2,0	3.-4.
Roparska tatvina	3,1	2,3	0,8	1,3	1,1	0,5	1,4	6.
Izsiljevanje	0,7	1,4	0,8	1,2	2,6	1,4	1,1	2.-3.
Vandalizem	14,4	11,5	11,9	7,7	8,3	11,5	9,0	3.-4.
Kraja v trgovini	11,6	22,5	11,4	9,3	12,0	13,2	11,1	2.
Kraja kolesa ali mopeda	0,9	1,3	0,4	0,5	0,8	1,7	0,7	1.
Kraja iz avta	1,3	1,9	2,0	0,8	1,5	1,7	1,3	3.
Vlom v hišo	1,1	1,1	1,5	0,7	2,2	0,8	1,1	5.
Kraja motorja ali avta	0,8	0,8	1,3	0,6	0,9	0,5	0,7	6.
Računalniško 'hekanje'	50,9	7,1	10,4	6,7	8,9	10,6	14,0	2.
Preprodaja drog	2,1	3,8	2,7	1,6	3,1	2,3	2,2	4.
Uporaba ekstazija ali amfetamina	2,9	1,2	3,1	1,2	3,2	1,4	1,9	4.
Uporaba LSD/heroina/kokaina	1,3	0,6	1,5	0,9	1,7	0,8	1,0	5.

Da ne bi ostali le pri primerjavi Slovenije z drugimi petimi vzhodno- oz. centralnoevropskimi državami oz. novodošliimi državami v EU, si lahko v tabeli 7 ogledamo še primerjavo slovenskih podatkov s podatki iz petih zahodnoevropskih držav. Te so izbrane med možnimi državami glede na intuitivne možnosti primerjave. Italija in Avstrija sta slovenski neposredni sosedi, Italija in Španija sta mediteranski državi, kamor včasih pogojno prištevajo tudi Slovenijo. Nemčija in Belgija pa sta dve celinski državi, ki sodita med tiste, ki nekako definirajo koncept Evrope in evropskega. V primerjavi teh šestih držav Slovenija izpade še bolje. Pri kar 13 od 15 dejanj zaseda 5. ali 6. rang., le pri enem 4.-5. rang, vendar pa pri enem tudi 2. rang pogostosti. To je – presenetljivo – dejanje 'hekanja'. Na drugi strani pa Slovenija najbolj odstopa v negativno smer (torej nižje prevalence) pri dejanju žeparske tatvine.

Tabela 7: Odstotki mladih iz Slovenije ter petih zahodnoevropskih držav, ki so kadarkoli v življenju storili katerega od 15 prestopniških dejanj.

Dejanje:	Država:							Rang SLO
	Italija	Španija	Avstrija	Nemčija	Belgija	Slovenija		
Skupinski pretep	27,3	22,1	20,9	12,1	21,6	12,4	5.	
Nosil orožje	10,0	9,3	10,2	10,0	15,0	6,9	6.	
Napad na osebo	3,1	1,5	4,4	4,7	3,5	2,3	5.	
Roparska tatvina	3,6	1,1	4,8	2,9	2,4	0,5	6.	
Izsiljevanje	2,7	1,6	1,8	2,2	2,4	1,4	6.	
Vandalizem	15,7	13,0	16,9	13,4	10,7	11,5	5.	
Kraja v trgovini	18,9	20,9	18,2	7,9	20,1	13,2	5.	
Kraja kolesa ali mopeda	4,6	3,7	3,3	2,1	5,1	1,7	5.	
Kraja iz avta	4,5	3,6	2,3	1,2	1,7	1,7	4.-5.	
Vlom v hišo	3,6	2,8	1,5	0,9	2,0	0,8	6.	
Kraja motorja ali avta	1,1	1,6	0,7	0,5	1,2	0,5	5.-6.	
Računalniško 'hekanje'	10,4	31,6	6,7	5,8	6,8	10,6	2.	
Preprodaja drog	3,7	6,1	3,3	3,3	4,3	2,3	6.	
Uporaba ekstazija ali amfetamina	1,6	3,8	1,8	1,2	2,3	1,4	5.	
Uporaba LSD/heroina/kokaina	1,8	4,4	1,6	0,9	1,4	0,8	6.	

C. Primerjava med različno velikimi slovenskimi mesti

Razlike in podobnosti med tabelama 5 in 6 odpirata vprašanje, v kolikšni meri združitev podatkov o mladih iz prestolnice s podatki o mladih iz srednje velikih in majhnih slovenskih mest spremeni rezultate – razvrstitev Slovenije na rang lestvici. Ker primerjava tabele 5 in 6 pokaže na le majhne razlike, lahko sklepamo, da med tremi skupinami slovenskih mest ne bomo našli velikih razlik. Tabela 8 zares pokaže, da so razlike prevalenc za posamezna vedenja med tremi velikostmi mest v Sloveniji razmeroma majhne. Nekoliko presenetljivo se lahko celo zdi, da je prevalenca pri večini vedenj (pri osmih od petnajstih) v Ljubljani manjša od povprečja. Dejansko pa je statistično pomembna na ravni tveganja 0,05 le razlika pri eni vrsti dejanj, in sicer pri tatvinah iz trgovin, ki se pojavljajo med mladimi v Ljubljani pogosteje kot drugod. Kljub statistični pomembnosti pa je ta razlika v odstotkih razmeroma majhna.

Tabela 8: Odstotki mladih iz petih slovenskih mest, ki so kadarkoli v življenju storili kakega od 15 prestopniških dejanj.

Dejanje:	Mesto:	Ljubljana	Celje	Piran, Jesenice, Kočevje	Vsa mesta
Skupinski pretep		9,9	13,2	14,2	12,4
Nosil orožje		7,6	6,4	6,7	6,9
Napad na osebo		2,1	1,8	3,0	2,3
Roparska tatvina		0,1	0,8	0,5	0,5
Izsiljevanje		1,5	1,2	1,6	1,4
Vandalizem		11,4	10,0	13,2	11,5
Kraja v trgovini		16,3	10,4	13,0	13,2
Kraja kolesa ali mopeda		1,9	1,2	1,9	1,7
Kraja iz avta		2,7	0,6	1,8	1,7
Vlom v hišo		1,2	0,1	1,2	0,8
Kraja motorja ali avta		0,7	0,4	0,4	0,5
Računalniško 'hekanje'		8,7	10,1	13,0	10,6
Preprodaja drog		2,1	2,5	2,2	2,3
Uporaba ekstazija ali amfetamina		1,1	1,8	1,2	1,4
Uporaba LSD/heroina/kokaina		0,7	0,4	1,3	0,8

Sklepi

V najsplošnejšem raziskava ISRD-II kaže možnosti mednarodno primerljivega raziskovanja mladinskega prestopništva z metodo ankete samoprijave. Bolj specifično gledano med rezultate te raziskave sodijo ugotovitve o tem, da je struktura prestopniških vedenj v različnih državah presenetljivo podobna in da so s pojavljanjem prestopništva v različnih državah statistično povezani isti ali podobni (socialno nadzorstveni) dejavniki (česar sicer v tem prispevku nismo podrobneje prikazovali). Na dve raziskovalni vprašanji, zastavljeni v tem članku, pa lahko oblikujemo naslednja odgovora:

- Prevalenca prestopniških vedenj je v Sloveniji v primerjavi z drugimi državami razmeroma majhna. To velja v primerjavi s šestimi drugimi državami, novimi pristopnicami k EU, med katerimi jih pet sodi v krog t. i. vzhodnoevropskih držav, ki so pred približno dvema desetletjema zamenjale družbeni sistem,

še bolj pa velja v primerjavi z izbranimi zahodnoevropskimi državami, med katerimi sta tudi dve sosedi Slovenije.

- Glede prevalence izbranih 15 prestopniških vedenj tako rekoč ni razlik med tremi manjšimi mesti, srednje velikim mestom in največjim mestom. Ta ugotovitev krepi pogled na Slovenijo kot precej enotno območje, kjer se značilnosti odklonskosti (npr. uporabe drog ali kriminalitete) med regijami in vrstami okolja ne razlikujejo prav zelo.

Empirični študij obsega mladinskega prestopništva na prvi pogled ne daje drugega kot suhoparnih števil. Njihov pomen in uporabnost sta odvisna od tega, kdo in kako ju hoče uporabiti. Če drži teza o upadanju zanimanja za mladinsko prestopništvo, potem te številke morda ne bodo nikogar zanimale. Osnovna zamisel raziskave, ki je tu prikazana, pa je, prvič, oblikovanje mednarodno primerljivih podatkov ter, drugič, kontinuirano izvajanje raziskav z enako metodologijo skozi čas. V obeh vidikih gre torej za nekakšno standardizacijo znanja oz. podatkov, verjetno kot osnovo za bolj racionalno odločanje. Študija ISRD je bila v letih 2005–2007 v Sloveniji izvedena prvič. Zdaj pa se začneja tretja mednarodna izvedba raziskave, ki bo za Slovenijo druga. Nosilec te prihodnje izvedbe bo v Sloveniji predvidoma Inštitut za kriminologijo.

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Zadovoljstvo z življenjem v odraslosti in z njim povezani dejavniki

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Povzetek

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V prispevku predstavljamo rezultate longitudinalne raziskave, ki se osredotoča na raziskovanje vloge interakcij v družini, merjenih v obdobju mladostništva, in v zadovoljstvu z življenjem mladih odraslih žensk. Zadovoljstvo z življenjem smo raziskovali prek dveh komponent: kognitivne komponente zadovoljstva, ki se nanaša na oceno posameznika o njegovem življenju, ter prek emocionalne komponente zadovoljstva, ki jo sestavljata dve neodvisni komponenti – pozitivni in negativni afekt. Upoštevali smo tudi indeks emocionalnega zadovoljstva. Družinske interakcije smo raziskovali preko Lewisove teorije. V raziskavi je sodelovalo 66 mladih odraslih žensk (2. merjenje) in njihovih staršev (1. merjenje, podatki zajeti pred 10 leti). Uporabili smo naslednje merske instrumente: Vprašalnik o družini (Lewis, 1988), Lestvica zadovoljstva z življenjem (SWSL, Diener et. al. 1985, slovenska verzija) ter Vprašalnik pozitivne in negativne emocionalnosti (PANAS, Watson et al. 1998, slovenska verzija). Dobljeni rezultati potrjujejo predpostavko, za je za napoved zadovoljstva z življenjem v obdobju odraslosti pomemben dejavnik ravnanje mater s potrebami hčerke, kot jih je zaznala mati v obdobju hčerkinega otroštva in adolescence. Napovedi, povezane z očetovim doživljanjem, niso bile ugotovljene,

prav tako tudi ne s kompetentnostjo družinskega sistema. V članku so predstavljene tudi povezave zadovoljstva z življenjem z nekaterimi demografskimi dejavniki.

Ključne besede: *zadovoljstvo z življenjem, pozitivni afekt, negativni afekt, indeks emocionalnega zadovoljstva, družina.*

Uvod

V zadnjih desetih letih razvoja pozitivne psihologije je eno temeljnih paradigmatiskih področij model subjektivnega blagra (Musek in Avsec, 2002), ki ga razvija Ed Diener (1994; 2000; 2005) s svojimi sodelavci. Model zajema osrednjo in globalno spremenljivko dobrega počutja in življenjskega zadovoljstva, ki jo je Ed Diener označil z izrazom subjective well-being (SWB) pri čemer je hkrati uporabil tudi pojem zadovoljstva z življenjem (satisfaction with life) kot strokovni sinonim, ki ga bomo uporabljali mi. Zadovoljstvo z življenjem je opredeljeno kot posameznikovo vrednotenje lastnega življenja, kot ocena tega, kako doživljamo lastno življenje (Diener, 2000). Nanaša se na doživljanje prijetnih emocij, nizko stopnjo negativnih emocij in visoko stopnjo zadovoljstva z življenjem (Diener, Lucas in Oishi, 2005). Musek in Avsec (2002) menita, da je zadovoljstvo z življenjem krovni pojem, ki sintetizira niz vrednotenj, nanašajočih se na posameznikovo življenje, kognitivnih in emocionalnih, generalnih in bolj specifičnih. Gre za strogo subjektivni, fenomenalni konstrukt. Ocene zadovoljstva z življenjem so odvisne od preteklih izkušenj, trenutnih stanj in tudi pričakovanj v prihodnosti. Vrednotenje našega življenja je tako pomembno povezano z našimi emocionalnimi izkušnjami in seveda tudi z osebnostnimi oz. temperamentnimi dispozicijami.

Različni raziskovalci se strinjajo z Dienerjevo trditvijo o obstoju dveh plati zadovoljstva z življenjem. Prva je kognitivna komponenta zadovoljstva, ki jo meri tudi vprašalnik SWLS (Satisfaction with Life Scale) (Diener, Emmons, Larsen in Griffin, 1985), ki smo ga uporabili v naši raziskavi. Zadovoljstvo z življenjem je pri tem definirano kot globalna ocena posameznika o njegovem življenju (Diener, Emmons, Larsen in Griffin, 1985, po Schimmack, 2007). Pri ocenjevanju svojega življenja posameznik subjektivno (glede na lastno doživljanje) ovrednoti pomembne aspekte svojega življenja,

pretehta dobro in slabo v njem in si ustvari splošno sliko o svojem zadovoljstvu glede na standarde, ki si jih postavlja. Predvideva se, da je ta ocena relativno stabilna in neodvisna od trenutnega razpoloženja posameznika. Drugi faktor zadovoljstva z življenjem pa je emocionalna komponenta zadovoljstva in je sestavljena iz dveh neodvisnih dimenzij – pozitivnega (PA) in negativnega afekta (NA). Diener (1984, po Schimmack, 2007) meni, da je zadovoljstvo z življenjem več kot le odsotnost negativnih emocij in razpoloženj. Za visoko stopnjo zadovoljstva z življenjem je pomembna tudi visoka stopnja pozitivnih emocij in razpoloženj. Oba vidika čustvovanja imata po Dienerjevem mnenju različne vzroke in posledice, kar je bila dolgo vroča tema strokovnih debat v literaturi (Schimmack, 2007). Eden od vprašalnikov, ki merijo emocionalni vidik zadovoljstva z življenjem, je tudi PANAS (Positive and Negative Affect Scales, Watson, Clark in Tellegen, 1988), ki smo ga uporabili v pričujoči raziskavi. Kognitivna ocena zadovoljstva z življenjem je v odraslosti precej stabilna, medtem ko je emocionalna komponenta veliko bolj povezana s kontekstom posameznika (Larsen, 2009). Larsen (prav tam) uvaja indeks emocionalnega zadovoljstva (EWB- emotional well-being), ki se nanaša na emocionalni status posameznika v določenem trenutku. Gre za centralno tendenco oz. značilno stopnjo emocionalnega zadovoljstva posameznika, za razmerje med pozitivnim in negativnim afektom. Reaktivnost, trajanje in kognitivna vpletenost pri pozitivnem in negativnem čustvovanju so asimetrične in pomembno prispevajo k razumevanju odnosa med afektoma in v opredeljevanju razmerja med njima. Da bi posameznik vzdrževal pretežno pozitivno razmerje med afektoma, mora kompenzirati negativne afekte z večimi pozitivnimi izkušnjami ali pa z močnejšimi pozitivnimi izkušnjami, saj oba vidika ne prispevata enakovredno k zadovoljstvu z življenjem. Negativni afekt ima vsekakor močnejši vpliv na subjektivno doživljanje zadovoljstva v primerjavi s pozitivnim. Zato je za ugodno emocionalno ravnotežje veliko bolj učinkovito razvijati samoregulacijske strategije, ki omejujejo negativna stanja, kot pa le spodbujati enake stopnje pozitivnih doživetij. Larsen in Prizmic (2008, po Larsen, 2009) na osnovi različnih raziskav povzemata, da se giblje najpogostejše razmerje med afektoma v razponu med 2.3 in 5.1. Predlagata, da je najboljši pokazatelj razmerja vrednost π (3,14). Kar pomeni, da negativne izkušnje sprožajo negativna čustvovanja, ki so v povprečju trikrat močnejša kot pozitivne izkušnje z enako težo.

Za nas so zanimive tudi raziskave, ki se nanašajo na raziskovanje dejavnikov, povezanih z zadovoljstvom z življenjem. Veliko študij se osredotoča na raziskovanje vloge pomembnih socialnih odnosov. Teoretično in empirično so različne raziskave to povezanost tudi potrdile (npr. Myers, 2004, Ryff, 1995, po Diener in Diener Mc Gavran, 2008). So pa bližnji socialni odnosi tudi pomembno povezani s psihičnim zdravjem (Lewis, 1989; Gable in La Guardia, 2007). Raziskave socialnih odnosov se večinoma osredotočajo na vlogo partnerskih odnosov, družinskega življenja in prijateljev v zadovoljstvu z življenjem. Mednarodna raziskava avtorjev Diener in Diener (1995, po Diener in Diener Mc Gavran, 2008) je pokazala na povezanost zadovoljstva z življenjem z družinskimi odnosi na vzorcu iz 31 držav. Iz različnih raziskav sledi, da so odnosi med starši in otroci povezani z otrokovo sposobnostjo razvijanja socialnih odnosov sploh ter ostajajo dober prediktor zadovoljstva z življenjem tudi v adolescenci (Diener in Diener Mc Gavran, 2008). Avtorici navajata rezultate različnih raziskav ki potrjujejo, da je najmočnejši napovednik mladostnikovega zadovoljstva z življenjem emocionalna povezanost in bližina z obema staršema. Seveda pa moramo upoštevati, da so dobljene povezanosti v korelacijskih študijah nizke do zmerne in da obstajajo tudi drugi vplivi, ki prav tako pomembno vplivajo na oblikovanje zadovoljstva z življenjem, npr. temperamentni oz. osebnostni in drugi demografski dejavniki.

V literaturi pa skoraj ne najdemo longitudinalnih raziskav, ki bi raziskovale povezanost družinskih odnosov v otroštvu in adolescenci z zadovoljstvom z življenjem v odraslosti. V naši raziskavi nas bo zanimala predvsem napovedna vrednost doživljanja družinskih interakcij s strani staršev preizkušank, ko so bile v obdobju adolescence, za oceno zadovoljstva z življenjem v odraslosti. Osredotočili se bomo predvsem na raziskovanje vloge interakcij med hčerko in obema staršema. Preliminarna raziskava (Poljšak Škraban, 2010) je pokazala, da so sistemski družinski dejavniki (kompetentnost), merjeni v adolescenci, sicer povezani s stopnjo psihosocialnega razvoja v odraslosti, nimajo pa napovedne vrednosti za zadovoljstvo z življenjem. Dobljen rezultat je skladen z ugotovitvami Plomina (po Bussell in Reiss, 1993) ki ugotavlja, da je za razvoj otroka bolj pomemben specifičen odnos staršev kot pa splošno vzdušje v družini. To je bil razlog, da smo spremenljivko kompetentnost družinskega sistema izločili iz skupine napovednih

spremenljivk. Vsebinsko natančneje opisujemo interakcije med staršema in mladostnico kar v poglavju o metodi, pri predstavitvi merskega instrumenta in v Poljšak Škraban (2003; 2008).

Metoda

Udeleženci

V vzorec je bilo povabljenih 92 žensk v obdobju zgodnje odraslosti, ki so sodelovale v letih 1995–1999 v raziskavi za doktorsko disertacijo z naslovom Vloga staršev in interakcij v družinskem sistemu pri oblikovanju identitete študentk socialne pedagogike, pri kateri sta sodelovala tudi oba starša vključenih v vzorec. Na povabilo se je odzvalo 66 žensk (60 % prvotnega vzorca) v starosti 29–37 let ($M = 32,2$). 95,5 % udeleženk živi v lastnem gospodinjstvu, 98,5 % je zaposlenih, 88 % je poročenih oz. jih živi v partnerski skupnosti, 64 % jih ima otroke. Podatke v zvezi z interakcijami v družini v času pozne adolescence smo črpali iz odgovorov staršev sodelujočih v vzorcu v prvotni raziskavi. Starši so bili tedaj stari od 36 do 71 let (M mama = 48 let, M oče = 51,1 leta).

Pripomočki

1. Vprašalnik o družini (Lewis, 1989)

Z vprašalnikom o družini (prav tam) smo raziskovali kakovost družinskih interakcij in doživljanje teh s strani treh družinskih članov. Za potrebe pričujoče raziskave bomo upoštevali le rezultate 1. dela vprašalnika, ki ga je Lewis povzel po Shereshefsky in Yarrow (1973, po Lewis, 1989). Sestavlja ga šest vprašanj, ki se nanašajo na interakcije med staršema in mladostnico, ločeno za otroštvo in adolescenco (skupaj 12 vprašanj). Gre za pomembne kvalitete starševstva. Preizkušanci odgovarjajo po Likertovi lestvici od 1 do 5, pri čemer se opisi odgovora vsebinsko razlikujejo glede na postavljeno vprašanje, vendar vedno v pomenu od *zelo dobro (1)* do *zelo slabo (5)*. V izvorni raziskavi je bil vprašalnik faktoriziran. Na podlagi dobljenih rezultatov smo za nadaljnjo statistično obdelavo tvorili sestavljene spremenljivke, ki smo jih poimenovali na naslednji način:

D1 – zaskrbljenost staršev glede hčerke (v otroštvu in adolescenci),

D2 – ravnanje staršev s potrebami hčerke (sposobnost staršev, da prepoznajo in zadovoljijo čustvene potrebe hčerke, medsebojna bližina hčerke in staršev ter zadovoljstvo staršev v roditeljski vlogi – vse v otroštvu in adolescenci)

D3 – oviranje samostojnosti mladostnice

Koeficienti notranje konsistentnosti (Cronbachova α) vseh treh inačic vprašalnika o družini se gibljejo na prvem delu med 0,70 in 0,90. Za potrebe raziskave bomo upoštevali le ocene družinskih interakcij s strani mame in očeta.

2. Lestvica zadovoljstva z življenjem (SWLS, Diener idr. 1985 – slovenska verzija)

Vprašalnik je sestavljen iz petih postavk, preizkušanec odgovarjajo po Likertovi lestvici od 1 (sploh ne drži) do 7 (povsem drži). Vprašalnik se vrednoti tako, da se sešteje rezultat na vseh vprašanjih. Cronbachova α znaša 0,79.

3. Vprašalnik Pozitivne in negativne emocionalnosti (PANAS, Watson idr., 1988 – slovenska verzija)

Vprašalnik je sestavljen iz 20 postavk. Preizkušanec odgovarjajo po Likertovi lestvici od 1 (zelo redko) do 5 (zelo pogosto). Vprašalnik se vrednoti tako, da se ločeno upošteva seštevke za obe podlestvici. Cronbachova α znaša za podlestvico pozitivni afekt (PA) 0,77, za podlestvico negativni afekt (NA) pa 0,90.

Rezultati

Za ugotavljanje, kateri dejavniki v družini so možni napovedniki zadovoljstva z življenjem v obdobju zgodnje odraslosti, smo izvedli več regresijskih analiz. Kot že omenjeno v uvodu, smo pri izbiri napovednih spremenljivk upoštevali rezultate preliminarne raziskave (Poljšak Škraban, 2010), kjer smo ugotovili, da kompetentnost družinskega sistema, izmerjena v obdobju adolescence preizkušank, nima pomembne napovedne vrednosti za zadovoljstvo z življenjem v zgodnji odraslosti. Kompetentnost družinskega sistema smo merili tako, da smo prek taksonomske analize, pri kateri smo upoštevali zaznave doživljanja družinskega sistema treh družinskih članov,

dobili dve skupini družin, ki sta se razlikovali glede na stopnjo kompetentnosti sistema (bolj in manj kompetentne družine – več v Poljšak Škraban, 2002; 2005; 2008). Glede na dejstvo, da smo imeli za izbiro napovednikov na voljo precej neodvisnih spremenljivk v zvezi z družino, ter glede na relativno majhen vzorec za raziskavo smo morali pri izračunu regresij paziti, da zadostimo zahtevam vseh pogojev. Zato smo izvedli vrsto regresij za napovedovanje zadovoljstva z življenjem ločeno za materine in očetove zaznave družinskih interakcij. Sprva smo uvrstili v regresijo pet neodvisnih sestavljenih spremenljivk (D1 – zaskrbljenost staršev glede hčerke, D2 – ravnanje staršev s potrebami hčerke, D3 – oviranje samostojnosti mladostnice, D4 – komunikacija v družini in D5 – ravnanje s čustvi v družini). Preliminarna raziskava je pokazala tudi, da sta poleg kompetentnosti družinskega sistema nepomembni za napovedovanje zadovoljstva v življenju tudi spremenljivki D4 in D5, pri katerih smo spraševali družinske člane po tem, kako doživljajo družino kot sistem. Tako so ostale med napovedniki le tiste spremenljivke, pri katerih smo spraševali starše o njihovi medsebojni interakciji z mladostnicami (D1, D2 in D3). Te spremenljivke so natančneje opisane v predstavitvi merskih instrumentov. Kot odvisne (kriterijske) spremenljivke pa smo upoštevali naslednje: zadovoljstvo z življenjem (SWLS), pozitivni afekt (PA), negativni afekt (NA) in indeks emocionalnega zadovoljstva (EWB). Tega smo izračunali po formuli, ki jo predlaga Larsen (2009), in sicer tako, da smo vsoto PA delili s količnikom med vsoto NA in 3,14 (π).

Temeljna ugotovitev raziskave je, da so vse napovedi, ki so statistično pomembne, povezane izključno z materinimi zaznavami interakcij s hčerko, z očetovimi pa ne. V tabeli 1 navajamo rezultate regresijske analize za napovedne spremenljivke, ki so povezane z materinim zaznavami.

Tabela 1: Multipla korelacija (R), pojasnjena varianca (R²) in statistična pomembnost regresijske analize.

Odvisne spremenljivke	R	R²	F	St. svob.	p
SWLS	0,313	0,098	2,239	3 (62)	0,093
PA	0,334	0,111	2,593	3 (62)	0,061
NA	0,375	0,141	3,378	3 (62)	0,024
EWB	0,438	0,192	4,908	3 (62)	0,004

Kakor je razvidno iz tabele 1, je model statistično pomemben za zadnji dve spremenljivki: za negativni afekt (NA) ter za indeks emocionalnega zadovoljstva (EWB). Za drugi dve spremenljivki pa je model blizu pomembnosti. Pri vseh štirih odvisnih spremenljivkah (SWLS, PA, NA, EWB) dobimo ne glede na statistično pomembnost napovednega modela vedno kot pomembno napovedno spremenljivko izključno ravnanje matere s potrebami hčerke (D2). Navajamo rezultate: za zadovoljstvo z življenjem (Beta = 0,303, $t = 2,483$, $p = 0,016$), za pozitivni afekt (Beta = 0,326, $t = 2,689$, $p = 0,009$), za negativni afekt (Beta = $-2,73$, $t = -2,29$, $p = 0,025$), ter za indeks emocionalnega zadovoljstva (Beta = 0,344, $t = 2,978$, $p = 0,004$). Kakor je razvidno iz rezultatov, so povsod razen pri negativnem afektu povezanosti pozitivne, kar je razumljivo, saj pomeni manj negativnega afekta več zadovoljstva z življenjem. Največjo težo ima model pri napovedovanju indeksa emocionalnega zadovoljstva, saj pojasnjuje skoraj 20 odstotkov variance. To v absolutnem smislu ni veliko, ni pa zanemarljivo, če pomislimo, da je zadovoljstvo z življenjem odvisno od dolgega niza spremenljivk.

O vlogi matere v razvoju mladostnic sta pisali že Gilligan (1982) in Josselson (1987). Trdita, da se ženske razvijajo predvsem skozi odnose (pomembno prek odnosa z materjo) in s tem prek procesov separacije in povezanosti. Za ženske je pomembno ostati sama svoja in hkrati povezana. Domnevamo, da je to omogočeno tudi skozi občutljivo ravnanje matere s potrebami hčerke. Elium in Elium (2001) trdita, da si morajo dekleta razviti ločeni lastni jaz, toda to je lastni jaz, ki se razvija v vedno večji kompleksnosti odnosov, zlasti odnosov z materjo. Preliminarna raziskava (Poljšak Škraban, 2010) je pokazala, da je dobro razvit jaz (merjen prek stopnje psihosocialnega razvoja) pomembno povezan tako z zadovoljstvom z življenjem ($r = 0,64$), s pozitivnim ($r = 0,49$) in negativnim afektom ($r = -0,46$) ter z indeksom emocionalnega zadovoljstva ($r = 0,77$). Vse omenjene korelacije so pomembne na ravni $p < 0,01$.

Žal nismo našli veliko raziskav, ki bi na osnovi družinskih interakcij napovedovale zadovoljstvo z življenjem v obdobju odraslosti. Raziskave, ki analizirajo interakcije med otroki in starši, se predvsem osredotočajo na obratno vprašanje – koliko otroci prispevajo k temu, da so starši zadovoljni z življenjem. Več pa je raziskav, ki se nanašajo na napovedovanje zadovoljstva z življenjem v obdobju otroštva in adolescence. Diener in Diener Mc Gavran (2008)

navajata rezultate, ki potrjujejo napovedno vrednost interakcije med starši in otroci za zadovoljstvo z življenjem tako v otroštvu kot tudi v obdobju adolescence. Avtorja navajata, da je mati pomembnejša za zadovoljstvo z življenjem otroka, za mladostnike pa navajata kot pomembne interakcije z obema staršema (Ben-Zur, 2003, po Diener in Diener Mc Gavran, 2008). Demo in Acock (1996, prav tam) sta našla kot najmočnejši in najbolj konsistenten napovednik nezadovoljstva z življenjem pri mladostnikih nesoglasja med materjo in mladostnikom. Čeprav se očetove zaznave interakcij s hčerko v naši raziskavi niso izkazale kot pomembne za napovedovanje hčerkinega zadovoljstva z življenjem, pa najdemo med omenjenimi spremenljivkami sicer nizke, pa vendar statistično pomembne korelacije na ravni $p < 0,05$, ki se gibljejo od $r = -0,26$ za negativni afekt do najvišje $r = 0,34$ za indeks emocionalnega zadovoljstva. Tako lahko dopolnimo trditev avtoric (prav tam), da veljajo rezultati korelacijskih raziskav, ki potrjujejo pozitivno povezanost med interakcijami starši-otrok ter zadovoljstvom z življenjem v otroštvu in adolescenci tudi za zgodnjo odraslost. To je tudi skladno z rezultati raziskave Guarnieri, Ponti in Tani (2010), ki so raziskovale pomembne odnose v zgodnji odraslosti. Njihovi rezultati so med več spremenljivkami izpostavili kot pomembne v napovedovanju posameznikovega zadovoljstva z življenjem le odnose s starši in romantičnimi partnerji.

Številni avtorji pa seveda poudarjajo, da so za zadovoljstvo z življenjem pomembni tudi drugi dejavniki, zlasti temperamentne in demografske komponente. Temperamentne značilnosti smo sicer v naši izvorni raziskavi tudi izmerili, vendar jih na tem mestu ne bomo omenjali. Smo pa dobili podobne povezanosti med ekstravertiranostjo in nevroticizmom ter različnimi vidiki zadovoljstva z življenjem skladno z navedbami v literaturi (glej Musek in Avsec, 2002). Demografski podatki pa kažejo, da se je v življenju mladih žensk iz našega vzorca v zadnjih desetih letih zgodilo veliko zanje pomembnih dogodkov: vse so končale visokošolski študij, ustvarile so si lastni dom (95,5 % udeleženk živi na svojem), zaposlile so se (98,5 %), živijo v partnerski zvezi (88 %) in imajo otroke (64 %). Predvidevamo, da tudi ti življenjski dogodki pomembno prispevajo k zadovoljstvu z življenjem, saj se nanašajo na temeljne razvojne naloge mladih odraslih oseb. Glede na višino navedenih odstotkov lahko domnevamo, da so vsaj nekatere od razvojnih nalog pri udeleženkah raziskave uspešno

končane. Številni raziskovalci potrjujejo pomembno povezanost med starostjo, spolom, prihodkom, izobrazbo in zakonskim stanom (oz. partnerstvom), ki naj bi pojasnjevali okoli 20 odstotkov variance zadovoljstva z življenjem (Musek in Avsec, 2002; Diener, 2008).

Sklepi

Socialni odnosi, med katerimi so odnosi s starši eni pomembnejših, so vedno znova tako teoretično kot empirično potrjeni kot pomembni za razvoj posameznika. Rezultati pričujoče raziskave kažejo, da so nekatere družinske značilnosti pomemben dejavnik v razvoju, ne le v zgodnejših obdobjih, temveč tudi v obdobju odraslosti. V raziskavi smo se osredotočili predvsem na raziskovanje vloge interakcij med obema staršema in hčerko v zadovoljstvu z življenjem. Pokazalo se je, da je za napoved zadovoljstva z življenjem v obdobju odraslosti pomemben dejavnik ravnanje mater s potrebami hčerke, kot jih je zaznala mati v obdobju hčerkinega otroštva in adolescence. Napovedi, povezane z očetovim doživljanjem, niso bile ugotovljene, prav tako tudi ne s kompetentnostjo družinskega sistema. V napovedovanju zadovoljstva z življenjem pojasnjujejo seveda interakcije matere s hčerko relativno malo variance, ki pa vseeno ni zanemarljiva. Zadovoljstvo z življenjem je odvisno od dolgega niza spremenljivk, zlasti še od temperamentnih in demografskih komponent. Nekatere od teh smo tudi merili (končan študij, življenje v lastnem gospodinjstvu, zaposlenost, partnerstvo in otroci) in predvidevamo, da imajo tudi ti dejavniki precejšnjo vlogo v pojasnjevanju zadovoljstva z življenjem v odraslosti.

Rezultati raziskave kažejo na pomembnost preventivnega in kurativnega dela s starši otrok in mladostnikov, saj prek tega dela ne vplivamo le na zadovoljstvo z življenjem ter duševno zdravje otrok in mladostnikov, temveč tudi dolgoročno na zadovoljstvo z življenjem in duševno zdravje odraslih.

Naša raziskava ima seveda nekatere omejitve, med katere sodita gotovo velikost in sestava vzorca (izključno ženski). Kar nekaj raziskav potrjuje ugotovitve Lewisa (1989), da igrajo družinski dejavniki različno vlogo v duševnem zdravju moških in žensk, zato bi bilo dobro raziskavo razširiti tudi na moške. Pričujoča raziskava pa je longitudinalno zastavljena, kar je njena pomembna prednost, saj ima napovedovanje rezultatov tako večjo težo.

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Izkušnje socialne v-/izključenosti mladih v položaju dolgotrajne brezposelnosti

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Povzetek

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Prispevek prikazuje izkušnje socialne v-/izključenosti dolgotrajno brezposelnih mladih glede na starost in doseženo izobrazbo. Gre za prikaz rezultatov kvalitativne raziskave z uporabo fokusnih skupin, ki je zajela 21 brezposelnih mladih na območju Ljubljane v starosti od 19 do 26 let. Mladi z različno doseženo izobrazbo in starostjo izpostavljajo tako individualne in predvsem sistemske ovire, ki jim pomenijo oviro pri vključevanju v delo in izbiri zelenih biografskih potekov. Rezultati kažejo, da bi bilo treba strategije pomoči in podpore mladim v položaju brezposelnosti usmerjati v vzpostavljanje ravnotežja različnih življenjskih področij posameznika in tako blažiti tveganja individualnih prehodov v odraslost in zaposlitev.

Ključne besede: mladi, dolgotrajna brezposelnost, socialna v-/izključenost.

Uvod

»Mislim, da se večina mladih, ki so brezposelni, počuti izgubljene. Nekako ne vedo, kaj bi sploh počeli sami s seboj. Morda bi bilo bolj smiselno vključiti v program zavoda za zaposlovanje tudi kakšne delavnice bolj osebnega tipa, ki bi mlade spodbudile k raziskovanju notranjega bistva osebnosti – od tu vzklijejo želje in s tem vizija prihodnosti. Verjamem, da bi moral vsak človek opravljati delo, ki ga osebno izpolnjuje in mu ponuja izzive, da preseže samega sebe. Država vse premalo podpira/ščiti samoiniciativne mlade ljudi, ki si želijo sami ustvariti delovno mesto, vse preveč je zaposlovanja prek družinskih vezi – prijateljstev.« (Komentar anketiranca, 2004)

Brezposelnost mladih je danes pereč problem v večini evropskih držav in tudi v Sloveniji. Brezposelne mlade lahko opredelimo kot bolj ogroženo populacijo, saj danes že številne raziskave opozarjajo na negativne posledice, ki ji brezposelnost sproža na zdravstvenem, socialnem področju; brezposelnost je tveganje za revščino in socialno izključenost, odvisnost od socialnih pomoči in družinskih vezi.

Walter in Schlathoff (2001) pregledujeta različne vire in ugotavljata, da se v evropskih državah pojav brezposelnosti mladih pomembno izraža tudi kot posledica spremenjenih tranzicij in na drugi strani še vedno tradicionalnega odziva programskih politik. Navajata naslednje ugotovitve (prav tam, 2001, str. 106):

- Brezposelnost mladih po Evropi ima na formalnem trgu delovne sile različno relevantnost. Zaradi pomanjkanja dela se politike zaposlovanja usmerjajo k spodbujanju samoodgovornosti posameznikov (European commission, 1999).
- V procesih izobraževanja in zaposlovanja se dogajajo strukturne spremembe; raznovrstnost izobraževanj in usposabljanj je odločilni dejavnik razlik v prilagajanju spremembam na trgu dela (Shavit in Muller, 1998).
- Brezposelnost je strukturno različno pogojena glede na spol. Razlike glede na spol se izražajo skozi segmente izobraževanja, usposabljanja in trg dela.
- Problem specifičnih skupin mladih brezposelnih: migrantov, osipnikov, mladih z nižjo izobrazbo, mladih s kriminalno zgodovino idr. se kaže v kombinaciji pomanjkanja resursov in ustreznih institucionalnih postopkov.

- Skrita brezposelnost in črna ekonomija sta sestavni del kompleksnosti pojava tranzicije v delo in zaposlitev, ki je uradna statistika ne zazna, ugotavlja pa se, da narašča v vseh delih Evrope (Mingione, 1994; MacDonald, 1998).

Socialne neenakosti pri dostopu do virov in možnosti se kažejo v individualiziranih prehodih in različnih biografskih priložnostih. Sposobnost posameznika za pogajanje v tranziciji v odraslost in zaposlitev je odvisna od njegovega kulturnega kapitala, podpore v družini, možnosti in omejitev v procesu izobraževanja, spolne, socialne ter etnične pripadnosti. Ta divergentna konstelacija vodi k različnim oblikam tranzicij v zaposlitev. Du Bois-Reymondova in Lopez Blasco (2003, str. 23) izpostavita naslednje:

- mladi z omejenimi resursi, ki so pod *pritiskom negotovih zaposlitev, brezposelnosti in večkratnega usposabljanja*;
- mladi z znatnimi resursi, ki jim omogočajo *svobodno odločanje glede na lastne potrebe in preference*;
- mladi odrasli, ki bi želeli *poskusiti nove možnosti v povezavi z delom in izobraževanjem, a so pod vplivom različnih pritiskov prisiljeni svoje poklicne in izobraževalne želje prilagajati standardiziranim in restriktivnim potem usposabljanja*;
- mladi odrasli, ki *podaljšujejo odvisnost od staršev, v kar jih prisiljujejo nezadostna socialna varnost in položaj brezposelnosti*.

Walther in Schlathoff (2001, str. 102) prav tako menita, da se zaradi neenake porazdeljenosti ekonomskega, kulturnega in socialnega kapitala ter drugih virov mladi soočajo z naslednjimi oblikami prehodov v zaposlitev:

- prehodi tveganih biografij, marginalnih biografij, kar pomeni, da mladi zaradi slabe izobrazbe in slabih razmer na trgu dela nimajo možnosti priti do avtonomnih življenjskih projektov in konvencionalnega statusa odraslosti;
- prehodi, usmerjeni k tradicionalnim, 'normalnim' biografijam;
- prehodi izbirnih biografij, avtonomni življenjski projekti, sledenje individualni življenjski poti.

Ob pojavu sodobnih značilnosti tranzicij v odraslost prepoznavamo spregledan odnos različnih institucij do temeljnih sprememb tega družbenega procesa. Posledice se kažejo v tem, da mladi z uporabo socialno dostopnih virov in javnih podpor

(izobraževanje, usposabljanje, svetovanje ter različne oblike podpor in pomoči) postajajo vse bolj odvisni, strokovnjaki različnih ustanov pa vztrajajo v vlogi, da jim ponujajo nove izzive, jih usmerjajo ter premeščajo glede na njihove (z)možnosti in programe, ki jih določajo programske politike (Walter in Schlathoff, 2001, str. 108).

Ugotovitve komparativnih evropskih študij opozorijo na naslednje kontradiktornosti, do katerih prihaja, ker strokovni programi politik na področju zaposlovanja ne upoštevajo fenomenov sodobnih tranzicij mladih (Du Bois-Reymond in Lopez Blasco, 2003, str. 35–37):

- Trend zaposljivosti se določa glede na poznejše možne zaposlitve, kar je v nasprotju s številnimi koncepti o transverzalnosti veščin in s kontekstualnim razvojem kompetenc v okviru diskurza o vseživljenjskem učenju.
- Koncept vseživljenjskega učenja daje poudarek neformalnemu učenju ter njegovi integraciji v formalno izobraževanje in usposabljanje. V programih politik pa se teži k temu, da bi neformalne oblike učenja formalizirali, kar spodkopava njihov temeljni motivacijski pomen in značaj.
- Da bi prilagodili merila spremenjenim tranzicijam na področje dela, narašča pomen individualnega svetovanja. Individualno svetovanje pa še ni zagotovilo, da so resnično upoštevane individualne potrebe posameznika, zato so tovrstni programi velikokrat le nadomestni pripomoček socialne kontrole in normalizacije.
- V različnih evropskih državah se kaže težavnost pri doseganju populacije, ki je v najbolj neugodnem položaju glede zaposlovanja; medtem ko so najbolj uspešni in privlačni programi tisti, ki povečujejo možnosti nezaposlenim in zadostijo merilom uspešnosti, določenim s programskimi politikami. Ta merila morajo dosegati tudi tisti, ki so v najbolj neugodnem položaju na trgu dela. Tovrstne intervencije lahko pripeljejo do reprodukcije segmentacije in stigmatizacije uporabnikov programov.
- Fleksibilnost je načelo, ki se univerzalno upošteva pri spodbujanju posameznikov v procesih izobraževanja, usposabljanja in zaposlovanja. Uveljavljanje tega načela dejansko pomeni avtonomijo, ta pa nadzor nad viri. Če v tem pogledu ni vzpostavljeno ravnotežje z upoštevanjem značilnosti posameznika, so rezultati fleksibilnosti omejeni zgolj na tiste, ki



posedujejo višji ekonomski, socialni in kulturni kapital, medtem ko se tisti, ki so na trgu dela v najslabšem položaju, znajdejo v še bolj neugodnih in tveganih okoliščinah.

Raziskave mladine in trga dela (prim. Furlong in Cartmel, 1997, 2003; Harslóf, 2003; Walther in drugi, 2002) kažejo na prisotnost usmerjanja mladih v izbiranje šolanja, ki jih ne vodi v trajno oz. stabilno zaposlitev ali jim ne omogoča socialno ugodnega statusnega položaja. Nekateri mladi se na tovrstne intervencije odzovejo tudi tako, da izstopijo ali se umaknejo iz sistema javnih institucij in podpor, raje sprejmejo položaj 'brez statusa' ('status zero') ter ob tem doživljajo odtujenost in ponižanje.

Negotovost na trgu dela je torej ena izrazitejših značilnosti položaja mladih v Evropi. Tveganju socialne izključenosti in socialne neenakosti so izpostavljeni na različnih področjih. Tranzicija v odraslost je pogojena, opredeljena s programi vladnih in nevladnih institucij, z izobraževanjem in usposabljanjem ter dostopi do trga dela. Usmeritve različnih ustanov mladim pomenijo neke vrste tranzicijske režime, ki jim določajo orientacijo za zavzemanje stališč, vrednotenje spolnih specifik in zaznamujejo značilnosti življenjskih potekov.

Namen raziskave in metodološki pristop

V prispevku prikazujemo del rezultatov kvalitativnega dela študije, ki je nadgradila kvantitativno raziskavo z naslovom Socialna v-/izključenost in psihosocialno zdravje mladih z izkušnjami brezposelnosti (Dekleva in Rapuš Pavel, 2004).¹ Kvalitativni del poglobi razumevanje pojava marginalizacije in socialne v-/izključenosti med mladimi brezposelnimi. Zanimalo nas je, kako mladi različnih starostnih razredov z izkušnjami dolgotrajne brezposelnosti in z dokončano ali nedokončano izobrazbo opredeljujejo ranljivost svojega življenjskega položaja v zvezi s socialno v-/izključenostjo ter kje doživljajo ključne ovire in omejitve ter podporo pri prehodu na področje dela.

¹ V tem prispevku prikazujemo delne rezultate raziskovalnega projekta z naslovom Socialna v-/izključenost in psihosocialno zdravje mladih z izkušnjami brezposelnosti, Dekleva in Rapuš Pavel (2004). Projekt je finančno podprla Mestna občina Ljubljana.



Vzorec

V vzorec smo vključili 21 dolgotrajno brezposelnih mladih (na Zavodu za zaposlovanje so bili prijavljeni več kot 12 mesecev) ter jih po kriteriju starosti in dokončane izobrazbe razdelili v štiri skupine. Vzorec je bil izbran naključno. Svetovalke so dobile iz registra iskalcev prve zaposlitve seznam oseb, ki so ustrezale našim kriterijem. Nato so jih telefonsko in pozneje pisno začele vabiti k vključitvi v fokusne skupine po vrstnem redu, kakor so bili navedeni v seznamu. Udeležba je bila načeloma prostovoljna. Spolna struktura vzorca vključuje v vsaki skupini več deklet kot fantov in s tem ustreza razmerju spolov v registru podatkov po izbranih kriterijih oblikovanja skupin. Oblikovali smo naslednje skupine:

1. skupina: mladi brez dokončane poklicne ali srednje izobrazbe, stari do 23 let, v kategoriji iskalcev prve zaposlitve prijavljeni več kot 12 mesecev (to skupino v nadaljevanju tehnično poimenujemo mlajši osipniki);
2. skupina: mladi z dokončano poklicno ali srednjo izobrazbo, stari do 23 let, v kategoriji iskalcev prve zaposlitve prijavljeni več kot 12 mesecev (to skupino v nadaljevanju tehnično poimenujemo mlajši šolski uspešniki²);
3. skupina: mladi brez dokončane poklicne ali srednje izobrazbe, stari od 24 do 26 let, v kategoriji iskalcev prve zaposlitve prijavljeni več kot 12 mesecev (to skupino v nadaljevanju tehnično poimenujemo starejši osipniki);
4. skupina: mladi z dokončano poklicno ali srednjo izobrazbo, stari od 24 do 26 let, v kategoriji iskalcev prve zaposlitve prijavljeni več kot 12 mesecev (to skupino v nadaljevanju tehnično poimenujemo starejši šolski uspešniki).

Sprva smo želeli v raziskavo vključiti tudi peto skupino z dokončano fakultetno izobrazbo. Po pregledu registra podatkov pa se je izkazalo, da je bilo takšnih iskalcev prve zaposlitve v času raziskave zelo malo, zato smo se naknadno odločili, da to skupino izpustimo iz obdelave.

² Z malce nenavadnim izrazom 'šolski uspešniki' želimo povedati samo to, da naj bi mladi iz te skupine uspešno končali neko poklicno ali drugo srednjo šolo. To je v mnogo primerih le dvoletni poklicni program, ki ga seveda sami ne doživljajo kot poseben šolski dosežek oz. uspeh.

Zbiranje in obdelava podatkov

Podatke smo zbirali z metodo fokusnih skupin, v katerih smo se z mladimi pogovarjali o problematiki brezposelnosti. Pri tem smo zajeli naslednja vsebinska področja:³

- Delo iz zaposlitev: *Kakšne so vaše izkušnje z delom in zaposlitvijo? Kaj za vas pomeni zaposlenost/brezposelnost? Kaj vam pomeni delo? Kakšne izkušnje imate v odnosu z delodajalci? Na kakšne načine iščete zaposlitev? Koliko in katera dela ste v preteklosti že opravljali? Je za vas problem spremeniti kvalifikacijo, se odločiti za drugo šolo? Kakšno vizijo imate glede dela in zaposlitve v prihodnosti? Na katere ustanove se obrnete pri razreševanju sedanjega položaja?...*
- Ekonomski položaj: *Kako se preživljate? Ali se v sedanjem položaju počutite prikrajšane za materialne dobrine, katere? V kakšnih razmerah živite, kako ste zadovoljni? Čemu se odrekate, kaj je za vas najtežje? Ali vam kdo materialno in finančno pomaga pri preživetju? Kaj naredite za to, da bi se finančno osamosvojili? Kako ocenjujete svoje možnosti, da postanete materialno neodvisni od staršev? Kje vidite največje ovire? Koliko je za vas v prihodnosti pomembna stalna zaposlitev, ki jo vidite kot pogoj, da bi si lahko ustvarili družino?*
- Podpore bližnjih: *Kakšna je v tem položaju podpora staršev (materialna, socialna, se zanimajo za vaš položaj, so zaskrbljeni, dajejo nasvete)? Kakšno pomoč pričakujete od staršev v sedanjem položaju? Ali sedanja pomoč staršev prispeva k temu, da postajate bolj samostojni in neodvisni, ali vas zadržuje v odvisnosti in pasivnosti? Kakšna je njihova vloga? Koliko je za vas pomembna in učinkovita podpora vrstnikov, prijateljev, sorodnikov – za nadaljnje šolanje, prehod v zaposlitev?*

Fokusne skupine omogočajo, da udeleženci spregovorijo o svojih stališčih, prepričanjih in obnašanjih, izrablja se možnosti skupinske dinamike, udeleženci s svojimi razlagami vplivajo na druge in drugi s svojimi pogledi vplivajo nanje (Sim, 1998).

Izvajanje fokusnih skupin je potekalo v februarju 2004 v prostorih zavoda za zaposlovanje OE Ljubljana. Pogovor je trajal v povprečju

³ Osnutek vprašanj, ki smo si jih vnaprej pripravili, je v spletnem materialu projekta.

dve uri in pol. Izvajanje fokusnih skupin je potekalo tako, da smo udeležence spodbujali k izražanju mnenj, stališč in prepričanj o njihovem življenjskem položaju, ki ga opredeljuje brezposelnost. Skupinska dinamika je omogočala, da so udeleženci lahko razmislili o svojih stališčih, prepričanjih, zaznavah in v pogovoru vplivali na druge udeležence, hkrati pa so drugi vplivali na njihove poglede v zvezi z različnimi izkušnjami in posledicami, ki jih prinaša položaj brezposelnosti. Pri vodenju pogovora smo uporabili analitične tehnike, povzemanje, soočanje mnenj, v diskusiji smo različna življenjska področja povezovali z delom in zaposlovanjem.

Pri analizi pogovorov v fokusnih skupinah smo bili pozorni, kako mladi brezposelni doživljajo dejavnike (vire, okoliščine, pogoje, značilnosti), ki jih vodijo bodisi v socialno vključenost bodisi v socialno obrobnost, prikrajšanost, izključenost. Obdelava zbranega gradiva je potekala tako, da smo označili vse izjave, v katerih so intervjuvanci izražali svoje mnenje o teh temah. Ta stališča smo nato za vsako skupino posebej razvrstili v dve skupini, negativno in pozitivno glede na njihov vpliv na proces socialnega vključevanja. Znotraj vsakega od polov smo izjave oz. vrste dejavnikov razvrščali v tri podskupine: na takšne, ki so povezane s trgom dela, z ekonomskim položajem in s podporami bližnjih.

Rezultati

Tabele št. 1–4 kažejo razvrstitev dejavnikov v-/izključevanja, ki so bili v posameznih podskupinah izpostavljeni na ekonomskem področju, trgu dela in na področju podpore bližnjih.

V skupini mlajših osipnikov mladi prihajajo v stik z delom predvsem prek dela na tuje študentske napotnice, aktivni so na t. i. črnem trgu dela. V prizadevanjih za avtonomijo so zainteresirani za vsakršna začasna dela, ob tem izpostavijo primere lastne iniciative in iznajdljivost pri iskanju tržnih niš ter koriščenju zvez in poznanstev za pridobitev začasnega dela. V materialnem smislu so odvisni od podpore staršev, ki v večini primerov ne razpolagajo z ugodnim finančnim stanjem. Tako jih več pove, da jih finančno bolj podpirajo partnerji. Delitev bivalnih stroškov s partnerji omogoča ureditev bivanja zunaj izvirne družine. Poročajo, da finančne omejitve vplivajo na krčenje socialnih stikov in oženje prijateljskih

mrež. V okviru prijateljskih mrež izpostavijo pomen predvsem moralne opore, družabnosti in sprostitev. V sistemskih omejitvah mladi izpostavijo problem dostopa do začasnih del in pridobivanja delovnih izkušenj, kar jih usmerja na črni trg dela. Opozarjajo še na pomanjkanje sistemskih ukrepov za razreševanje stanovanjske problematike samskih brezposelnih mladih. Biografski poteki te skupine mladih opozarjajo na daljšo zgodovino družinskih problemov, pomanjkanje družinskih in vrstniških podpor v preteklosti in sedanosti ter posledično opuščanje in nedokončanje šolanja, dovzetnost za slabe vplive družbe. Menijo, da so omenjene okoliščine značilno prispevale k sedanjemu brezstatusnemu položaju.

Motivacija za nadaljevanje izobraževanja je v tej skupini mladih tesno povezana z vizijo zaposlovanja v javnem sektorju. Zaposlovanje v javnem sektorju (npr. delovna mesta v zdravstvu) domnevno prinaša več socialne varnosti in reden zaslužek iz dela. Mladi menijo, da so fleksibilni pri iskanju dela. Zanimajo jih tudi možnosti zaposlovanja v tujini. Opirajo se predvsem na lastne zmožnosti in kompetence, s strani staršev, partnerjev, prijateljev pa pričakujejo predvsem moralno podporo, spodbudo za izobraževanje; poudarijo prizadevanja po finančni samostojnosti in neodvisnosti. To si zagotavljajo iz zaslužka dela na črno, s prejetjem socialne podpore, pazljivim ravnanjem z denarjem in varčevanjem. Razloge za strukturne vidike izključenosti vidijo v pomanjkanju sistemsko urejenih možnosti za pridobivanje delovnih izkušenj in v zagotavljanju socialne varnosti pri delu v zasebnem sektorju. Opozorijo na neurejenost evidentiranja začasnih in sezonskih del, kar bi lahko prispevalo k reševanju problema delovnih izkušenj in na težave v dostopnosti do začasnih del. Prav tako država nima izdelanih mehanizmov in ukrepov, ki bi mladim materam omogočali primeren dostop do dela. Mnenja so, da zakonodaja o podaljševanju delovne dobe mlade izrinja in še dodatno ovira pri vstopu na formalni trg dela. Med individualnimi dejavniki izključevanja posamično izpostavijo pomanjkanje družinskih podpor, težave z odvisnostjo od drog, doživljanje občutkov manjvrednosti od sovrstnikov zaradi položaja brezposelnosti, težave z urejanjem državljanstva, finančno in bivalno stisko. Ob soočanju s tovrstnimi težavami imajo slabe izkušnje pomoči s strani državnih institucij in so tudi v prihodnje skeptični do učinkovitosti pomoči na teh področjih.

Tabela 1: Tri področja dejavnikov v-/izključevanja, o katerih poročajo udeleženci prve skupine – mlajši osipniki.

	DEJAVNIKI VKLJUČEVANJA	DEJAVNIKI IZKLJUČEVANJA
Trg dela	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – lastna aktivnost in pripravljenost za iskanje kakršnekoli zaposlitve – kreativnost v ponudbi dejavnosti in storitev – sposobnost koriščenja poznanstev in zvez za pridobitev začasnih del – delo prek ŠS na tuje napotnice – motivacija za izobraževanje v smeri potreb trga dela – iskanje tržnih niš – interes za samozaposlitev 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – pomanjkanje delovnih izkušenj – pomanjkanje sistemskih možnosti za pridobivanje delovnih izkušenj – nizka, nedokončana izobrazba – oviranost dostopa do začasnih del prek ŠS – izkoriščevalski odnos delodajalcev v gostinski panogi – slaba uporabnost znanj, pridobljenih v poklicnem izobraževanju – prezgodnje odločanje o poklicni karieri – zahtevni pogoji delodajalcev – omejen dostop do različnih vrst dela – manj ponudb dela za ženske kot za moške
Ekonomski položaj	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – delna zmožnost plačila stroškov izrednega šolanja in finančna participacija v družinski proračun – prizadevanje za neodvisno življenje od izvirne družine – spretnost pri ravnanju z denarjem – iznajdljivost v denarnih zadevah – materialna podpora staršev – prihodki iz dela na črno 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – prostorska stiska in posledično ovirana zasebnost bivanja – visoke cene najemnin – odsotnost sistemske podpore in možnosti za reševanje stanovanjskega problema – kontinuirano ogrožena osnovna eksistenca (prehrana, stanovanje) – finančne omejitve vplivajo na omejitev vrstniškega druženja – nezmožnost/težave z zagotavljanjem plačila šolanja, najemnin – selitve in nenehno reševanje stanovanjske stiske
Podpore bližnjih	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – moralna opora prijateljev in spodbuda za samostojno življenje – sobivanje s prijatelji in partnerji – podpora in razumevanje s strani staršev – pomen sprostitve in zabave v družbi prijateljev 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – nelagodje ob doživljanju drugačnosti s strani vrstnikov, ki so končali šolanje – slab vpliv družbe v preteklosti – trganje in oženje prijateljskih vezi

Tabela 2: Tri področja dejavnikov v-/izključevanja, o katerih poročajo udeleženci druge skupine – mlajši šolski uspešniki.

	DEJAVNIKI VKLJUČEVANJA	DEJAVNIKI IZKLJUČEVANJA
Trg dela	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – motivacija za prekvalifikacijo v poklice, ki odpirajo možnost zaposlovanja v javnem sektorju – motivacija za smeri šolanja, ki nudijo več možnosti za zaposlitev – delo na črno – iskanje dela v tujini – izvajanje sezonskih del v poletnem času, ko ni šolanja – iskanje tržnih niš – pomoč CIPS-a 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – pomanjkanje delovnih izkušenj – prezahtevni pogoji delodajalcev – izkoriščevalski odnos s strani delodajalcev – oviran dostop do začasnih del prek ŠS – težave opravljanja dela zaradi posledic odvisnosti od drog – težave zagotavljanja varstva otrok – nizka izobrazba – problem, da se sezonska in začasna dela ne evidentirajo kot delovne izkušnje – slabo plačano delo – več možnosti zaposlovanja v mestu kot na vasi – zakon o podaljšanju delovne dobe mladim zmanjšuje možnosti za redno zaposlitev
Ekonomski položaj	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – pomen prihodkov socialne podpore – lastni prispevki v družinski proračun – racionalizacija stroškov šolanja – sobivanje s (starimi) starši – lažja ekonomsko preživetje – pomen denarne podpore zavoda za zaposlovanje pri šolanju – varčevanje v različnih shemah za boljše življenje v prihodnosti – priložnostni zaslužki iz hobijev 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – nezaupanje v podporo države – stanovanjski problemi – neurejeno državljanstvo – socialna podpora omogoča preživetje, a tudi odvrača od iskanja zaposlitve – finančne omejitve pri vpisu na želene smeri šolanja – omejevanje nakupov pri osnovnih življenjskih dobrinah – materialna in prostorska odvisnosti od staršev, sorodnikov – odrekanje hobijem in kulturnim dobrinam – zaradi nerednih prihodkov in finančnih težav številne selitve – problem pomanjkanja nadzora nad zviševanjem najemnin
Podpore bližnjih	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – spodbuda prijateljev za dokončanje šolanja – moralna podpora staršev, prijateljev 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – doživljanje drugačnosti in slabo počutje ob vrstnikih, ki imajo urejeno in ekonomsko stabilno življenje – pomanjkanje podpore staršev v preteklosti – nerazumevanje in malo poslušanja rejnikov v času odraščanja – doživljanje osamljenosti in socialne izključenosti

Tabela 3: Tri področja dejavnikov v-/izključevanja, o katerih poročajo udeleženci tretje skupine – starejši osipniki.

	DEJAVNIKI VKLJUČEVANJA	DEJAVNIKI IZKLJUČEVANJA
Trg dela	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – interes za znanja, ki povečujejo konkurenčnost na trgu dela – vključenost v podporne programe za iskanje zaposlitve in poklicno usmeritev – učinkovitost iskanja zaposlitve prek neposrednega stika z delodajalci – usmerjenost v iskanje del, ki so opredeljena z zaposlitvenim načrtom – usmerjenost v vertikalno nadgrajevanje dosežene izobrazbe – štipendiranje s strani delodajalca 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – zavajajoči razpisi za delo v nekaterih časopisnih medijih – pesimistična naravnost, pričakovanje neuspeha pri iskanju dela – pomanjkanje motivacije za iskanje zaposlitve zaradi dosedanjih neuspehov – odklanjanje težaških in neprimernih; del, ki niso skladna z osebnimi vrednotami – ne iščejo dela zaradi usmerjenosti v šolanje – pomanjkanje delovnih izkušenj – pogoji, ki omejujejo vstop v zaposlitev: stroški zdravniškega pregleda, potrebno osebno vozilo, mobilni telefon ipd. – pomanjkanje dodatnih znanj, ki jih zahtevajo delodajalci (jeziki, obvladovanje računalniške tehnologije ipd.) – odpor do koriščenja zvez in poznanstev, podredljivosti v odnosu do delodajalcev – pritiski za prekvalifikacijo – spremenljive in negotove razmere na trgu dela odvrtaajo prizadevanje za zaposlovanje – odklonilni odnos do priložnostnih del v gostinstvu
Ekonomski položaj	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – finančne ugodnosti, ki jih prinaša status brezposelne osebe – brezplačne članarine v knjižnicah ipd. – nenasedanje reklamam in potrošništvu – finančna podpora staršev, starih staršev – redno prejemanje žepnine od staršev – prihodki soc. podpore v namen plačila šolnine 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – prikrajšanost za nekatere olajšave (ni mogoče imeti študentske mesečne vozovnice, lahko imaš le delavsko) – finančne stiske v primeru potrebnih zdravstvenih storitev (ne moreš prekiniti plačevanja dodatnega zavarovanja, če se prijaviš) – ni možnosti za razreševanje stanovanjskega problema samskih brezposelnih mladih – bivanjske stiske – prisiljeni sobivati pri (starih) starših,
Podpore bližnjih	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – občasna finančna/materialna podpora staršev/starih staršev 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – prijatelji obrnili hrbet, umik – omejitve stikov s prijatelji – velikokrat gre ven sam – ostajanje doma, ker ni potrebe hoditi ven – pritiski in konflikti v družini – doživljanje nerazumevanja

Mladi iz skupine starejši osipniki pri vstopanju na trg dela izpostavijo izkušnjo učinkovitosti neposrednega pristopa do delodajalcev ob usmerjanju in podpori svetovalcev Zavoda za zaposlovanje. Usmerjanje na trg dela je opredeljeno z zaposlitvenim načrtom ter vezano na njihove dosežene kompetence dela in izobraževanja. Načrtujejo izobraževalne kariere, ki so v večini primerov usmerjene v nadgrajevanje dosežene izobrazbe. Motivirani so predvsem za vertikalno napredovanje v izobraževanju, manj pa naklonjeni prekvalifikacijam. Materialni in finančni položaj si zagotavljajo z zniževanjem in omejevanjem materialnih potreb, varčevanjem iz občasnih zaslužkov in prejemki socialne podpore. S strani staršev prejemajo tako emocionalno kot instrumentalno podporo. V individualnih biografijah se izpostavi pretežno pesimistična naravnost za zaposlovanje, ki je povezana s ponavljanjem izkušnje neuspeha pri iskanju dela s področja dosežene izobrazbe. Mladi te skupine opozarjajo na stisko moralnih vrednot – odklanjajo dela, ki niso skladna z njihovimi osebnimi vrednotami (npr. akviziterska dela), imajo odpor do tega, da bi se pri iskanju dela posluževali zvez in poznanstev. Tako kot v drugih skupinah opozarjajo na problem pomanjkanja delovnih izkušenj in dodatnih znanj, ki jih zahtevajo delodajalci. Zaradi samoizključevanja s trga dela iz omenjenih razlogov nekateri posamezniki povedo, da nimajo realne slike o možnostih na trgu dela. V okviru dejavnikov izključevanja izpostavijo zavajajoče razpise in oglaševanje za delo v različnih medijih (npr. v Salomonovem oglasniku), pritiske svetovalcev za zaposlovanje v smeri prekvalifikacij, prezahtevne pogoje delodajalcev, nepripravljenost delodajalcev sprejeti del finančnih stroškov ob nastopu zaposlitve, spremenljive in negotove razmere tako v sistemu izobraževanja kot na trgu dela. Izpostavijo problem neurejenosti ukrepov v zvezi s stanovanjsko problematiko, zdravstvom, udeležbo v javnem prevozu. V svojem ožjem socialnem okolju pa poročajo o šibkih ali prekinjenih socialnih mrežah, kar dodatno prispeva k njihovi socialni izolaciji. Pri tem posebej izpostavijo težave nerazumevanja in konfliktnosti s starejšo generacijo, s strani katere so zaradi položaja brezposelnosti deležni pogostih pritiskov in nestrpnosti.

Tabela 4: Tri področja dejavnikov v-/izključevanja, o katerih poročajo udeleženci skupine starejši šolski uspešniki.

	DEJAVNIKI VKLJUČEVANJA	DEJAVNIKI IZKLJUČEVANJA
Trg dela	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – delo na črno – konkuriranje in trženje dejavnosti ter storitev na črnem trgu dela – vzpostavljanje mreže strank – spodbudna je potrditev za kakovostno delo – občasno iskanje priložnostnih del, izbiranje lažjih priložnostnih del – interes za pridobitev fakultetne izobrazbe – delo, ki te veseli, je zagotovilo za uspeh – delo, opredeljeno z zaposlitvenim načrtom – prekvalifikacija 'v rezervi' – interes za zasebno dejavnost – iskanje dela, ki je kompatibilno študiju – imeti prave informacije – znanje jezikov – poznanstva 'pravih' ljudi – zveze prek staršev – podkupnine 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – odklonilni odnos do del v gostinstvu – poostren inšpekcijski nadzor za delo na črno – spolna diskriminacija (npr. v veterinarskem poklicu) – konservativna družbena klima, ki ne zna izkoristiti potencialov in znanja mladih – predsodki delodajalcev do zunanjega videza mladih – drage šolnine v zasebnih šolah – nepriznavanje kakovostnih študijskih programov zasebnih šol – zavod usmerja v neučinkovit način iskanja zaposlitve (pošiljanje prošenj) – delodajalci se ne odzivajo na pisanje prošenj – neprofesionalni odnos delavcev CSD ob uveljavljanju pravice do socialne podpore – ni sistemskih možnosti za pridobivanje delovnih izkušenj – znanja mladih delodajalec doživlja konkurenčno – manj možnosti za trajno delo – premajhen trg dela za posamezne storitve – tekmovalnost na delovnem mestu – poniževalni in izkoriščevalski odnos delodajalcev, nepravilnost in avtoritativnost delodajalcev – ni možnosti pokazati in dokazati svoje znanje – problem podzaposlenosti – pripravljenost za vključevanje le v dela, primerna doseženi izobrazbi – nezaupanje v koristnost prekvalifikacij za pridobitev dela
Ekonomski položaj	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – finančna podpora sorodnikov v tujini – sami materialno skrbijo le za nekatere dobrine (npr. nakup obleke) – zadovoljljiva materialna podpora staršev 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – nizki in nezadostni lastni prihodki – finančna negotovost in odvisnost od drugih
Podpore bližnjih	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – tolerantni starši, razumevanje s strani staršev: spodbude za družabno življenje, izkoristiti obdobje mladosti – moralna podpora staršev za razvijanje osebnih in profesionalnih potencialov 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – zaradi negotovih služb se ne spuščajo v kohabitacije s prijatelji ali partnerji – dolgočasenje, odsotnost tem za pogovor v družbi prijateljev, ki so zaposleni in imajo drugačne življenjske izkušnje

Individualni viri vključevanja v skupini starejših šolskih uspešnikov se kažejo v motivaciji za delo in poklic, ki mlade veseli, zanima, kjer lahko izkažejo svoja znanja. Mladi v tej skupini redkeje iščejo začasno in priložnostno delo in tudi v teh primerih je to delo takšno, da je v prvi vrsti povezano z njihovimi interesi oz. je sorodno delu, ki ga želijo v prihodnosti opravljati. Na ponudbo del se odzivajo skladno z opredeljenim zaposlitvenim načrtom, ki so ga pripravili skupaj s svetovalcem zaposlitve. Večina dela na črno, pri tem si ustvarjajo mrežo strank ter skrbijo za konkurenčno in kakovostno opravljeno delo oz. storitev. V prihodnosti je njihov interes usmerjen v zasebno dejavnost. Motivacija za izobraževanje je usmerjena v specializacijo oz. nadgradnjo že doseženega poklicnega znanja. Mladi povedo, da so pri vključevanju v delo pomembne predvsem zveze in poznanstva 'pravih' ljudi. V pogledu individualnih biografij je za to skupino mladih značilno, da večina prihaja iz dobro socialno-ekonomsko situiranih družin, imajo zelo dobro materialno in finančno podporo staršev, nekateri tudi sorodnikov v tujini. Ob tem pa tudi spretno koristijo vse možnosti finančnih podpor, ki jih lahko v tem položaju pridobijo od državnih institucij. Ob poskusu vstopanja na formalni trg dela se srečujejo z visoko konkurenčnostjo, tekmovalnostjo, z razvrednotenjem in neupoštevanjem dela, z izkoriščevalskim, nepravičnim in avtoritarnim odnosom s strani delodajalcev. To so ključni razlogi, ki odvrčajo interes mladih za zaposlovanje na formalnem trgu dela. Z vidika izkušenj sodelovanja z različnimi institucijami pomoči so kritični do neprimernega odnosa delavcev s CSD, prav tako so kritični do spodbujanja delavcev s strani Zavoda za zaposlovanje v smeri izobraževanja, kjer v prihodnosti ne vidijo dobre perspektive zaposlovanja. Kritičnost izražajo do družbe, ki ne izkorišča virov, ki jih ponazarjajo mladi.

Sklepi

Strnjeno lahko sklenemo, da predvsem mlajši intervjuvanci nelegalno vstopajo na študentski trg dela, mladi s poklicno in srednjo šolo pa si ustvarjajo socialne mreže, prek katerih prav tako iščejo delo na črno; sicer si hkrati prizadevajo za vstop na formalni trg, vendar so sistemski pogoji zelo neugodni, kar jih od tega odvrča.

Ignjatović (2002) meni, da reintegracija prek fleksibilnih oblik zaposlovanja (zaposlitve za določen čas, s skrajšanim delovnim časom idr.) ne pomeni dolgoročne reintegracije brez systemske ureditve njihovega položaja in integracije fleksibilnih oblik zaposlovanja v trg delovne sile in socialno politiko, kar pomeni, da je mladim treba omogočiti dostop do temeljnih virov socialne varnosti: dodatno izobraževanje, varno zaposlitev, stanovanje, zdravstveno varstvo idr., na kar opozarjajo tudi naši intervjuvanci. Hammer in Julkunen (2003) kritično ugotavljata, da modeli socialne varnosti ob vstopu na trg dela zanemarjajo participatorno vlogo mladih kot polnopravnih državljanov. Celo v univerzalističnem modelu socialne varnosti, ki zastopa in poudarja koncept polnopravnega državljanstva ter vključuje številne mehanizme in podpore mladim pri osamosvajanju od staršev, dostopu do zaposlitve in podpore v primeru brezposelnosti, se kaže problem uveljavljanja polnopravnega državljanstva, ko gre za zagotavljanje socialne varnosti mladih pri integraciji na trg dela. Najbolj pereč pa je ta problem v južноеvropskih državah, kjer mladi nimajo dostopa – ali pa le minimalno – do javnih podpor države, zato v teh primerih ne gre le za problem revščine, materialne in socialne prikrajšanosti, temveč primarno za problem vzdrževanja mladih v položaju permanentne odvisnosti. Pri nas je na ta problem opozorila tudi raziskava o socialni ranljivosti mladih (Ule, 2000, str. 13), ki opozarja na povečevanje paternalizma in oženje avtonomije mladih, kar zmanjšuje njihovo obrambo, participatorne in ustvarjalne sposobnosti.

Vstop na formalni trg dela v sedanjih okoliščinah bi po besedah za večino mladih, ki živijo v težjih materialnih razmerah, pomenil izgubo kontinuitete denarnih podpor institucij, v tem pa nekateri mladi vidijo veliko tveganje za svoj že tako negotovi življenjski položaj. Temeljni razlogi, ki jih za odmik ali gibanje na obrobju formalnega trga dela navajajo v vseh skupinah, so: prenizko plačilo za osnovno preživetje, izkušnje z izkoriščevalskim in nepoštenim odnosom delodajalcev, predvsem v zasebnem sektorju, pomanjkanje delovnih izkušenj, slabe možnosti za dostop do začasnih del. Vključenost v začasna dela pa je lahko tudi rizični dejavnik socialne izključenosti, ker mlade pogosto vstopanje v začasna delovna razmerja izpostavlja tveganju zaporednih obdobj brezposelnosti. Hkrati pa so lahko začasna dela varovalni dejavnik, če gre za

prostovoljne izbire in odločitve, ker si s tem mladi širijo izbire, kar je izraz sodobnih individualiziranih prehodov v odraslost (Rapuš Pavel, 2005).

Sodobni družbeni sistem kot temeljne vrednote poudarja delo, kapital, sodobni posameznik pa naj bi se oddaljeval od sfere dela in se usmerjal v vrednote, ki celo nasprotujejo družbenim, k hedonizmu in nedeloholizmu. V tem smislu Ignjatović (2002) meni, da je delo kot vrednota v strukturah bolj razvitih držav tudi sistemsko vzdrževano, medtem ko je iz vrednostnih sistemov posameznikov razvidno, da zapušča osrednje mesto. Naši rezultati kažejo, da mladi poleg tega, da v delu vidijo eksistenčno nujno, na zelo pomembno mesto postavljajo tudi doživljanje zadovoljstva ob delu. Predvsem starejši intervjuvanci z nedokončano srednjo ali višjo šolo, ki se najmanj vključujejo na formalni trg dela, še vedno postavljajo delo kot vrednoto med prioritete v svojem življenju. Opisujejo ga predvsem skozi poklic, ki pomeni njegovo konkretizacijo in pomemben del njihove lastne identitete.

Ugotavljamo, da so ekonomsko najbolj ogroženi mlajši udeleženci z (ne)dokončano šolo, ki največ poročajo o težavah vzdrževanja temeljne eksistence. Materialno stisko izražajo v zvezi s plačilom stroškov šolanja, reševanjem stanovanjskega problema, z odrekanjem druženju z vrstniki in udeležbi na raznih kulturnih prireditvah. Mlajši z dokončano šolo se raje kot za zaposlitev na formalnem trgu dela odločajo za preživetje ob denarnih podporah državnih ustanov in delo na črnem trgu, ker jim z doseženo izobrazbo slabo plačano delo na formalnem trgu ne bi omogočalo dovolj prihodkov za preživetje, še predvsem če so si že ustvarili družino. Zdi se, da starejši udeleženci z nedokončano izobrazbo v nasprotju z drugimi podskupinami bolj vdano sprejemajo materialno odvisnost od staršev in države, izražajo sprijaznjenost z danostjo, ne vidijo in ne iščejo možnosti, da bi se osamosvojili, skušajo se prilagoditi z zniževanjem ravni življenjskega standarda na vseh področjih življenja. Starejši udeleženci z dokončano izobrazbo pa poročajo, da finančne vire pridobijo z delom na črno, pomembna pa je tudi redna finančna podpora staršev. Večjo materialno stisko v položaju brezposelnosti ta podskupina izraža predvsem v zvezi s prostorsko mobilnostjo.

Ugotavljamo, da se tudi na ekonomskem področju dosežena izobrazba in socialno-ekonomski status družine pokazeta kot

najvplivnejša dejavnika marginalizacije (prim. Dekleva, Rapuš Pavel, 2004). Rezultati opozorijo na materialno stisko osnovnega preživetja predvsem pri mlajših intervjuvancih, starejši z nedokončano srednjo šolo omenjajo prilagodljivost življenjskega sloga razmeram, znižanje življenjskega standarda, starejši mladi z dokončano srednjo ali višjo šolo pa materialno stisko izražajo predvsem v težavah prostorske mobilnosti.

Avtorji ugotavljajo, da različni modeli blaginje v evropskih državah bolj ali manj blažijo ekonomsko marginalizacijo mladih. S spreminjanjem strukturnega konteksta in trga dela se spreminja tudi pojav revščine. Revščina med mladimi v evropskih državah je danes že splošen trend, izjema je le Velika Britanija, kjer je pojav revščine še vedno bolj značilen za populacijo srednjih let. Trajna brezposelnost vodi mlade v revščino in odvisnost od socialnih in drugih državnih oblik pomoči (v Rapuš Pavel, 2005).

Podpore, ki jih prejema mladi, so povezane tako s socialnimi kot z individualnimi dejavniki. Uletova (2002, str. 33) meni, da je danes eden izmed najpomembnejših dejavnikov socialne diferenciacije mladih obstoj družinskih podpor, torej ali je mladi človek deležen družinske podpore in kako kakovostna je. Pri tem so odločilnega pomena družinske čustvene podpore in družinske socialne mreže. Ob današnji zaostreni tekmovalnosti in vse hujši selekciji pri vstopu v prestižne šole in zaposlitev postaja ta diferenciacija usodna. Avtorica pravi, da se skozi zadnji vpliv vtihotapijo socialne razlike, saj družine na zgornjem delu družbene lestvice zaradi boljše materialne preskrbljenosti otrokom lažje ponudijo takšno podporo kot tiste na spodnjem delu družbene lestvice, na kar opozorijo tudi naši rezultati. Rezultati kažejo, da več podpore staršev prejema starejši intervjuvanci, ki poročajo tudi o boljših socialno-ekonomskih razmerah in boljših odnosih v družini, o boljšem razumevanju staršev za njihov sedanj položaj. Podpore so bili deležni že v preteklosti in tudi danes, ko se soočajo z brezposelnostjo. Sprejeti dogovori v zvezi s študijem in finančno participacijo preprečujejo, da bi prihajalo do konfliktov, kar kaže na pomen dobre komunikacije v družini. V takih okoliščinah lahko manj obremenjeno eksperimentirajo z različnimi vrstami del in oblikami zaposlitve, se dodatno izobražujejo in nabirajo druge vrste kompetenc za boljše možnosti vstopa v zaposlitev. Medtem pa mlajši intervjuvanci v naši raziskavi pogosteje poročajo o odsotnosti

instrumentalnih in emocionalnih družinskih podpor že v preteklosti, kar je bistveno zaznamovalo njihov sedANJI položaj. Več podpore nekateri dobijo pri starih starših, največ podpore pa doživljajo s strani partnerjev. V tej skupini je izpostavljen problem komunikacije v družini, pogosto prihaja do konfliktov, saj tako starši kot stari starši in sorodniki kažejo manj razumevanja za sedANJI položaj mladih. Kjer v primarni družini ni razumevanja, emocionalne in materialne podpore, lahko rečemo, da se srečujemo z bolj ranljivo skupino mladih, ki se sooča z večjimi psihosocialnimi stiskami in stiskami osnovnega preživetja. Pri opisu razmer v družini se pri večini mlajših intervjuvancev pokažejo naslednji obremenilni dejavniki: slabše socialno-ekonomske razmere, neurejeni bivanjski pogoji, razdrte družine in nasilje v družini. Nekateri mlajši intervjuvanci ob tem navajajo še individualne probleme: lažjo invalidnost (posledica prometne nesreče), težave s posledicami uživanja drog in težave z duševnim zdravjem, ki so posledica daljše izpostavljenosti obremenitvam v neurejenih družinskih razmerah. Mladi, pri katerih se zaradi položaja brezposelnosti težave z duševnim zdravjem pokažejo izraziteje, spregovorijo o pomanjkanju volje, depresivnem razpoloženju, poskusih samomora, strahu pred neuspehom, občutkih krivde ipd.

Kieselbach (2003) v raziskavi o položaju brezposelnosti mladih ugotavlja, da je tveganje socialne izključenosti brezposelnih mladih manjše, če so ti zadovoljni s socialnimi podporami družine in ožjih socialnih mrež. Rezultati njegove študije kažejo, da je tveganje socialne izključenosti manjše v južni Evropi in Skandinaviji. V prvem primeru je zaradi visoke podpore družine zmanjšano tveganje socialne izključenosti med mladimi brez dela, v poznejšem obdobju pa jih lahko podpora staršev ovira pri integraciji v širše socialne mreže. Pri preučevanju brezposelnosti v povezavi z značilnostmi družine se še pokaže značilen vzorec medgeneracijskega prevzemanja podobne problematike in ovir v življenjskem poteku, iz česar avtor sklepa, da tesni odnosi in povezanost v družini v primeru brezposelnosti niso vselej varovalni dejavnik in preventiva pred socialno izključenostjo. K problematiki brezposelnosti v povezavi z družinskimi podporami je treba pristopiti skozi samoevalvacijo izkušenj mladih ter tako pridobiti njihov pogled zaznavanja socialne podpore in kakovosti socialnih stikov z družino in drugimi socialnimi mrežami.

Rezultati kažejo, da gre v večini primerov za nezadovoljstvo s sedanjim položajem ter manj za svobodno izbiro eksperimentiranja z različnimi zaposlitvami in življenjskimi stili. Kljub omejitvam individualnih in sistemskih virov mladi želijo poskusiti nove možnosti v povezavi z delom, izobraževanjem, so pa pod vplivom različnih pritiskov prisiljeni svoje poklicne in izobraževalne želje prilagajati uveljavljenim in restriktivnim potem usposabljanja. Gre tudi za mlade, ki podaljšujejo svojo odvisnost od staršev, v kar jih prisiljujeta nezadostna socialna varnost in položaj brezposelnosti. Aktivnosti in dejavna orientacija v vsakodnevnem življenju mladih kažejo izbire različnih subjektivnih identitetnih strategij – od konvencionalne naravnosti in samoiskanja do neokonservativnih drž. Ugotavljamo, da se mladi zavedajo pomena akumulacije kulturnega kapitala na eni strani, na drugi strani pa je prisotno pomanjkanje individualne in sistemske fleksibilnosti. Mladi z različno doseženo izobrazbo in starostjo izpostavljajo tako individualne in predvsem sistemske ovire, ki jim predstavljajo oviro pri izbiri zelenih biografskih potekov. Predvsem tisti z nižjo izobrazbo imajo višja pričakovanja glede profesionalnih in poklicnih karier, izražajo pa težave pri njihovem uresničevanju zaradi ekonomskih (npr. plačilo študija) in socialnih razlogov (npr. varstvo otrok). Strategije pomoči in podpore mladim v položaju brezposelnosti bi bilo treba usmerjati v vzpostavljanje ravnotežja različnih življenjskih področij posameznika in tako blažiti tveganja prehodov v odraslost, ki jih prinaša modernizacija. To pomeni, da bi moralo biti obravnavanje mladih bolj individualizirano ter prilagojeno različnim položajem in potrebam posameznikov, kot je zdaj. Morali bi razmišljati o strategijah usmerjanja in podpore mladim (v zaposlitev) prek mehanizmov in ukrepov, ki bi omogočali participacijo, uveljavljanje in potrditev resursov znanja, ki jih posedujejo. Realistične perspektive poklicnih karier bi se morale razvijati skupaj z upoštevanjem posameznikovega trenutnega življenjskega položaja. Pred vključevanjem v programe politike zaposlovanja bi morali biti na voljo še drugi bolj reintegracijsko in motivacijsko usmerjeni programi, psihosocialna stabilizacija in individualni razvoj posameznika pa bi morala imeti prednost pred integracijo v zaposlitvene treninge ali izobraževanje.

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Mladi in zdravi, zakaj ne gredo delat?! Problematiziranje družbenega pogleda na brezdomne mlade

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Povzetek

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Članek se ukvarja z eno od izključenih družbenih skupin pri nas, brezdomnimi mladimi. Položaj te skupine postavi v kontekst tveganja trajnejše dezintegracije družbenih skupin, ki so izpostavljene medgeneracijski revščini. V zvezi s tem v diskusijo vključi koncept podrazreda in pretehta njegove različne konotacije. Opisuje sodobne pojave, ki so za skupino mladih vse večje tveganje, osredotoči se predvsem na prehod v svet dela in vključenost v zdravstveni sistem. Za ilustracijo vključuje podatke iz dveh dosedanjih raziskav o brezdomstvu, Brezdomstvo v Ljubljani (Dekleva in Razpotnik, 2007) ter Brezdomstvo, zdravje in dostopnost zdravstvenih storitev (Razpotnik in Dekleva, 2009). Rezultati opozarjajo na trend, da so mlajši brezdomni v povprečju nižje izobraženi celo znotraj celotnega vzorca brezdomnih, nihče od mladih brezdomnih, vključenih v raziskavo (2009), v času anketiranja ni bil v rednem delovnem razmerju, drastično pa med drugim izstopa podatek o izključitvi iz šole, o kateri skupina mladih brezdomnih poroča več kot dvakrat pogosteje kot celotni vzorec brezdomnih. S tem mladi brezdomni v Sloveniji ustrezajo konceptom 'ničelnega statusa mladih'.

Ključne besede: mladi, brezdomni, postmoderna, delo, zdravje, učinek vrtljivih vrat, podrazred, ničelni status mladih, medgeneracijska revščina, tveganje.

Uvod in namen

Brezdomstvo v Sloveniji, posebej v smislu večje množičnosti, vidnosti in heterogenosti, je relativno nov pojav. Vse več različnih posameznikov se znajde v razmerah ekstremne socialne izključenosti, med njimi tudi vse več mladih. Temi brezdomstva mladih do zdaj pri nas ni bilo namenjene posebne pozornosti, niti o njej ni bilo narejenih analiz, z izjemo redkih člankov, katerih avtorici sta Leskošek (2002) in Razpotnik (2007). V pričujočem članku se problematike brezdomstva mladih lotevam z dveh vidikov, in sicer z vidika prehoda v svet dela in zdravstvenega sistema. Pojasnujem in osvetljujem, kako sta oba vidika povezana z brezdomstvom mladih.

Po različnih javnih odzivih sodeč, je ljudem težko razumeti, kako so lahko brez doma ter na milost in nemilost prepuščeni cesti tudi mladi ljudje. V svojem ukvarjanju z brezdomstvom se avtorica tega članka vse pogosteje srečujem z izjavami pripadnikov različnih delov javnosti, ki izražajo nerazumevanje do tega, da so na cesti mladi ljudje. Intenzivnost in pogostost tovrstnih izjav je tudi povod za pričujoči članek, ki poskuša razgrniti ozadja pojava brezdomstva mladih, s posebnim fokusom na prehodu v svet dela in vidikom zdravja oz. vključenosti v zdravstveni sistem.

Odnos nerazumevanja, kako so lahko mladi na cesti, je mogoče zaslediti tudi med delom strokovne javnosti. Vsebina čudenja oz. nerazumevanja je najpogosteje vezana na predpostavko, da mladi vendar ne bi smeli biti odvisni od takih ali drugačnih miloščin, saj so predvidoma zaradi svoje mladosti zdravi, iz česar naj bi sledilo, da bi bili lahko produktivni ter aktivni člani družbe. V ozadju sta dve predpostavki javnosti. Prva, da je brezdomne, posebej cestne, vidne, izpostavljene, javnosti na očem, treba gledati skozi diskurz usmiljenja. To, ali si milost mimoidočih tudi zaslužijo, pa naj bi bilo vidno že navzven. Kako zdrav in močan je videti posameznik, naj bi govorilo o njegovi zaslužnosti. Najočitnejši problem take argumentacije je, da teža socialne izključenosti določenega posameznika ni vselej vidna navzven. Nadalje so sodbe ljudi o tem, kdo je 'zaslužen' in kdo ne, obarvane s podležečimi nerefektiranimi diskurzi, ki pogosteje odsevajo tradicionalna verjetja o položaju različnih skupin, kot pa izražajo trenutno empirično realnost. Ne nazadnje bi lahko odprli tudi diskusijo o pomenu in smislu

diskurza usmiljenja, a prihranimo to diskusijo za drugo priložnost. Druga predpostavka v ozadju čudenja nad mladimi, ki izkušajo brezdomstvo, je, da mladi naj ne bi bili v položaju ekstremne izključenosti, domnevno zaradi svoje mladosti in z njo povezane domnevne telesne moči in zdravja. V komentarjih ljudi je čutiti sum, da ti mladi nemoč le igrajo in so v nasprotju s tradicionalno milost 'zaslužnimi' (ostarelimi, bolnimi, fizično hendikepiranimi ali otroki) neke vrste prevaranti, pogosto pa v javnih diskurzih nastopajo celo kot moralni demoni, saj se, čeprav se jim težave priznajo, z njimi prav gotovo soočajo na družbeno nesprejemljive načine (pogosto povezane z umikom v pasivnost, neredko z zasvojenostjo, ki prinašajo s seboj ne le zdravstvene, ampak tudi socialne posledice). Kot že tolikokrat do zdaj je tudi tukaj še kako na mestu sicer že skorajda pregovorna Cohenova misel: Še več moralne panike bo ustvarjene v družbi in zdaj še neimenovani javni demoni bodo ustvarjeni. Pa ne zaradi tega, ker bi bil tak razvoj družbe neizbežen zaradi neke neizprosne notranje logike, ampak zato, ker bo tako, kot je naša družba trenutno strukturirana, še naprej generirala probleme za nekatere svoje člane, npr. adolescente nižjega razreda, in potem obsodila vsako rešitev, ki bi jo ta skupina lahko našla (Cohen, 1973).

Redkeje kot na posameznike pa je pogled javnosti (pogosto pa žal tudi stroke) usmerjen na analizo in kritiko socialne, mladinske, zaposlovalne, stanovanjske ali zdravstvene politike v državi, ki vse uokvirjajo možnosti mladih, kako bodo ti uspeli na prehodih v odraslost. Celo več. Z nerazumevanjem, da mlade njihova socialna izključenost lahko vodi v brezdomstvo, je prežeto tudi politično razpoloženje, ki to problematiko za zdaj bolj ko ne spregleduje.

Ker družbeni pogled na brezdomne mlade pogouje in oblikuje sklop nereflktiranih predpostavk brez prave empirične utemeljitve, je namen pričujočega članka pretehtati obstoječe trende in diskurze ter predstaviti nekatere ilustrativne podatke, povezane z mladimi in njihovo izključenostjo s trga dela ter iz zdravstvenega sistema. Ti dve področji sicer nista edini kritični, še pred tem je, takoj ko je govora o brezdomstvu, vsekakor vprašanje stanovanjske politike, vseeno pa sta ključni, sta pa tudi bistvena elementa zgoraj omenjenih javnih očitkov brezdomnim mladim. Namen članka je orisati spremenjene družbene razmere in osvetliti, kako te pomenijo tveganja tudi za mlade, da se ti znajdejo v položaju ekstremne socialne izključenosti, brezdomstva.

Postmoderno zamegljevanje, pluralizirana podzaposlenost in podrazred

Onkraj klasičnega industrijskega dizajna se je porodila nova moderna, kot to zgodovinsko obdobje poimenuje Beck (1992) v svojem delu *Družba tveganja*. Če je industrijska moderna klasična, je ta, ki prihaja za njo, reflektivna moderna. Če je bila zadnji dve desetletji nova moderna za nas novost, obetajoča in strašljiva obenem, je dandanes v družboslovnih razpravah že malone z vseh strani obdelana tema, ki ni prinesla ne konca zgodovine in ne osvoboditve, temveč predvsem vsakodnevno nove izzive, ki se porajajo iz negotovosti. Prav tako pa so se v teh dveh desetletjih dodobra začrtale nove delitve in včasih komaj vidno izoblikovale nove družbene skupine glede na privilegiranost dostopov do pomembnih virov, količino družbene moči, ki jo posedujejo, oziroma glede na odpornost soočanja s tveganji.

Ne glede na to, da nova moderna dandanes ni več tako nova, pa smo še vedno priče prepletanju kontinuitete z diskontinuiteto (Beck, 1992), pri čemer industrijska družba sama nosi v sebi razloge za diskontinuiteto – prek svoje vzpostavitve se pravzaprav že destabilizira. Kontinuiteta tako postaja vzrok za diskontinuiteto. Koncept industrijske družbe namreč počiva na notranji kontradikciji med univerzalnimi principi moderne, civilnimi pravicami in enakostjo ter na drugi strani ekskluzivno strukturo institucij, v katerih se vsi ti principi lahko le delno uresničujejo (prav tam).

V industrijski družbi je družbeno življenje temeljilo na nuklearni družini, ki je postala normativna in standardizirana. Po drugi strani pa nuklearna družina temelji na – kot se izrazi Beck (prav tam) – 'fevdalnih' spolnih vlogah, ki so začele postopoma razpadati v modernizacijskih procesih, kot so vključevanje žensk v procese dela, povečana stopnja ločitev itd. S tem se je odnos med produkcijo in reprodukcijo začel premikati, kot so se začeli majati tudi vsi preostali procesi, vezani na industrijsko tradicijo nuklearne družine: poroka, starševstvo, spolnost, ljubezen, intimnost (Giddens, 2000) pa tudi odraščanje ter statusni prehodi.

V urbanih industrializiranih družbah, za katere je značilna kompleksna delitev dela, postaja prepad med bogatimi in revnimi vse globlji. Tisti, ki so pri vrhu družbene lestvice, si lahko priskrbijo

privilegije in moč ter nesorazmeren delež družbenega bogastva. Te socialne hierarhije so lahko po mnenju avtorice Bradley (2003) osnovane na vojaškem osvajanju, lastnini, zaposlitvi, družinskem ozadju, etničnem poreklu, verski pripadnosti, izobrazbenih kvalifikacijah, spolu in starosti. Za sodobni čas je po njenem značilno, da socialna hierarhizacija sloni na kompleksni mešanici mnogo izmed naštetih dejavnikov. Tudi Beck (1992) piše, da se sistemske koordinate, v katere je vpeto in na katere pritrjeno življenje oz. način mišljenja v industrijski moderni, torej osi spola, generacije, družine, zaposlitve, religije in znanosti začenjajo tresti, iz njih pa se, kot pravi, v somraku porajajo nove priložnosti in nove nevarnosti. Kaj so te nove priložnosti in kaj nove nevarnosti na primeru družbene skupine mladih, ali če vprašanje postavimo drugače, za koga spremenjene razmere pomenijo priložnost, za koga pa so predvsem grožnja?

Ugotovimo lahko, da je mladina vsekakor družbena skupina, ki je veliko pridobila od sodobne države blaginje. Pridobila je boljše in enakopravnejše oblike izobraževanja, možnost polne zaposlitve ob koncu izobraževanja, socialno in zdravstveno zavarovanje, posebno pravno varstvo, številne institucije, ki so se začele poklicno ukvarjati s problemi mladih (Mizen, 2004; po Ule, 2008). A v zadnjih dveh desetletjih, kot ugotavlja avtorica (Ule, 2008), se je položaj mladih pri nas temeljito spremenil. Za manjši del mladih so spremembe odprle možnosti za uspeh, kariero, materialni standard, življenjski stil, ki si jih prej ni bilo mogoče zamisliti. Za večino mladih pa so posledice družbenih sprememb, ki jih opisujeta npr. Beck (2003) in Giddens (2000), podaljšana odvisnost od staršev, povečevanje stroškov življenja in vsesplošna negotovost – če ne že strah – glede prihodnosti. Vse več mladih se spopada z negotovim delom za določen čas, s podaljšano odvisnostjo od primarnih družin, povečanjem izobraževalnih in delovnih zahtev, z institucionaliziranjem nižjih dohodkov, umikanjem državnih pomoči in z znatnim povečanjem stroškov za zagotavljanje vsaj razumne stopnje neodvisnosti, če stanovanjske problematike oz. zagotavljanja varnega in stabilnega prostora bivanja sploh ne načenjamo. Tudi udeležbo vse večjega števila mladih v terciarnem izobraževanju avtorica (Ule, 2008) interpretira kot odsev manjših možnosti na trgu delovne sile, prej kot pa večjih možnosti v izobraževanju. Po drugi strani so s porastom zahtev po bolj kvalificirani delovni sili na trgu

dela mladi iz srednjih in višjih slojev spet pridobili največ: če so bili namreč v preteklosti tudi nekvalificirani ali nizko kvalificirani delavci sposobni najti delo, danes zahteva prestrukturirano in tržno naravnano gospodarstvo predvsem višje kvalificirano delovno silo. Tako se tudi v naši družbi utrjujeta dve skupini, slikovito imenovani tudi zmagovalci in poraženci, torej na eni strani mladi, ki s pridom uporabljajo možnosti, ki jim jih ponuja sodobna tehnološko razvijajoča se družba, in na drugi strani mladi, ki se v teh procesih izgublajo, ker nimajo dovolj virov in podpore, da bi bili v tekmujoči družbi uspešni.

Če je avtorica Ule (2008) govorila o manjšem številu t. i. zmagovalcev in večini mladih, ki jim tveganja ne pomenijo toliko izziv kot grožnja, pa lahko temu dodamo še manjši del mladih, ki jih teža tveganj izvrže na robove ali celo zunaj dostopov.

Za boljše razumevanje spreminjajoče se narave trga dela in zaposlovanja je pomembno poudariti, da se v svetu približno od sredine sedemdesetih let dalje začnejo dolgoročni trendi gospodarske recesije – nastopi konec ekonomske rasti in ideje brezmejne rasti. Ta obrat je spremljal prihod otrok generacije *baby boom* na trg dela, kar je oboje sprožilo rast nezaposlenosti, še posebej mladih. Tudi Bradley (2003) ugotavlja, da so v zadnjih dveh desetletjih mladi posebej ranljiva skupina z vidika recesije in dolgotrajne nezaposlenosti. Mladi vsekakor nosijo nesorazmerno velik delež bremena nezaposlenosti in marsikje predstavljajo tretjino ali večji delež vseh brezposelnih. Tudi Keiselbach (2003) v primerjalni študiji nezaposlenosti in tveganja za socialno izključenost pri mladih v šestih evropskih državah ugotavlja, da je v vseh sodelujočih državah z izjemo ene nezaposlenost mladih pomembno višja, kot je stopnja nezaposlenosti v splošni populaciji. V zadnjem času se trendu nezaposlenosti pridružuje še pojav fleksibilizacije zaposlovanja, ki prinaša nove negotovosti in dodatne težave pri prehajanju mladih v svet dela. Fleksibilizacija dela pa pomeni tudi fleksibilizacijo delovnega časa in prostora. Prav ta fleksibilizacija pa zamegljuje tudi meje med delom in ne-delom. Nekdanje legalne in družbene premise dela in sistema zaposlovanja postajajo pozabljene, ali kot to poimenuje Beck (1992), jih je odnesla preteklost ('modernised away'). Množična nezaposlenost se je v zaposlovalni sistem vključila pod geslom pluralizirana podzaposlenost, skupaj z vsemi tveganji in priložnostmi, ki jih take razmere za posameznike prinašajo.

Podatki Statističnega urada RS opozarjajo, da je v Sloveniji od skupno 6,7 % brezposelnih med aktivnim prebivalstvom, starim 15 let ali več, 41,7 % takih, ki imajo nepopolno osnovno šolo ali pa imajo končano le osnovno šolo. Ko govorimo o mladih, je vključitev v svet dela tesno povezana s koncem izobraževalne poti. Mladostniki, ki pred koncem šolanja izpadejo iz šolskega sistema, imajo seveda več težav pri iskanju zadovoljujoče in ekonomsko varne zaposlitve kot njihovi vrstniki s končano šolo. Po navadi se zaposlujejo na nizko kvalificiranih in slabo plačanih delovnih mestih. Imajo tudi več težav pri prilagajanju na delovno sfero in socialni sistem (Ule, 2008). Ista avtorica poroča o stopnjah mladinske brezposelnosti, ki so bile v Sloveniji najvišje v začetku devetdesetih let, ko je ta dosegala kar 24,2 %. V drugi polovici devetdesetih let in še posebej po letu 2000 so se stopnje brezposelnosti mladih začasno znižale, ekonomska kriza pa spet ogroža možnosti mladih in izostruje tveganja za nezaposlenost.

V nadaljevanju bom obstoječo debato prepletla s konceptom podrazreda. Vse več avtorjev s področja Evrope in širše ugotavlja, da je vedno več mladih ljudi sistematično pognanih na robove konvencionalnih in legitimnih poti v odraslost (Wilkinson, 1995; Williamson, 1993; oboje po Williamson, 2003). Tudi če o popolni disociaciji od priložnosti in možnosti v družbi težko govorimo, vseeno mnogo ljudi do znatnega števila pomembnih virov nima dostopa. Podrazred lahko očrtamo kot gibanje ljudi med nezaposlenostjo ter začasnimi in delnimi zaposlitvami, ujetost v cikel nizkega dohodka, iz katerega se je izjemno težko prebiti (Williamson, 2003).

Debata o podrazredu ima dolgo zgodovino, njena trenutna aktualnost, posebej še v angleško govorečem območju (Velika Britanija), pa je spodbujena s strani nove desnice, konservativno usmerjenih družboslovnih avtorjev, ki želijo izpostaviti individualne značilnosti tako imenovanih brezupnih članov družbe z namenom poudariti individualno odgovornost oz. krivdo teh posameznikov za njihov marginaliziran družbeni položaj in s tem zavrniti skupnostno oz. državno odgovornost med drugim tudi za reševanje teh težav kot družbenih (Jones, 2003). Gre za diskurz, ki revne krivi za njihovo revščino, nezaposlene za njihovo nezaposlenost in brezdomne za njihovo brezdomnost, namreč »zavrača potrebo po posredovanju družbe ter pomoči prizadetim ljudem in skupinam. Izziva meščansko

moralno paniko pred revnimi in izključenimi in s tem prikriva dejanske vzroke revščine in probleme revnih» (Ule, 2008, s. 218).

Za tako ideologijo se skriva monetarna logika krčenja sredstev in pridobivanja političnih točk s prihranki na kratki rok, na dolgi rok pa prav taka politika ustvarja velike tako finančne kot tudi socialne stroške, saj poskuša 'problematične' posameznike izriniti na robove, stran od moralne večine, namesto da bi s sistemskimi vzroki revščine kakorkoli opravila. Podrazred se je v preteklosti enačilo z 'ostankom' (residuum) (Stedman, Jones, 1971, po Williamson, 2003); s kulturo revežev (Lewis, 1966); z 'divjim', deloma ali v celoti s kriminalnimi aktivnostmi povezanim razredom ljudi (Booth, Thompson, Yeo, 1973, po Williamson, 2003). Gledano z bolj strukturnega vidika gre za ljudi, (medgeneracijsko) ujete v krogotoke prikrajšanosti, nestabilne zaposlitve in socialno dezorganizacijo. V to kategorijo različni avtorji, npr. Jones (2003), umeščajo dolgotrajno nezaposlene, nekvalificirane delavce brez redne zaposlitve in matere samohranilke, Baldwin, Coles in Mitchel (2003) pa še hendikepirane mlade in mlade, ki zapuščajo skrbstvene institucije. Kljub temu pa ni strokovnega soglasja, ali imajo te skupine res toliko skupnega, da jih lahko sistematično povežemo v koncept 'razreda', glede na to, da je znotraj diskurza podrazreda značilno prav pomanjkanje, če ne odsotnost 'razredne zavesti', o kateri smo lahko govorili pri delavskem razredu. Podrazred je namreč v nasprotju z razredom pravzaprav difuzna kategorija, s katero se, skladno z individualizirano in pluralizirano naravno sodobnih družb, nihče ne identificira ali v njej prepozna. To je skladno s sodobnim pogledom na identiteto. Avtorica Bradley (2003) s tem v zvezi govori o fragmentaciji, ki pomeni, da se kategorije, kot je kategorija razreda, dandanes med seboj mešajo z drugimi vidiki neenakosti, kot so starost, etničnost, spol ... in tako tvorijo multitudo prekrivajočih se grupacij.

Kot 'trda' kategorija je podrazred vsekakor problematičen, saj je težko govoriti o trdni skupini ljudi z lastno kulturo, ko gre za raznovrstne pojave in raznovrstno populacijo. Podrazred kot 'mehka' kategorija, torej stanje s prepustnimi mejami, v katero in iz katerega ljudje prehajajo, je prepričljivejša različica tega koncepta.

Mladi pripadniki podrazreda, tisti, ki se izgubijo v obdobju, ki naj bi bilo namenjeno prehodu v odraslost, padejo skozi varovalne mreže na poti iz izobraževanja v delo, pa so relativno nov pojav,

kot piše Williamson (2003) za situacijo v Veliki Britaniji. Znotraj koncepta podrazreda nekoliko bolj konsistentna, a še vseeno seveda zelo razpršena kategorija, pa so mladi brez statusa, avtor Williamson (2003) jih poimenuje 'status zero youth', Ule (2008) pa to poimenovanje prevede v 'ničelni status mladih'. Na prostoru Velike Britanije se je ta izraz uveljavil za tiste mlade, ki niso vključeni v nobeno obliko izobraževanja, usposabljanja ali treninga niti niso zaposleni. Gre za status, ki naj bi v veliki meri napovedoval marginalizirano ekonomsko prihodnost. Lahko bi rekli, da je ničelni status slaba napoved v smislu t. i. podrazreda – prav trajna izključenost iz trga dela naj bi bila namreč centralna značilnost pripadnikov podrazreda.

Podobne koordinate zavzema tudi definicija socialne izključenosti, katere avtor je Kronauer (1998) ter ki jo povzema in predlaga v uporabo Keiselbach (2003). Omenjeni avtor definicijo postavi v kontekst aktualne zaposlovalne krize, ki še posebej prizadene nizkokvalificirane delavce. Po njegovem mnenju naraščajoča stopnja nezaposlenosti tako za nekatere postaja stalna realnost s posledicami, ki za vse več ljudi pomeni, da ne morejo živeti po standardih materialnega in socialnega blagostanja, obstoječih v družbi. Nova značilnost tega kroga nezaposlenosti in revščine zahteva terminologijo, ki ne bo poudarjala le monetarnega vidika (kot ga odpira pojem revščina), temveč bo zajemala tudi nemonetarne vidike. Tako Keiselbach v tem kontekstu ponudi definicijo socialne izključenosti, kjer je ta pojav razumljen kot dinamičen in multidimenzionalen proces, ki vključuje socialne in ekonomske vidike življenja, subjektivne izkušnje ter objektivne situacije in ki je odvisen od dostopnih osebnih in družbenih virov.

Avtor Williamson (2003) mlade pripadnike podrazreda povezuje z zavezanostjo kratkoročnim ciljem oz. preferiranjem kratkoročnosti pri načrtovanju, nenehno preokupacijo s finančnim stanjem, razpetostjo med denarne podpore, začasne zaposlitve ter – posebej ko jim ne starši ne država finančno ne stojijo ob strani – tudi priložnostna kriminalna dejanja, od katerih nekateri od teh mladih preidejo tudi v bolj preračunljiv in organiziran kriminal. Pogosta med temi mladimi sta tudi razočaranje in odklonilen odnos do izobraževalnih sistemov in različnih treningov, ki so nekvalificiranim mladim morda na voljo. Neredko iz različnih razlogov (konec bivanja v ustanovi, nestabilni odnosi z družino,

pomanjkanje sredstev, pomanjkanje življenjskih vizij itd.) postane vprašljiva in negotova tudi njihova nastanitev. Roberts (1981, po Williamsson, 2003) v zvezi s to skupino mladih govori o t. i. **učinku vrtljivih vrat** (*revolving door effect*), ki pomeni brezuspešno prehajanje od enega stanja ali oblike navidezne pomoči v drugo, torej od nezaposlenosti in vključevanja v sheme poklicnega usposabljanja do kratkih obdobjih zaposlitev in poskusov znajti se v drugih, pogosto nelegitimnih ekonomijah. Mladi se med temi in še drugimi oblikami nekako vrtijo v začaranem krogu in si poskušajo najti alternativne načine preživetja, njihovo vrtenje med različnimi stanji pa je prav znak neuspešnosti in brezupnosti teh oblik, poti, izhodov, ki niso izhodi. Vrtljiva vrata kot koncept opozarjajo stroko in oblikovalce politik na neučinkovit državni in civilni sistem soočanja z določeno problematiko, vezano na marginalizirano skupino ljudi.

Za mlade nezaposlene, ki so pod grožnjo socialne izključenosti, je glavni ogrožajoči faktor ravno nizka stopnja kvalificiranosti (Keiselbach, 2003). Avtor tudi ugotavlja, da je nezaposlenost osrednji dejavnik tveganja za mlade, ki jim na dolgi rok lahko ogrozi celostno integracijo. Tudi v Sloveniji – kot drugod – velja, da vse več mladih iz revnejših družin in marginaliziranih okolij odpoveduje v šolah in da so mladi iz dobro situiranih družin praviloma uspešnejši v šoli (Ule, 2008). Pravkar omenjena avtorica se sprašuje po razlogih za tako sliko glede na to, da seveda nobena študija do zdaj še ni dokazala manjše sposobnosti ali nižje inteligentnosti otrok iz revnejših družin. Pri nas za zdaj izraz ničelni status mladih še ni uveljavljen, govorimo pa o osipnikih oz. mladih, ki izpadejo iz sistema šolanja. Ule (prav tam) navaja definicijo (Bucchi idr., 2000), ki za osipnike definira tiste, ki zapustijo šolo pred koncem izobraževalnega programa, ne da bi se prepisali na drugo šolo ali v katero drugo izobraževalno ustanovo. V Sloveniji je delež osipnikov približno 15-odstoten, podobno kot v Italiji in Nemčiji (Eurostat, 2005), čeprav so primerjave težke zaradi težko primerljivih šolskih sistemov (Walther, 2006). Posledice izpada iz izobraževalnega sistema so drage za posameznika in za družbo, trdi Ule (2008) in jih razdeli v individualne, socialne, zdravstvene, izobrazbene in ekonomske. Izpad iz šolskega sistema, ki ga pogosto spremljajo izključenosti tudi iz drugih sfer, se lahko izteče tudi v brezdomstvo. Če se problematiko zanika, odreka družbeno odgovornost zanjo in resno ukrepanje (tako kurativno kot tudi

preventivno), se brezdomstvo in ekstremna socialna izključenost mladih lahko kronificirata, pogloblja pa se tudi dolgoročnejše tveganje za medgeneracijsko ohranjanje skupine ekstremno izključenih.

Keiselbach (2003) povezuje nezaposlenost mladih in zdravje. V primerjalni študiji šestih evropskih držav ugotavljajo, da je tveganje za zdravstvene težave mnogo večje v skupini nezaposlenih mladih v primerjavi z njihovimi zaposlenimi vrstniki. To še posebej velja za duševno zdravje in psihosocialne težave, večjo splošno ranljivost, občutek manjvrednosti, neuporabnosti, depresije in zmanjšano samozavest ter manjše zadovoljstvo z življenjem na splošno. S to problematiko se je v našem okolju ukvarjala avtorica Rapuš Pavel (2005) za Slovenijo. Pri tej skupini pa je večja tudi stopnja tveganja za samomorilno vedenje, še dodaja Keiselbach (2003). Omeniti je treba tudi pomanjkanje podpornih družbenih vezi, ki obenem lahko izvirajo iz zaposlenosti, po drugi strani pa so podperne vezi lahko varovalni dejavnik ob izkušnji dolgotrajne nezaposlenosti. Problematiko zdravja razdeli poglavje, ki sledi.

Brezdomstvo, zdravje, kombinirane težave in dostop do storitev¹

Obraz brezdomstva se je na ravni vsega sveta v zadnjih desetletjih spremenil, in sicer razširil s prej prevladujoče slike brezdomca, odraslega moškega, na vse več različnih delov populacije s tudi vse bolj kompleksnimi zdravstvenimi in drugimi potrebami (Turnbull, Muckle in Masters, 2007). Pravkar omenjeni avtorji napovedujejo povečanje in še nadaljnjo heterogenizacijo števila brezdomnih v prihodnje, kar je seveda pogojeno tudi s svetovno finančno krizo in njenim ne-reševanjem, ki podlega ekonomskim imperativom ter jim daje očitno prednost pred socialno in zdravstveno blaginjo vseh državljanov.

Tudi brezdomstvo je posledica mnogo socialno-demografskih sprememb v zadnjih desetletjih, povečanih tveganj in procesa individualizacije. Nanj lahko gledamo kot na posledico manjkajočih,

¹ Del tega poglavja je že bil objavljen v raziskovalnem poročilu z naslovom Brezdomstvo, zdravje in dostopnost zdravstvenih storitev, Razpotnik in Dekleva (2009)

razpadlih ali prešibkih socialnih mrež, ki bi lahko amortizirale primanjkljaje drugih resursov in ki bi pomenile potrebno stopnjo družbenega varovala pred izključenostjo. Pri povečevanju in heterogenizaciji pojava brezdomstva igra pomembno vlogo tudi spremenjena slika družine, naraščanje deleža enostarševskih družin in spremenjeni vzorci odhajanja mladih od doma. Poleg spreminjajoče se narave socialnih omrežij je za sliko brezdomstva odločilna tudi interakcija med kulturno-demografskimi spremembami in stanovanjskim sektorjem. Naraščanje deleža nuklearnih in enostarševskih družin ter samskega načina življenja pomeni, da močno narašča povpraševanje po majhnih stanovanjih oz. da rast stanovanjskega trga ne sledi hitro večajočim se potrebam po samostojnih stanovanjskih enotah. Posledica je pomanjkanje stanovanj oz. rast njihovih najemnin. V splošnem pa marsikje v Evropi trend ekonomske recesije spremljajo dolgoročni trendi zmanjševanja socialnih pomoči, ki se prav v sedanjem času še intenzivirajo. Tema je v danem trenutku še kako aktualna tudi v Sloveniji. V tem smislu so praviloma najbolj prikrajšani oz. prizadeti prav mladi ljudje, ki marsikdaj ne sodijo v skupine, ki jih socialna politika poimenuje za prioritete. S tem je povezana aktualna ideologija prelaganja vse več odgovornosti na družine. Taka usmeritev postane problem v primerih, ko gre za ranljive družine s šibkimi viri in z malo družbene moči, ki svojim članom niso zmožne nuditi zadostne opore in zavetja. Za te je v vihnih časih krčenja skupnega dobrega taka usmeritev oz. ideologija kontraproduktivna in lahko vodi v medgeneracijsko ohranjanje ekstremne socialne izključenosti (glej razpravo o podrazredu v prejšnjem poglavju).

Poglejmo zdaj na brezdomstvo z vidika zdravja. Z brezdomstvom se najpogosteje povezujejo težave v duševnem zdravju, po nekaterih avtorjih je med brezdomnimi ta problematika prisotna kar v 80–95 odstotkih (Riley idr., 2003). Drugi avtorji poročajo o deležu težav z duševnim zdravjem (pogosto merjenih s prevalenco prejšnjih psihiatričnih hospitalizacij ali obravnav) v intervalu od 10 do 60 odstotkov vse brezdomne populacije ter o prevalenci različnih zasvojenosti s psihoaktivnimi substancami vse do 70 odstotkov in več (Scott, 1993; Savage idr., 2006). Razširjeno je verjetje, da je bistvo tako velike razširjenosti težav v duševnem zdravju med brezdomnimi v razpadu sistema institucij, ki so bile še desetletja

nazaj namenjene dolgotrajnemu bivanju ljudi s težavami v duševnem zdravju. Craig in Timms (1992) menita, da so korenine problema mnogo kompleksnejše kot le de-institucionalizacija oz. zlom azilov. Menita, da je k povečanemu obsegu težav v duševnem zdravju med brezdomnimi prispeval pomik k čim krajšim in čim intenzivnejšim obravnavam, in to tudi v primerih resnih, dolgotrajnih in kompleksnih težav v duševnem zdravju, z drugimi besedami – varčevanje pri izdatkih za javno zdravstvo. Potreba po srednjeročni in dolgoročni oskrbi tovrstnih težav v duševnem zdravju ter tudi po socialni rehabilitaciji pa ostaja nezadovoljena. In brezdomni pacienti s težavami v duševnem zdravju, ki bi potrebovali dolgotrajnejšo rehabilitacijo, predvsem pa kontinuirano socialno oskrbo, so pogosto dojeti kot tisti, ki polnijo postelje v dandanes marsikje že tako natrpanem zdravstvenem sistemu, kar je še kako aktualno tudi v Sloveniji. Ista avtorja (prav tam) kot poglobljen razlog težav pri dostopanju brezdomnih ljudi (s težavami v duševnem zdravju) do ustreznih zdravstvenih storitev vidita tudi v pomanjkanju asertivnih terenskih služb. Podobno piše Melvin (2004), ki ugotavlja, da je učinkovito terensko delo dandanes s strani mnogo avtorjev v stroki prepoznano kot najuspešnejša oblika za angažiranje in vključevanje sicer skritega dela uporabnikov.

Raziskave z brezdomstvom najpogosteje povezujejo ogrožajoče dejavnike, kot so: zlorabe v otroštvu (Mounier in Andujo, 2003), disfunkcionalne (ranljive, marginalizirane, obremenjene z mnogo težavami) družine (Tyler, Cauce in Whitbeck, 2004). Na Škotskem na primer je med brezdomnimi mladimi tretjina takih, ki so bili v svojem otroštvu v zunajdružinski obravnavi, zavodu ali rejniški družini (Jones, 2003). Pogosto so posebej med mladimi s problematiko brezdomstva in uporabo različnih substanc ter zasvojenostjo povezana povečana zdravstvena tveganja ter rizično spolno vedenje, ki povečuje tveganje te populacije za okužbo z virusom HIV (Bell idr., 2003). S tem je lahko povezana tudi prostitucija (Gwadz idr., 2004), ki je pogosto za ekstremno ogrožene mlade odvisnike od nedovoljenih drog izhod v sili z vidika zagotavljanja potrebnih financ. Whitbeck idr. (2004) s problematiko brezdomstva povezujejo pripadnost subkulturam (etničnim, kulturnim, glede na spolno usmeritev ali drugim). Razlike seveda izhajajo iz neenakega položaja različnih družbenih skupin znotraj različnih družb, se povezujejo z ovirami v njihovem pristopanju

k pomembnim družbenim virom ter z diskriminacijo, ki so je te ali one subkulturne skupine pri (ne)obravnavi znotraj sistema deležne. Posledice mnogo zgoraj naštetih sistemskih ovir oz. neenakih dostopov pa se navzven velikokrat kažejo kot psihološke posebnosti posameznika, ki ga ovirajo pri vzpostavljanju trajnih in zadovoljujočih družbenih odnosov z drugimi, posredno pa tudi v življenjskem slogu, ki prinaša zdravstvena in socialna tveganja ter otežuje dostop do storitev, zaposlitve in drugih virov.

Avtorji Turnbull, Muckle in Masters (2007) ugotavljajo, da kljub večji stopnji različnih obolenj in boleznih brezdomni pogosto iz različnih razlogov ne dostopajo k zdravstvenim storitvam oz. občutijo pomanjkanje zanje učinkovitih zdravstvenih servisov. Pomanjkanje zdravstvene oskrbe, ki bi jo obravnavana populacija čutila za ustrezno, se kaže v tem, da brezdomni redkeje, kot bi bilo treba, obiskujejo zdravstvene ustanove, njihove zdravstvene težave se tako kopičijo in so nezdravljene, pogosto zastarane in posledično težje rešljive. Pomanjkanje dostopne zdravstvene oskrbe pa se kaže tudi v pogosto omenjanem pojavu (npr. Savage, idr. 2006), uporabi nujne pomoči ('urgence') kot vira osnovne oz. sploh kakršnekoli zdravstvene nege. To z drugimi besedami pomeni, da brezdomni iz različnih razlogov do zdravstvene oskrbe pridejo šele, ko je njihovo zdravstveno stanje tako slabo, da jih tja pripeljejo drugi ali se v stiski po nujno pomoč zatečejo sami. Široko po svetu se v tovrstni strokovni literaturi pojavlja tema potrebe po prilagoditvi sicer marsikje vse bolj razsojevalno usmerjenega zdravstvenega sistema najranljivejšemu in zdravstvu najtežje dostopnemu delu prebivalstva. Ta potreba se po svetu realizira v oblikovanju brezdomnim in drugim izključenim dostopnih, v skupnost vključenih proaktivnih služb, torej takih, ki ne čakajo, kdaj bodo uporabniki do storitev dostopili sami, temveč delavci prvi naredijo korak in k pomoči potrebnim pristopijo v njihovem okolju. Take službe bi morale temeljiti na individualiziranih, v življenjski prostor integriranih in na nediskriminatorskih paradigmah temelječih oblikah dela.

S spreminjanjem družbenih razmer se ne spreminja le struktura populacije, ogrožene v smislu brezdomstva, ampak tudi njihove značilnosti in potrebe. Vselej zanimiv in pomemben vidik znotraj tega je starostna struktura brezdomne populacije, saj ima skupina mlajših od skupine starejših tudi različne

potrebe, ki izvirajo tako z vidika fizičnega zdravja kot tudi iz socioloških značilnosti posameznih generacij. Raziskave (sicer opravljene v ZDA), temelječe na primerjavi zdravstvenega stanja in nezadovoljenih zdravstvenih potreb med skupinama mlajših in starejših brezdomnih (Garibaldi, Conde-Martel in O'Toole, 2005), ugotavlja, da je potreba po zdravstveni podpori pri starejših seveda na višjem mestu na prioritetni lestvici kot pri mlajših; 3,6-krat pogosteje so starejši poročali o kroničnih boleznih; 2,8-krat pogosteje od skupine mlajših so starejši imeli urejeno zdravstveno zavarovanje; 2,4-krat pogosteje so bili starejši zasvojeni s heroinom kot skupina mlajših (ta ugotovitev je za naše razmere nenavadna in je verjetno v povezavi z veliko daljšo tradicijo uporabe heroina v ZDA v primerjavi s Slovenijo, kjer podatki kažejo ravno nasprotno, da so mlajši brezdomni mnogo pogosteje uživalci heroina (Razpotnik in Dekleva, 2007); pogosteje od skupine mlajših so starejši uporabljali zdravstveno oskrbo, namenjeno posebej brezdomnim, npr. klinike-zavetišča in ulično terensko službo. Redkeje pa so starejši brezdomni poročali o potrebi po zdravljenju zasvojenosti z različnimi substancami (kljub večji stopnji zlorabe substanc med njimi). Tovrstne raziskave potrjujejo logično predpostavko, da se s starostjo zdravstvene težave potencirajo in kopičijo, že v mlajših letih pa so ključnega pomena vključenost v zdravstveni sistem in dobre izkušnje posameznikov z njim. Pri tem je ključna beseda preventiva – ko se težave namreč kronificirajo, je njihovo reševanje – finančno pa tudi v drugih (socialnih, zdravstvenih) pomenih – dražje. Zadnje je oboje relevantno tudi za naš prostor.

Številne raziskave (npr. Kertesz idr., 2003) pričajo o pomembnosti posttretmajskih programov za brezdomne odvisnike, ki so ena najbolj ogroženih skupin med brezdomnimi. Ugotavljajo namreč, da je povratništvo v zasvojenost in hkrati v brezdomstvo mnogo pogostejše ob odsotnosti spremljevalnih programov po končanem programu npr. detoksikacije. Programi poznejšega spremljanja zmorejo upočasniti že prej omenjeni učinek vrtljivih vrat in spiralno poglobljanje začaranega kroga, v katerem se brezdomni odvisniki sicer vrtijo z vstopanjem in spet zapuščanjem različnih programov pomoči brez vidnega napredka ali uspeha. Upočasnitev učinka vrtljivih vrat lahko poveča možnost za ustrezne intervencije in tudi možnost utrditve vzorcev življenja, ki niso povezani z zasvojenjskim

načinom življenja. Mnogo študij (npr. Ulfrstad, 1999; Ytrehus, 2002, ter Taksdal idr., 2006, vse po Hansen, 2006) je tudi pokazalo, da so službe in servisi, ki jih uporabljajo predvsem odvisniki in duševni bolniki, lahko dober potencial za prekinitev brezdomčevega tavanja od ene do druge ustanove, zatočišča, organizacije. Seveda če te službe zmorejo pristop, ki bo posameznika sprejel v obravnavo kot celovito osebo (in ne kot posamičen simptom ali motnjo) in mu obenem uspel ponuditi dovolj individualizirano obravnavo, kar pa je mogoče le prek sodelovalnega odnosa in na podlagi uporabnikove participacije. Pri tem je ključno tudi sinergično sodelovanje resorjev in različnih organizacij, ki jih brezdomni uporabljajo. Po drugi strani pa pomanjkanje koordinacije med resorji in različnimi servisi lahko še pripomore k poglobljanju z brezdomstvom pogojenih težav (Hansen, 2006).

Študija avtorjev Crane in Warnes (2001) je potrdila, da so ljudje s kombiniranimi težavami, dvojnimi diagnozami oz. soobstojem težav v duševnem zdravju z zlorabo tako alkohola kot tudi drugih drog posebej problematični z vidika dostopanja do zdravstvenih in drugih storitev. V tej študiji je bil ugotovljen tudi neobstoj oz. slaba prisotnost služb, ki bi celostno poskrbela oz. prevzela odgovornost za ta del uporabnikov. Nuditi uporabnikom s kombiniranimi težavami celostno oskrbo na enem mestu pa bi bilo zaradi njihovega načina življenja, ki ga zaznamujeta ravno ne-iskanje in ne-dostopanje k različnim službam, ključnega pomena.

Nekaj empiričnih izsledkov

V nadaljevanju se osredotočim na situacijo v Sloveniji, ki osvetljuje zgoraj navedene tuje ugotovitve. Rezultati terenskega anketiranja brezdomcev v Ljubljani (Dekleva in Razpotnik, 2007) govorijo o najmanj 20 % ljubljanskih brezdomcev, ki poročajo o zasvojenosti z alkoholom, najmanj 20 % zasvojenih s prepovedanimi drogami (od katerih si jih je večina droge že vbrizgavala). 23 % jih je že bilo obravnavanih v kakšni od ustanov za obravnavanje odvisnosti od dovoljenih ali prepovedanih drog. Približno 40 % jih meni, da je njihovo brezdomstvo povezano s težavami v dušenem zdravju, 24 % jih poroča, da so že bili hospitalizirani v psihiatrični bolnišnici, predvidevamo pa lahko, da je predvsem

med skrito populacijo ta odstotek še toliko večji, temu pa je treba dodati še odstotek tistih, ki niso bili hospitalizirani in katerih težave z duševnim zdravjem so nezdravljene. Leta 2008 je bila opravljena raziskava o ovirah v dostopnosti in dosegljivosti programov pomoči z vidika uporabnikov nedovoljenih drog v Sloveniji (Nolimal, Leskovšek in Pokrajac, 2008). Raziskava je izpostavila posebno ranljivost te skupine z vidika dostopnosti programov pomoči, ne le zdravstvenih, temveč tudi širše.

V najtežjem položaju glede dostopnosti do zdravstvenih storitev so seveda tisti, ki nimajo urejenega niti osnovnega zdravstvenega zavarovanja. Teh je s prestrukturiranjem zdravstvenega sistema v Sloveniji od 1992 leta dalje vse več in zanje znotraj zdravstvenega sistema ni več prostora. Ker sta osnovno zdravstveno zavarovanje in dostop do storitev praviloma vezana na različne formalne statuse, kot so državljanstvo, zaposlitev, stalno bivališče, poštni naslov itd., je večanje obsega nezaposlenosti (v zadnjih dveh desetletjih), s širjenjem zaposlitvene ter splošne bivanjske negotovosti povezana tudi problematika težkega dostopa do zdravstvenih storitev za izjemno socialno izključene osebe. V Ljubljani in Mariboru sta se kot odziv na to pomanjkljivost zdravstvenega sistema odprli ambulantni s posvetovalnico za osebe brez zdravstvenega zavarovanja, ki nudita oskrbo osebam brez zdravstvenega zavarovanja, katere obstoj je sicer nujen, vendar pa dejstvo, da bo ljubljanska ambulanta, ustanovljena kot začasna rešitev, dokler se težave nezavarovanih sistemsko ne rešijo, januarja 2011 praznovala že deveto obletnico, kaže na to, da je javni zdravstveni sistem pri nas zašel v slepo ulico izključevanja najranljivejših. V prvih petih letih delovanja so v ljubljanski socialni ambulanti, ki ni vključena v javno zdravstveno mrežo, opravili okoli 40 tisoč storitev. Pri tem pa je treba omeniti, da ena od najbolj ogroženih populacij, namreč (brezdomni) uporabniki nedovoljenih drog, do te ambulante nima dostopa, saj so v ustanovnih dogovorih sosedje eksplicitno zahtevali, da odvisniki od nedovoljenih drog nimajo vstopa v ambulanto v njihovi soseščini, ustanovitelji pa so na ta pogoj pristali.

Težave pri vključevanju v javno zdravstvo pa imajo tudi brezdomni, ki sicer imajo osnovno zdravstveno zavarovanje, ne pa tudi dodatnega, čeprav je z januarjem 2009 začelo veljati dopolnilo zakona o zdravstvenem zavarovanju, ki naj bi zavarovancem, ki niso zavarovani po nobeni drugi osnovi (niso npr. zaposleni, upokojnici,

kmetje ...) in njihovi mesečni dohodki ali premoženje ne presegajo polovice minimalne plače, zagotovilo brezplačno dodatno zavarovanje. Posledice in morebitne ovire pri uresničevanju tega odloka še niso raziskane. Eden od specifičnih problemov brezdomnih je, da jih javna zdravstvena mreža sicer obravnava, potem pa zaradi tega, ker nimajo dodatnega zdravstvenega zavarovanja, in zaradi revščine ne morejo kupiti predpisanih zdravil oz. koristiti drugih potrebnih zdravstvenih storitev, ki so jim predpisane. Kot nujni se tudi s tega vidika kažejo sistemski ukrepi, ki bi izenačili dostop revnih in socialno izključenih ljudi do zdravstvenih storitev z dostopom, ki ga imajo drugi občani.

Opis vzorca, rezultati in razprava

Po že omenjeni raziskavi o brezdomstvu v Ljubljani (Dekleva in Razpotnik, 2007) smo v sodelovanju z Ministrstvom za zdravje, Sektorjem za zdravstveno varstvo ogroženih skupin, izvedli raziskavo o Brezdomstvu in dostopnosti zdravstvenih storitev. V kvantitativnem delu raziskave smo v anketni vzorec zajeli 122 cestnih brezdomnih iz šestih slovenskih mest (kar je le najvidnejša izmed kategorij na širokem kontinuumu brezdomstva in stanovanjske izključenosti). Največ (64 %) od teh jih je bilo iz Ljubljane, drugi pa so bili iz Maribora, Celja, Kranja, Kopra in Murske Sobote. Izbor oseb za anketiranje je bil oportunističen oz. slučajen v tem smislu, da na izbranih lokacijah nismo imeli vnaprejšnjih omejujočih kriterijev glede tega, koga izbrati v vzorec. Naša formalna opredelitev tega, koga želimo anketirati, je bila: *Brezdomec/brezdomka ste, če spite zunaj, v kletih, vežah, bazah, začasnih zatočiščih, v zavetiščih ali v drugih začasnih nastanitvah, namenjenih brezdomcem, v stanovanjskih skupinah za brezdomne; če iz dneva v dan nimate zagotovljene strehe nad glavo oz. nimate svojega doma, pa tudi če vam grozi izselitev, pa nimate kam.*

Med anketiranci je bilo 16 % žensk ter 84 % moških. Starost anketiranih je med 20 in 77 let, s povprečno starostjo 42,7 leta. Moški so bili v povprečju pet let starejši od žensk. Dokončana izobrazba anketirancev je bila najpogosteje srednja šola (49,5 %), skoraj ravno tako pogosto pa dokončana osnovna šola (41,8 %).

Zelo redko so imele osebe nižjo ali višjo izobrazbo. Največ jih je bilo bodisi samskih (52,5 %) ali ločenih (31,2 %). 58,2 % jih ni imelo svojih otrok, preostali pa so imeli v približno enakem deležu enega ali več otrok, pri čemer med spoloma ni bilo večjih razlik. V zadnjem letu sta približno enaka dela brezdomcev staršev imela s svojimi otroki stike ali pa ne. 95,1 % oseb je imelo slovensko državljanstvo. Kar 86,1 % anketirancev je bilo že kdaj v življenju zaposlenih in so imeli pridobljeno delovno dobo. Ti so imeli v povprečju 12,3 leta priznane delovne dobe. V trenutku anketiranja jih je bilo 63,9 % brez vsake zaposlitve, 2,5 % jih je bilo redno zaposlenih, preostali pa so priložnostno ali občasno delali.

Čas prve izkušnje brezdomstva med osebami v našem vzorcu sega od najzgodnejšega otroštva do poznih let (67), s tem da je za 80 % oseb v času anketiranja v intervalu med 17 in 50 let starosti, s skupnim povprečjem okoli 33 let kot začetkom oz. starostjo prve izkušnje brezdomstva. Srednja vrednost skupnega trajanja brezdomstva v življenju do zdaj je bila približno pet let, s tem da je bilo v vzorcu 21,3 % anketiranih, ki so bili do zdaj brezdomni že več kot 10 let.

Za ilustracijo in izostritev osrednje teze pričujočega članka o spremenjenih razmerah, ki lahko za najranljivejši del mladih pomenijo tveganje za ekstremno socialno izključenost, pogledjmo, kako se od splošnega vzorca razlikuje podskupina mladih, pri čemer v to skupino štejemo tiste, ki so stari med 20 in 35 let. Mlajših od 20 let v naš slovenski vzorec cestnih brezdomnih nismo zajeli. Rezultati služijo le za ilustracijo in raziskavo trendov ter ne dopuščajo posploševanja, saj je vzorec majhen.

Izmed mlajšega dela, zajetega v vzorec v raziskavi 2009, je nekoliko več kot pol mladih s končano le osnovno šolo, nekaj čez 40 % jih ima končano srednjo šolo, preostali nimajo končane niti osnovne šole. V primerjavi s celotnim vzorcem je opaziti trend, da so mlajši iz vzorca cestnih brezdomnih v povprečju nižje kvalificirani. 79 % jih je moškega in 21 % ženskega spola, pri čemer je treba poudariti, da se ženske pogosto skrivajo v bolj prikritih kontekstih in jih je zato težje zajeti v tovrstne raziskave. Kar 70 % jih je bilo v času anketiranja samskih. Brez otrok jih je 76,3; 18,4 jih ima enega, 5,3 % pa več otrok. 70 % jih je že bilo zaposlenih, 30 % pa še nikoli.

Od mladih iz vzorca brezdomnih ni v času anketiranja nihče od njih v rednem delovnem razmerju, 2,6 % jih poroča, da so zaposleni, a ne v rednem delovnem razmerju, 31,6 % jih občasno ali redno prodaja cestni časopis, 60,5 % jih je popolnoma brez zaposlitve, 5,3% pa jih poroča o drugačnem zaposlitvenem statusu od navedenih.

Spodnja tabela prikazuje, kolikšen del anketirancev je že doživel različne težke izkušnje v svoji preteklosti. Zaradi majhnega vzorca statističnih pomembnosti razlik nisem preverjala, primerjava služi le za ilustracijo.

Tabela 1: Del anketirancev, ki so v življenju že doživeli različne težke izkušnje:

Vrsta izkušnje:	se nanaša na celoten vzorec	se nanaša le na mlade iz vzorca
resne in dolgotrajne prepire s starši je imelo	61,5 %	78,9 %
starši so jih 'vrgli na cesto'	38,3 %	63,2 %
nasilje s strani staršev (ali drugih bližnjih oseb)	42,0 %	45,9 %
spolno zlorabljanje s strani staršev (ali drugih bližnjih oseb)	7,6 %	10,8 %
izkoriščanje s strani staršev (ali drugih bližnjih oseb)	36,1 %	37,8 %
izključitev iz šole	23,5 %	54,1 %
prisilno so izselili iz stanovanja	43,7 %	25 %

Drastično izstopa podatek o izključitvi iz šole, o kateri skupina mladih brezdomnih poroča več kot dvakrat pogosteje kot celotni vzorec. Poleg tega omembe vredno izstopa tudi visok odstotek tistih, ki so odgovorili, da so jih starši vrgli na cesto, ki je 63,2 % pri mlajšem delu vzorca in 38,3 % pri celotnem.

Anketirani so do zdaj v življenju že imeli izkušnjo bivanja v naslednjih institucijah: v mladinskem domu, vzgojnem zavodu, prevzgojnem domu ali materinskem domu jih je že kdaj v življenju bivalo 27 % (le mladi 31 %); v ustanovi za zdravljenje od drog ali alkohola 26 %; v priporu ali zaporu 45 %; v poklicni/plačani vojski 6 %; v psihiatrični bolnici 31 %; v drugi bolnici (najmanj en mesec skupaj) 52 %; ter v stanovanjski skupini za ljudi s težavami v duševnem zdravju 9 % (le mladi, 13,9%). Če primerjamo celoten vzorec in skupino brezdomnih mladih, se podatki med mladimi in celotno populacijo ne razlikujejo bistveno, kar je po svoje zaskrbljujoč trend, ki kaže, da je mlajša

skupina v enaki (na psihiatriji, v stanovanjski skupini za ljudi s težavami v duševnem zdravju) ali celo večji meri (v zaporu) že bila institucionalizirana kljub dejavniku mladosti. Znatna razlika med obema skupinama je pri kategoriji bivanja v mladinskem domu, vzgojnem zavodu ali prevzgojnem domu, kjer so mladi pogosteje že bivali v teh oblikah v primerjavi s celotnim vzorcem ali s skupino starejših.

Na splošno je bilo na celotnem vzorcu ugotovljeno, da za raziskovano populacijo ljudi s precejšnjo mero gotovosti velja, da je zdravstveno bolj ogrožena oz. je njeno psiho-bio-socialno stanje/zdravje slabše od stanja v splošni (slovenski) populaciji. Ta ugotovitev velja predvsem za področje duševnega zdravja in odvisnosti ter za druge telesne bolezni in stanja, ki so v povezavi z načinom življenja na cesti. Takšen rezultat je tudi skladen z večino tujih raziskav na tem področju. Če pogledamo skupino mladih posebej, ugotovimo, da je za to skupino najbolj izstopajoča od bolezni, ki jih je ugotovil zdravnik, hepatitis, 27,8 %, sledi diagnoza odvisnosti od nedovoljenih drog. Na splošno pa, kot že rečeno, velja, da brezdomna populacija zdravstveni sistem uporablja, ko je prepozno, in zato, posebej med mladimi, večina težav ostaja skritih.

V raziskavi o dostopnosti zdravstvenih storitev za brezdomne (Razpotnik in Dekleva, 2009) smo ugotovili pomembne korelacije med različnimi ogrožajočimi dejavniki in slabšo oceno kakovosti zdravstvenega sistema. Več ko ima neka podskupina brezdomcev različnih ogrožajočih dejavnikov, slabše ocenjuje kakovost zdravstvenega sistema, več ovir doživlja pri njegovi uporabi in težje dostopen se ji zdi ta sistem. Pri tem so pri vrhu: tisti, ki so postali brezdomni zgodaj v življenju, osebe, ki so že bivale v mladinskem domu, vzgojnem zavodu ali v zaporu, osebe, ki imajo slabše socialne podporne mreže; osebe, ki so zasvojene z alkoholom in ga uporabljajo na bolj škodljive načine; osebe, ki so zasvojene z nedovoljenimi drogami in jih uporabljajo na bolj škodljive načine; osebe, ki kažejo več znakov težav v duševnem zdravju oz. so bile že psihiatrično hospitalizirane, osebe z dvojnimi diagnozami, komorbidnostjo oz. hkratno prisotnostjo zasvojenosti in še kakšnih drugih duševnih težav/bolezni še posebej očitno (statistično pomembno) ocenjujejo zdravstveni sistem slabše ter ga doživljajo kot manj dostopnega.

Kar se tiče izkušenj z zdravstvenim sistemom, ki izpostavljajo občutek stigmatiziranosti znotraj obravnave brezdomnih uživalcev nedovoljenih drog, je zanimiva spodnja primerjava:

Tabela 2: Občutek drugačnega obravnavanja v zdravstvenih ustanovah zaradi brezdomstva/uporabe drog.

Ste kdaj imeli občutek drugačnega obravnavanja v zdravstvenih ustanovah zato, ker ste brezdomni/uporabnik drog?	Na koga ali kaj se vprašanje nanaša?	se nanaša na celoten vzorec	se nanaša le na mlade iz vzorca	se nanaša na status uporabnika drog
Da, v negativnem smislu (stigmatizacija, izolacija, izogibanje, žalitve ...)		33,9 %	34,2 %	50,0 %
Da, v pozitivnem smislu (posebni privilegiji, dodatna pozornost zdravstvenega osebja in socialne službe ...)		8,3 %	5,3 %	11,4 %
Nisem imel/-a občutka drugačne obravnave, ker sem brezdomen/uporabnik drog		36,4 %	26,3 %	13,6 %
Zdravstveno osebje po mojem ni vedelo, da sem brezdomen/uporabnik drog		14,0 %	21,1 %	9,1 %
Nisem še bil/-a hospitaliziran/-a		7,4 %	13,2 %	15,9 %

Vidimo lahko, da celotna skupina brezdomnih, toliko bolj pa skupina brezdomnih uporabnikov drog, pogosto (mladi 34,2 %, uporabniki drog pa kar v 50 %) poročajo o drugačni obravnavi v negativnem smislu, ki so jo doživeli v izkušnjah z zdravstvenim sistemom. Občutki pozitivne diskriminacije so bili redkejši; o občutku, da osebje ni vedelo, da je uporabnik brez doma, pa pogosteje poročajo mladi. Kar je po svoje logično, saj mladi niso za našo kulturo 'tipični' brezdomni oz. se javnost na to skupino šele težka navaja. Da se ne bi bilo treba navaditi na to, da je kdorkoli, posebej pa še mladi ljudje, brez doma, bi bilo treba izvesti resne systemske ukrepe. V sklepu strnem misli in podam nekaj predlogov, v kakšno smer.

Sklepi

Povezava med ničelnim statusom in podrazredom je po besedah Williamsona (2003) v tem, da postajajo mladi z ničelnim statusom

pravzaprav idealni kandidati, da zavzamejo kategorijo podrazreda, o kateri se za zdaj le špekulira in se je ne definira trdno, temveč je bolj politični in ideološki pripomoček. Ta črni scenarij se bo zgodil, če družbam ne bo uspelo, da bi te ljudi uspele vključiti v strukture zdravstva, izobraževanja in dela.

Študija primera, ki se je ukvarjala z izkušnjami z delom desetih mladih brezdomnih, ki so imeli v preteklosti zelo malo pozitivnih izkušenj z izobraževalnim in zaposlovalnim sistemom (Razpotnik, 2007), sklene s potrebo po skrbni in večplastni obravnavi, v središču katere naj bo stanovanjska politika, pomembno vlogo pa pripisuje tudi razvoju fleksibilnih, individualiziranih, 'na pol poti' (v smislu olajšanja premostitve ob prehodu v samostojnost) programov, ki mladim v njihovem življenjskem okolju pomagajo speljati prehode, jih podpirajo pri avtonomnem in zdravem načinu življenja, prispevajo k zmanjševanju škode v primeru rizičnih načinov življenja, prispevajo k izboljševanju funkcionalne pismenosti. Velik pomen se pri tem pripisuje tudi usposabljanju strokovnih delavcev, pri čemer naj bo predmet usposabljanja, kako lažje dostopati do te rizične populacije, kako do nje spoštljivo pristopati in kako z njimi oblikovati delovne odnose za skupno načrtovanje. V stroki namreč vse prepogosto slišimo, kako strokovnjakinje in strokovnjaki niso kos mladim, s katerimi naj bi delali kot vzgojitelji, svetovalci, pedagogi. Ta strokovni pesimizem je posebej zaskrbljujoč, ko gre za ranljivo populacijo, ki bi še kako potrebovala zavzete in samozavestne strokovnjake, ki bi delovali v smeri krepitev moči ranljivim mladim. Ne nazadnje je velik pomen pripisan tudi aktivaciji in participaciji teh mladih, ki naj bi prek služb, ki se z njimi ukvarjajo, ne zapadli v pasivnost ali neuspešno vrtenje v začaranih krogih brez izhoda, ampak naj bi, nasprotno, prav v teh službah našli občutek smiselnosti in vrednosti.

Če se osredotočimo posebej na zdravstveno oskrbo mladih brezdomnih, se pri tem lahko naslonimo na geslo, da bi ta morala biti vsekakor več kot zgolj zdravljenje. V svetu obstajajo različni modeli (posebne) zdravstvene oskrbe za brezdomne. Povzeli bi jih lahko takole, z upoštevanjem, da se ti modeli v realnosti med seboj prepletajo, dopolnjujejo in prehajajo eden v drugega:

- Neoviran pristop k splošnemu javnemu zdravstvenemu sistemu, tako primarnemu kot tudi sekundarnemu in terciarnemu.

- Zdravstvena in siceršnja oskrba za brezdomne je razpršeno dostopna na različnih točkah (klinikah, dnevnih centrih, v okviru zavetišč, na terenskih lokacijah ...).
- Specializirane integrirane interdisciplinarne službe, ki nudijo hkrati zdravstveno in psihosocialno oskrbo brezdomnim.
- Specializirane prožne (fleksibilne) službe (v katerih ni nujnega vnaprejšnjega naročanja, nudijo pa tudi podporo brezdomnim pri premagovanju ovir v dostopnosti zdravstvenega sistema).
- Terensko delo (zdravstvena pomoč in nega sta dostopni tam, kjer so ti ljudje – v javnih kuhinjah, zavetiščih in drugih mestih, kjer se brezdomni zadržujejo).
- Na drugih področjih dela z brezdomnimi se je tudi pri nas že izkazal za uspešnega model 'ključnih delavcev', strokovnjakov socialne ali zdravstvene stroke, ki kontinuirano spremlja določenega uporabnika in mu celostno (torej na več področjih uporabnikovega življenja, ne samo na ozko zdravstvenem) pomaga pri individualnem načrtovanju. Tako delo temelji na zaupnem delovnem odnosu, cilj tovrstnega dela pa je informiranje, oskrbovanje z morebitnimi nujnimi potrebščinami na terenu, urejanje dokumentov, spremljanje v ustanove, obiskovanje v primeru hospitalizacije, zagovorništvo, iskanje dolgotrajnejših rešitev zdravljenja in podobno.
- V tujini so znani primeri posebnih klinik za mlade brezdomne. Pri oblikovanju tovrstnih, za določene ranljive podskupine specializiranih oblik dela, je treba biti pozoren na to, da bodo prilagojene načinu življenja teh mladih tako prostorsko in časovno (z vidika usklajenosti odpiralnega časa s potrebami ranljivih skupin) do subtilnejših vidikov, kot je seznanjenost zaposlenih s psihosocialnimi značilnostmi uporabnikov in upoštevanje različnih (sub)kulturnih značilnosti obravnavane populacije. Temeljijo na preventivnem pogledu, ki poskuša rizično populacijo vključiti v sistem, edini način za to pa je, ta sistem narediti dostopen tem skupinam. Pomembno je, ko v sistem vstopijo, da lahko tam dobijo odgovore na svoja vprašanja, da se jih torej ne gleda kot bolnike z ozkimi simptomi, ampak kot kompleksna človeška bitja s kompleksnimi potrebami.

Če bi se še pred dvema desetletjema lahko pohvalili, da sistem v naši državi zajame celotno populacijo ne glede na starost, materialni

položaj, zaposlitveni status in kraj bivanja, pa dandanes tega žal ne moremo več trditi. Situacijo parcialno rešujejo določene osamljene iniciative, ki pa lahko v naraščajočem obsegu izključenih bolj 'gasijo požare' (delujejo kurativno, se odzivajo na nujne primere) kot kaj drugega. Nič kaj dosti drugače ni na področju zaposlovanja in izključenosti s trga dela. Ule (2008) navaja, da se raziskovalci strinjajo, da se začne tveganje razvijati že zelo zgodaj, zato naj bi se temu primerno zgodaj začeli uvajati tudi intervencijski programi. Preventivni programi pa naj bi po njenem vključevali prilagajanje posebnostim posameznih mladih, multikulturen pristop, gojenje sodelovanja, medsebojnega spoštovanja, ohranjanja dostojanstva posameznikov, iskanje in nagrajevanje ustvarjalnih možnosti, motiviranje in strpno vzgajanje učnih navad, spodbujanje življenjskih načrtov ter postavljanje kariernih ciljev pri vsakem učencu.

Z vidika medgeneracijskega ohranjanja vzorcev izključenosti je treba pretresti tudi podporo družinam in temu komplementarne oblike za tiste mlade, ki podpore s strani družin iz takih ali drugačnih razlogov ne morejo pričakovati. Če o fleksibilnosti govorimo na področju zaposlovanja, je ta vsekakor toliko bolj nujna na področju oblikovanja programov za mlade, ki imajo težave na prehodih v odraslost. Brez vpliva na politiko si težko predstavljamo realistične spremembe. Od ljudi sicer lahko še tako pričakujemo, naj se na svojih prehodih v odraslost 'pravilno odločajo', a če razmišljamo z avtorji Baldwin, Coles in Mitchell (2003), »so te odločitve uokvirjene s politikami, ki vplivajo na institucije, ki oblikujejo življenja teh mladih.« Npr. dejstvo, da je mlada oseba preživela svojo mladost v taki ali drugačni ustanovi, ima dolgoročen učinek na njeno prihodnost. Socialnopedagoška stroka bi lahko bila pri soočanju s tovrstnimi izzivi ključna akterka. Gojenje individualiziranih pristopov, reflektirane in na empiriji utemeljene prakse ter asertivno in partnersko zastopanje mladih ne kot simptomov, patoloških primerkov, obrobnežev ali nosilcev težav, ampak kot spoštovanja vrednih kompleksnih bitij s kompleksnimi potrebami, ljudi, ki lahko v varnih in spodbudnih okoliščinah pridejo do odgovorov na svoje težave, strokovnjaki pa jim moramo take varne in spodbudne prostore omogočiti. Uvodoma razgrnjeni diskurzi zaslužnosti in nezaslužnosti vselej kličejo po refleksiji. V javnosti so verjetno posebej v obdobjih negotovosti in kriz neizbežni, v stroki pa preprosto nimajo kaj iskati.

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ZDRUŽENJE
ZA SOCIALNO
PEDAGOGIJO

ZSP

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Introduction

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This issue presents research on the subject of youth and young people by the members of the Department of Social Pedagogy. Youth today is characterized, on the one hand, by new and increasingly complex possibilities of biographical paths and lifestyles, and on the other, influenced by social changes in the labour market and employment, which for young people signifies precarious and insecure transitions into adulthood. Social pedagogy as a profession and a scientific discipline deals with the relationship between the individual and society. Its function is ‘intermediary’ – its goal is to encourage autonomy in the individual, and at the same time to strive for more justice and fairness in society on a structural level. It focuses on the analysis of situations in life and biographies, as well as on the structural, socio-systemic framework (different social policies). Thus social pedagogy is characterized by ‘integration work’, which is exposed to the many conflicts that occur in the relationship between society and the individual, and here social pedagogy is concerned with achieving more fairness. Its mission is to achieve the inclusion of those that are excluded from the labour market and employment, from education, housing policies, health insurance, etc. It seems that in view of the many social changes and the decline of the welfare state, its function is becoming more and more important.

The articles in this issue were assembled for the purpose of calling attention to the modern trends of the exclusion of young people from various social fields – the labour market and employment, the healthcare system, education – and in this way stir social conscience and encourage a sense of responsibility that society has to these young people.

Bojan Dekleva’s article Youth Delinquency in Slovenia in International Comparison presents the official statistics on juvenile

delinquency in Slovenia over the last 30 years. Based on the results of the International Self-Reported Delinquency Study-II, in which Slovenia also took part, the author presents a comparative analysis of delinquency on the basis of which it is possible to form conclusions on the extent of youth delinquency in Slovenia compared to certain Eastern and Western European countries.

In the article *Subjective Well-Being in Adulthood and Connected Factors*, Olga Poljšak Škraban presents the results of a longitudinal study focusing on the predictive role of family interaction measured in adolescence. The results confirm the theory that how the mother deals with the needs of the daughter, as perceived by the mother during the daughter's childhood and adolescence, is a significant factor for predicting subjective well-being in adulthood.

In *The Experiences of Social In-/Exclusion of Young People During Long-Term Unemployment*, Jana Rapuš Pavel deals with the experiences of social in-/exclusion of young people during long-term unemployment according to age and education level. The article presents the results of a qualitative study encompassing 21 unemployed young people in the Ljubljana area, aged between 19 and 26. The author particularly stresses the systemic obstacles that stand in the way of young people entering the workforce and choosing desired biographical paths.

Špela Razpotnik's article *They Are Young, They Are Healthy, So Why Don't They Work?! Examining Society's View of Youth Homelessness* focuses on the increasing risks that young people are faced with, particularly in terms of work and inclusion/exclusion from the healthcare system. Based on the results of research conducted on homelessness (Dekleva & Razpotnik 2007; Razpotnik & Dekleva 2009), the author analyzes the position of young people as a particularly vulnerable group among the homeless population.

The purpose of this thematic issue will be achieved if the articles encourage awareness and critical reflection on these issues among members of the expert public in various fields, as well as reaffirm the need for institutional and systemic changes necessary to enable the inclusion of socially vulnerable groups of young people in the educational, employment and healthcare system, and in this way precipitate an easier transition into adulthood.

Youth Delinquency in Slovenia in International Comparison

Bojan Dekleva

Abstract

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The article analyzes the official statistics of youth delinquency in Slovenia over the last 30 years. It presents an overview of Slovenian studies of youth delinquency using the self-report surveying method, and describes the International Self-Reported Delinquency Study II, which Slovenia was also took part in. And finally, it analyzes the information, on the basis of which it is possible to formulate conclusions on the extent of youth delinquency in Slovenia compared to selected Eastern and Western European countries. The Slovenian data concerns five cities, particularly highlighting Ljubljana and Celje.

Key words: *youth delinquency, minors, Slovenia, the self-report method, Ljubljana, Celje.*

Introduction

The term delinquency is commonly used to denote all offences and misdeeds committed by young people. Delinquent behaviour (in the wider sense) signifies 'delinquencies', that is, offences or violations of behavioural rules. In the narrow sense, within the context of criminal law and criminal prosecution, this term refers solely to acts that are defined by criminal law as criminal offences. Delinquent behaviour in the wider sense could also be termed deviance, and in the narrow sense, criminality. The age limits are similarly context-specific. In the context of criminal law, the term juvenile delinquency is used, otherwise often replaced by youth delinquency. The latter refers to minors as a legal category, encompassing (according to Slovenian criminal law) young people between the ages of 14 and 17 (i.e. a period of four years), while the former is much more loosely defined and can also encompass the legal category of 'children' (up to 14 years of age) and a section of the adult population (from 18 years of age, perhaps up to 19, 20, 21... years of age).

In regard to its content, youth delinquency is very heterogeneous. It includes everything that a society at a certain time and place deems to be impermissible or unacceptable (for young people), or what is defined by criminal law as a criminal offence. Beside the standard or conventional prohibited acts (criminal offences or acts that violate moral rules) such as theft, physical and sexual violence, it also includes behaviour that represents the rapidly changing set of lifestyle characteristics. This includes many types of behaviour connected to drug use, sexuality, even clothing and popular music. Some of these deviant or criminal types of behaviour are part of so-called status offences, in other words, offences linked with the age of the perpetrator. These are types of behaviour that are criminal offences or punishable only if they are committed by people that are (too) young, i.e. minors and children, but not if they are committed by adults.

Due to the above-described heterogeneity of juvenile/youth delinquency, as well as due to the relatively rapid changeability of what is deemed as prohibited for minors, the goal to consider all of these types of behaviour together is often too ambitious and theoretically not necessarily sound. But perhaps it is sensible to consider juvenile delinquency as a whole when it comes to the

degree and extent of social repression or the response of the criminal justice system in relation to young people.

Youth delinquency in Slovenia

In Slovenia, there exists a specific category and a special set of stipulations for minors in criminal law and specific departments for them within the police and court systems. Their level of criminal responsibility is different and they are subject to different forms of sanctions or educational measures. The most standard statistical indicators of juvenile delinquency are the number of charges for criminal offences and the number of minors that have been sentenced in the form of criminal sanctions or educational measures. The first indicator shows – besides the extent of delinquency – above all the extent of police activities, while the second indicator is influenced by the characteristics of the whole system of prosecution, i.e. the work of the police, the public prosecutor's office and the courts.

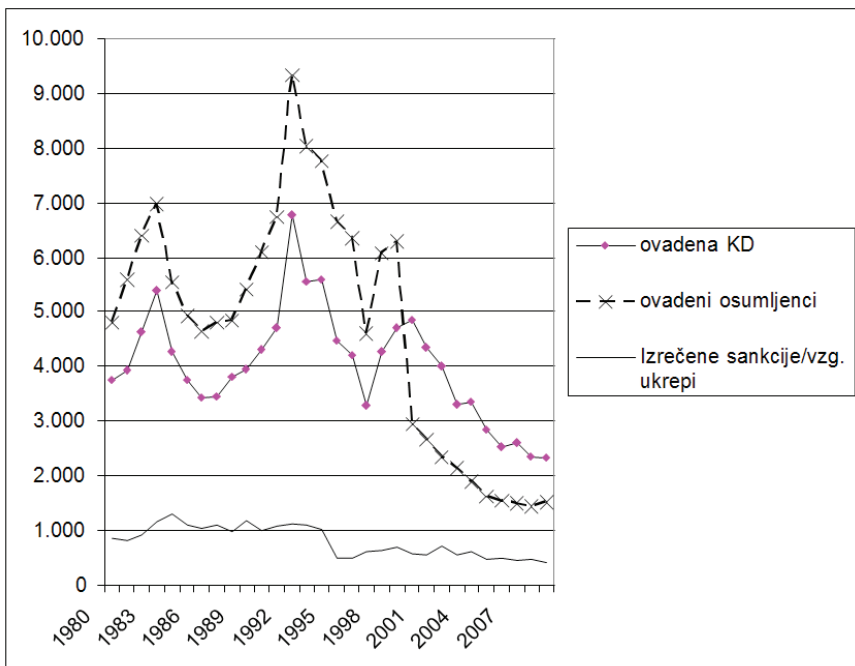
Table 1 presents four of the principle indicators of youth delinquency in Slovenia over a period of almost three decades, from 1980 to 2009. The first three indicators, the annual number of criminal offence charges of minors, the annual number of charged juvenile suspects and the percentage of juvenile suspects among all the suspects of criminal offences, have been acquired from the statistical reports of the police. The indicator that is in police statistics termed “charged juvenile suspects”, it has to be pointed out, does not refer to the number of different underage people that have been charged in a certain year, but is the product of the number of those charged with criminal offences and the number of suspects in those offences. For example, if someone was a suspect in five criminal offences (and also charged with them), then the number would be five. If three people were suspected of committing the same act, the number would be three. The problem with this indicator is that it does not actually show the number of offences, or the number of minors, but in a way, both pieces of information are still expressed by the number. The indicator of the number of imposed criminal sanctions or educational measures is taken from criminal justice statistics or information from Slovenian courts. The last column in Table 1 shows the ratio between the two key indicators of the police and the courts. Chart 1 shows three of the indicators found in Table 1.

Table 1: Principle statistical indicators of youth delinquency from 1980 to 2009.

Year:	Number of CO charges of minors (A)	Number of charged juvenile suspects	Percentage of juvenile suspects	Imposed criminal sanctions or educational measures (B)	Ratio between columns A/B
1980	3.739	4.806	15,3	856	4,4
1981	3.937	5.591	18,0	825	4,8
1982	4.636	6.385	18,1	924	5,0
1983	5.381	6.966	15,7	1164	4,6
1984	4.262	5.552	16,4	1297	3,3
1985	3.751	4.935	15,7	1098	3,4
1986	3.422	4.643	15,4	1043	3,3
1987	3.453	4.806	16,2	1104	3,1
1988	3.802	4.855	16,7	972	3,9
1989	3.938	5.413	17,7	1183	3,3
1990	4.302	6.097	19,3	997	4,3
1991	4.709	6.737	18,9	1076	4,4
1992	6.770	9.333	22,6	1115	6,1
1993	5.554	8.029	21,8	1093	5,1
1994	5.599	7.759	22,3	1027	5,5
1995	4.475	6.657	19,4	499	9,0
1996	4.207	6.347	17,6	500	8,4
1997	3.281	4.616	13,7	617	5,3
1998	4.264	6.070	14,5	636	6,7
1999	4.709	6.291	16,9	705	6,7
2000	4.847	2.937	16,6	590	8,2
2001	4.344	2.671	14,0	571	7,6
2002	4.007	2.337	12,0	728	5,5
2003	3.308	2.147	11,4	568	5,8
2004	3.349	1.912	10,3	612	5,5
2005	2.847	1.631	9,3	479	5,9
2006	2.527	1.550	8,7	511	4,9
2007	2.596	1.508	8,6	459	5,7
2008	2.352	1.439	8,4	489	4,8
2009	2.316	1.525	8,0	418	5,5

Table 1 and Chart 1 show the long-term decrease in processed juvenile delinquency in the period of nearly three decades. In the police information (charged criminal offences) we find two distinct peaks around the years 1983 and 1992; after this year, an unusually sharp and persistent decrease is noticeable all the way to 2009. On the other hand, in the information of the courts we find in the first 15 years (1980-1994) a fairly level continuity on the average level of about 1,050 imposed sanctions/measures a year, and in the following 15 years (1995-2009) a fairly level continuity of around 560 imposed sanctions/measures a year, nearly half of the previous period's. A specific aspect of the workings of the criminal justice system as a whole can be noted in the ratio between charged criminal offences and sanctioned minors (the last column of Table 1). The average ratio is 5.3, with the value ranging between 3.1 and 9.0 in individual years. To put it simply – in one year (1995), it was three times more likely than in another (1987) that a criminal offence charge would lead to an imposed sanction or educational measure in the criminal justice system.

Chart 1: Principle statistical indicators of juvenile delinquency in 1980-2009.



On the basis of long-term monitoring of statistical data from various parts of the system, it is possible (at least hypothetically) to explain what has been happening in the system and also elucidate the changes in the pattern of the observed phenomenon – juvenile delinquency. Of course other findings and information about the structural changes in the criminal justice system and outside of it have to be taken into account. Based on all of the above, we can formulate the following (hypothetical) conclusions:

- The sudden decrease in the number of imposed sanctions/educational measures to minors in 1995, which means that after 1994 nearly half the number was sanctioned than up to 1994, does not have any connection with the changes in the pattern of juvenile delinquency, but is the consequence of changes in criminal legislation that came into effect in 1995 and introduced stronger procedural guarantees, a higher level of protection for the defendants and an increased complexity in penal/judicial proceedings. With this, the capacity (in the sense of successfully processing the charges to the point where a sanction/educational measure is imposed) of the judicial system was decreased, and with the same amount of charges in the system, only approximately half were sanctioned per year.
- It is – taking into account the theoretical (Durkheim!) and empirical findings on the functioning of social systems – essentially impossible for the scope of a social phenomenon like delinquency to have doubled or halved in the period of a few years (the number of charged criminal offences by minors in 1992 was almost double the number from 1987, while in 1997, it more than halved in comparison with 1992). Because of this, in spite of the wild fluctuations in police data, we cannot imagine a substantial change in the occurrence of juvenile delinquency, but rather an altered extent of discovering, recording and prosecuting, in other words, a change in the amount of attention devoted to the phenomenon. Both of the peaks in police data, presented in Table 1 in the periods of 1982-1984 and 1992-1994, coincide with two waves of moral panic (Cohen, 2002), that is, increased amounts of attention to this issue in the media and emanating from expert and political bodies. The first wave in 1982-1984 was connected to punk and the public alarm about a new youth style, which was distinctly and expressly oppositional and to which the police initially responded with increased attempts at repression. Later,

punk became normalized and even capitalized upon in the social movements that helped to establish the social circumstances in which Slovenia became independent. The second wave in 1992-1994 is connected to the public alarm over the violent 'street' activities of the young (extortion, threats, robberies) and the discovery of violence and torment among peers. The increase in violence was significantly (although not exclusively) seen to be linked with the early transition phase, as the response of the young to the general 'brutalization' of life as part and parcel of the introduction of capitalism. It is not very likely that the extent of violence increased so swiftly, all within a period of a few years, but then decreased equally fast. This leads to the interpretation of the police data from 1992-1994 first and foremost in connection with the moral panic of the time, and the period of almost twenty years of decreasing in police data as a period of normalization.

- The persistent decreases in police data over a period of 18 years after 1992 can to a large extent (hypothetically) be related to two causes. The first was that on the whole juvenile (and youth) delinquency in this period ceased to be an important social topic, in much the same way that the youth became pacified, depoliticized, lost their revolutionary potential, i.e. because other topics became more socially relevant. Parallel to this, the society's interest in education was dropping, and education as a social topic was no longer a priority. The second (supposed) occurrence was that the police force was adjusting to the altered conditions – the decreased capacities of the courts after 1995. A relatively high number of criminal offence charges contrasted with the relatively low number of imposed sanctions or educational measures could no longer be seen as rational and sensible from the police perspective, which is why the police force also introduced some changes (probably not in a formal sense, but changes affecting the actual exercise of discretion), which led to a decrease in the number of criminal offence charges.
- Over a period of almost twenty years, the number of criminal offence charges was dropping, which still begs the question of the actual changes in the extent of youth delinquency. Information from several countries shows that the scope of youth delinquency, after a few decades of growth became stabilized, or even began to decrease in some areas. This is

hypothetically connected with the virtualization of life (young people spend more and more time in front of the computer) and with significantly improved surveillance technology, which greatly decreases the chances of certain typical juvenile criminal offences (e.g. shoplifting in a supermarket). I am of the opinion that in order to answer this 'substantial' question, analyzing official data from criminal justice institutions is not a suitable approach; in other words, it is impossible to answer this question simply on the basis of police and court data.

Research interest in youth delinquency in Slovenia

It is possible to study juvenile delinquency from various points of view. We can devote special attention to its occurrence (its forms and types, the methods in which it is committed, the time and place, etc.), its causes (the conceivably causally relevant characteristics of personality, family and other institutions of socialization, social context, etc.) or its treatment, the social response. The latter can deal with various ways (methods, approaches, systems, regimes, premises, theories, etc.) of working with the delinquents, including the aspects of discovery, criminal proceedings, education and socialization, support, counselling, assistance, etc. Both quantitative (based on statistics and larger patterns) and qualitative (based on more in-depth treatment of a smaller number of units) approaches are possible; other specific types of research include action research, which with the intervention or involvement of the researchers in the reality itself develops new approaches; evaluation research, which evaluates the existing methods; systemic research, which is interested in the interaction between individual parts of the system; and others. These various types of research have also been conducted in Slovenia.

However, it seems that in the past few decades, juvenile delinquency as the central topic of research is becoming less popular and less frequent. An overview of the titles of research studies conducted by the Institute of Criminology, in the last century in essence the only institution conducting quality research in this field, shows that only two such studies were conducted in

the decade 1954-1963, ten in the decade 1964-73, seven in 1974-1983, six in 1984-1993, and only three in the last included decade between 1994-2003. It is true that in this time, the Department of Social Pedagogy was developed, and most of its research activity is connected with youth deviance. COBISS (the Slovenian Co-operative Online Bibliographic System and Services) yields similar results, including only a small number of articles or books on the topic of juvenile delinquency, with only nine units (not counting graduate and master's theses) in the decade between 2001-2010 (less than one a year) compared to 27, or nearly three times as many units in the previous decade 1991-2000. The three most common authors on COBISS on the topic of youth delinquency and related issues are Alenka Šelih, Vinko Skalar and Bojan Dekleva.

These numbers do not only indicate falling interest in juvenile delinquency in Slovenia, but certainly also show the way that the material encompassed by this concept differentiated itself in Slovenian research and writing, namely in two ways. First, new topics arose, which would earlier perhaps have been considered as part of juvenile delinquency, e.g. drug use or teen violence among peers, but now acquired the status of independent topics, themes that are no longer covered by the concept of delinquency very well. Similarly, other topics arose that were partially connected with the same material, but were conceptually grabbing the attention of researchers. One such theme is for example, children's (psychological) rights and child abuse. On the other hand, research interests changed in accordance with new concepts, which focused on areas that were also relevant to the field of juvenile delinquency, but did not deal with it predominantly or exclusively. These include, for example, hermeneutical sociopedagogical diagnostics, social exclusion, (youth) unemployment, etc. It appears that juvenile delinquency as the central concept is simply not productive or characteristic enough to describe the contemporary approach to the themes that are linked to delinquency and deviance.

In my analysis of the conducted research of youth deviance in the period of 1954-1985 (Dekleva, 1985) I found that it can be divided into three phases. The first phase (1960-1964) was to tackle the question Who is a juvenile delinquent and what is he like?, the second (1964-1977) How are delinquents best dealt with and what institutional system should be established for the purpose?, and

the third (1977–1985) greatly expanded (or diversified) research interests, posing the following questions: What are the internal discrepancies of our understanding and treatment of delinquency?, How is juvenile delinquency linked with many other areas of life, including everyday life, and the informal spheres of life? My thesis is that this phase continued and developed in the same direction and led to a number of different research fields and focuses, where juvenile delinquency is no longer a very useful, or indeed, central issue of research.

In the last three decades, however, a new form of empirical research has been developing, which in my opinion is more suitable (compared to the analysis of official statistical data) to answer the question of what youth delinquency is really like and what its scope is. This research is based on the survey technique for measuring victimisation or the survey method of self-reporting deviant/delinquent behaviour. These two methods provide data that is virtually independent from official institutions and the occasional moral panic that so determinately focuses the attentions of the public, and consequently affects the way official institutions work and the data they produce.

The self-report survey method was first used for measuring delinquent behaviour in Slovenia in 1978 (Dekleva, 1978). Among other things, the research compared the self-report data with the police data to confirm the validity of the method. The victimisation survey method was first used in Slovenia in the early eighties (Pečar, 1981). After these beginnings, more studies were conducted in Slovenia using the self-report method, but only a few (or none) could be said to deal explicitly and specifically with the entire field of delinquency, to encompass the entire Slovenian territory, and could at the same time be representative. In the last 15 years, many studies were conducted that dealt, in particular, with drug use or various health aspects, for example:

- A number of studies included in the research programme ESPAD by Stergar and associates focused on drug use on the entire Slovenian territory, and used representative sampling (e.g. Stergar, 1995; Stergar 2005).
- The study *Droge med srednješolsko mladino v Ljubljani* (Dekleva, 1998) focused on drug use among high school

students in Ljubljana, and used representative sampling.

- The study *Na spidu* (Sande, 2002), *On speed*, focused on drug use and certain forms of hazardous behaviour among people attending dance events in Slovenia, but used unrepresentative sampling.
- The study *Tri leta kasneje: uporaba drog med dijaki ob koncu srednje šole* (Dekleva & Sande, 2003), *Three years later: the use of drugs among students at the end of high school*, focused on drug use among older high school students in Ljubljana, and used representative sampling.
- The study *Z zdravjem povezano vedenje v šolskem obdobju* (Jeriček et al., 2007), *focused on health-related behaviour in the schooling period, in particular on health-related risks (and partially on deviant behaviour), and on mental health*. In this it is similar to an older study on the risk factors of Slovenian high school students, *Dejavniki tveganja pri slovenskih srednješolcih* (Tomori et al., 1998).

Only one study was conducted in this period that systematically and comprehensively focused on delinquent behaviour using the self-report survey method as well as representative sampling. This was the study *Odklonskost, nasilje in kriminaliteta – problematika mladine neslovenske narodnosti oz. priseljencev druge generacije* (Deviance, violence and criminality – the issue of young people of non-Slovene nationality, or second generation immigrants), the results of which were published in *Čefurji so bili rojeni tu: življenje mladih priseljencev druge generacije v Ljubljani* (Dekleva & Razpotnik, 2002) (*‘Čefurji’ were born here: the life of young second generation immigrants in Ljubljana*). Its one drawback is that the research was only conducted in Ljubljana.

This period (1991–1992) also saw the first international comparative research of youth delinquency conducted in Europe. This was the International self-reported delinquency study (ISRD; Junger-Tass, Haen Marshall, Ribeaud, 2003), which included 11 European countries, the USA (Nebraska) and New Zealand, but not Slovenia. In 2006–2008, this research was conducted for the second time (ISRD-II), and included 31 countries. 15 were Western European, 12 members of the EU and 3 others; 10 were Eastern or Central European, out of which 6 were new members of the EU; and six other countries, including Canada and (four federal states of) the USA. The total number of

surveyed young people was 71,400 (Junger-Tass et al., 2009). The collection and processing of the data in the six new EU members (Slovenia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Lithuania, Cyprus and Poland) was part of a special research assignment entitled Juvenile delinquency in six new EU member states (Stekatee Moll & Kapardis, 2008). The results of this research will be presented in the rest of the article.

The purpose of the study

The main purposes of the ISRD-II study were:

- to ascertain the prevalence and incidence of delinquency and victimisation among 12-15-year-olds in the countries included;
- to determine the order of individual types of delinquent behaviour according to frequency of occurrence;
- to ascertain which factors delinquency is connected with and to find out international similarities or differences in the patterns of these connections;
- to determine possible connections between delinquency and social control, self-control, social disorganization and lifestyles;
- to research the importance of the family, the school and the neighbourhood for the delinquency of this age group;
- to contribute to the development of an internationally comparable instrument for measuring delinquency and the continuation of such studies in future.

The two goals of the research focused on in this article are:

- to formulate an assessment of the extent of delinquency in Slovenia (and Ljubljana), compared to five other new members of the EU and some established members of the EU;
- to formulate a comparable assessment of the extent of delinquency in Slovenian cities of different sizes.

The research process

Survey was conducted using a unified questionnaire. It consisted of 24 pages of 67 questions and supplementary questions. The questions

covered the topics of demography, family control, victimisation, free time, peer groups, self-control, school and neighbourhood characteristics, and predominantly concerned with deviant behaviour and delinquent activity (of the interviewee and of peers). Table 2 shows the 15 key questions/areas, encompassed in the survey. Each of the questions included supplementary questions, referring to whether the interviewee had already performed/done the particular activity, how many times in the last month, on his own or with someone else, if he had been discovered (and who discovered him) and punished.

Table 2: Key questions of the self-report survey in the ISRD-II study.

Question used in the survey:	Abbreviation:
Have you ever taken part in a group fight on the school playground, football stadium, street or another public location?	Group fighting
Do you ever carry a weapon, e.g. a cane, a knife (not just a penknife) or a chain?	Weapon-carrying
Have you ever intentionally beaten or injured anyone with a cane or a knife so that they required medical attention?	Assault
Have you ever snatched a purse, bag or another object from someone in order to steal it?	Robbery
Have you ever threatened anyone with a weapon or with physical harm in order to extort money or another object from them?	Extortion
Have you ever intentionally damaged or broken something, for example a bus stop bench, a phone booth, a window, a bus, train or car seat?	Vandalism
Have you ever stolen anything from a shop or department store?	Shoplifting
Have you ever stolen a bicycle, scooter or moped?	Bicycle or moped theft
Have you ever stolen anything from or on a car?	Car burglary
Have you ever broken into a house for the purpose of stealing something?	House burglary
Have you ever stolen a motorcycle or car?	Motorcycle or car theft
Have you ever used your computer for hacking?	Computer hacking
Have you ever sold anyone any form of (hard or soft) drugs or helped someone buy them?	Drug trafficking
Have you ever used drugs like ecstasy and speed?	Ecstasy or amphetamine use
Have you ever used drugs like LSD, heroin and cocaine?	LSD/heroin/cocaine use

The research used city-based sampling. The research team of the international study agreed to include in the sample the country's biggest city, one medium-sized city and three smaller cities, based on population. The limit for a small city was at least 20,000 inhabitants. An additional condition was to select cities from different regions of the country. In view of the small size of Slovenia, we necessarily had to select cities that differ significantly less in the number of inhabitants than cities selected in any of the bigger countries where the biggest cities have millions of inhabitants. Thus we chose Ljubljana as the biggest city, Celje as a medium-sized city, and Jesenice, Piran and Kočevje as three smaller cities. This encompassed the following regions: the Ljubljana region, Lower Styria, Upper Carniola, Lower Carniola and the Slovenian Littoral. Of course this does not include all the regions, but it does ensure for a relatively large geographical dispersion of the selected cities. In terms of population, the cities rank as first (Ljubljana) and fourth (Celje), while the other three cities rank much lower on the scale.

One of the agreed upon guidelines was that each of the three types of cities included at least 700 students in seventh and ninth grade, half each. Sampling the students was random, meaning that each student in principle had the same chance of being part of the sample. As each type of city had at least 700 students and because we estimated an average of 22 students per class, we randomly selected enough classes among the seventh and ninth grades from the list of all regular elementary schools in the selected cities to include slightly more than 700 students.

In Ljubljana, we conducted the survey in 23 out of the 46 elementary schools, surveying 38 classes; in Jesenice, we conducted the survey at all three elementary schools, surveying 14 classes; in Kočevje we also surveyed all three elementary schools, surveying 15 classes. In Piran, we only conducted the survey in 2 of the 4 elementary schools, because we left out the Italian school due to an extremely small number of students, while one school declined to take part. Consequently, a smaller number of students was surveyed in Piran, which meant that in the stratum encompassing Jesenice, Kočevje and Piran, an insufficient number of students would have been surveyed. Because of this, we included an elementary school in Izola, the nearest city, so that we conducted the survey in 11 classes

on the coast. In Celje,¹ we conducted the survey at all 9 regular elementary schools, surveying 39 classes, and encompassing the entire population of students in the seventh and ninth grade.

Table 3: Schools, classes and students in the five cities.

City:	Number of elementary schools	Number of surveyed schools	Number of classes	Number of enrolled students
Celje	9	9	39	838
Ljubljana	46	23	38	853
Jesenice	3	3	14	309
Piran	4	3	11	220
Kočevje	3	3	15	312
Total	65	41	117	2,532

After conducting the survey, we evaluated the level of responses (i.e. how many of the targeted students in the sample did not fill in the survey because they were absent or because they chose not to fill it in) and how many of the questionnaires had to be excluded because they were not filled out properly. In the end, 84.4 percent of the questionnaires from all five cities were returned and fit for analysis.

Table 4 shows the structure of the surveyed students by grade and average age in the five cities. Given the information in the last column, we could infer that the average age is 13.44 years, but it is more probable that it is closer to 14 years of age. The question on the basis of which these numbers were calculated, called for the students to select one of the given numbers to mark their age (e.g. 13 or 14). Because it is a reasonable assumption that, for example, 14 was selected both by students that had just turned 14 as well as those that were nearly 15, we must take the answer 14 to mean 14.5. Therefore it makes sense to add 0.5 to the result of 13.44, and establish the average age as 14.96 years.

¹ The data from this research has been separately processed for the Ljubljana area (Dekleva & Grobelšek, 2006b) and for the Celje area (Dekleva & Grobelšek, 2006a). At individual stages, Mija Marija Klemenčič Rozman and Špela Razpotnik assisted with the research, while Andreja Grobelšek played a key part in the execution of the survey in Celje and in writing the final report on Celje.

Table 4: The structure of the surveyed students by grade and average age in the five cities.

City:	Grade				f total:	Average student age:
	7. grade		9. grade			
	f	%	f	%		
Ljubljana	403	53.9	344	46.1	747	13.32
Celje	368	49.9	369	50.1	737	13.50
Jesenice	147	54.0	125	46.0	272	13.48
Piran	109	55.3	88	44.7	197	13.43
Kočevje	142	49.7	144	50.3	286	13.60
Total	1,169	52.2	1.070	47.8	2,239	13.44

For the purposes of this article we will only present those results that apply to the questions set above. The results for 15 key delinquent types of behaviour are presented as follows: first, in comparison with the results from the other countries, second, in comparison with the capital cities of the other countries, and third, in comparison between the three strata of Slovenian cities (according to size). All of the results present the % of interviewees that have already performed the particular actions.

The results

A. Comparison between the capital cities of six new members of the EU

Table 5 shows the lifelong prevalence of the selected delinquent behaviours among (mainly) 14-15 year old adolescents in the capital cities of six new EU members. The table also shows that the structure of delinquent actions in all six capitals is surprisingly similar. This means that on the whole, those acts that are the most common in one country, are among the most common in other countries as well. The most common actions among those included are group fighting, shoplifting and weapon carrying, while vehicle theft, robbery and assault are among the rarest. This is also generally true in Slovenia (that is, Ljubljana). The last column in Table 5 shows that the percentage of the prevalence of these behaviours among Ljubljana's youth most often ranks somewhere in the middle, 3rd, 4th or 5th (among the six capital cities). However, the ranking of

Ljubljana in 9 out of 15 types of behaviour is 4th, 5th or 6th, meaning that most of these behaviours do not occur as often with adolescents in Ljubljana as they do with adolescents in the other five capitals. In comparison, the rarest actions for Ljubljana's youths are group fighting and particularly robbery. Two actions that are committed more often in Ljubljana are vandalism (damaging property) and particularly bicycle or motorcycle theft.

Table 5: The percentage of young people from six capital cities that have ever in their life committed any of the 15 delinquent acts. The two areas in which Ljubljana deviates the most from the average of the other cities have been marked with grey.

Activity:\nCity:	Nicosia,\nCyprus	Prague,\nCzech Republic	Tallinn,\nEstonia	Vilnius,\nLithuania	Warsaw,\nPoland	Ljubljana,\nSlovenia	Total	Ranking\nLjubljana
Group fighting	18,7	18,2	15,7	16,8	13,3	9,9	15,4	6.
Weapon-carrying	4,8	13,0	18,0	14,0	12,0	7,6	11,6	5.
Assault	3,3	1,8	3,9	2,3	2,1	2,1	2,6	4.-5.
Robbery	1,5	2,5	1,6	1,5	1,2	0,1	1,4	6.
Extortion	1,3	1,8	0,9	1,1	2,9	1,5	1,6	3.
Vandalism	7,7	9,6	10,7	5,9	10,0	11,4	9,2	1.
Shoplifting	5,7	25,9	12,7	8,3	14,4	16,3	13,9	2.
Bicycle or\nmoped theft	2,2	0,1	0,3	0,4	1,1	1,9	1,0	2.
Car burglary	1,9	2,4	2,0	3,5	1,8	2,7	2,4	2.
House burglary	1,9	1,4	0,9	0,7	1,7	1,2	1,3	4.
Motorcycle or\ncar theft	1,3	0,3	0,8	0,5	0,9	0,7	0,8	4.
Computer\nhacking	4,8	8,4	11,1	7,7	9,2	8,7	8,3	3.
Drug trafficking	1,5	3,4	3,9	1,4	2,6	2,1	2,5	4.
Ecstasy or\namphetamine use	2,2	1,0	3,7	0,8	2,6	1,1	1,9	4.
LSD/heroin/\ncocaine use	1,4	1,1	2,8	0,4	2,3	0,7	1,5	5.

B. Comparison between the selected countries

Table 6 shows the comparison of the behaviour of the Slovenian sample and the samples from five Eastern and Central European countries. These samples partially match the pattern of the capital cities from Table 5, except that they include Hungary instead of Cyprus.

Table 6: The percentages of young people from six Eastern and Central European countries that have ever in their life committed any of the 15 delinquent acts.

Country: Activity:	Hungary	Czech Republic	Estonia	Lithuania	Poland	Slovenia	Total	Ranking SLO
Group fighting:	17,5	19,8	15,1	15,4	13,1	12,4	13,5	6.
Weapon-carrying	10,4	10,3	15,8	13,1	9,9	6,9	9,9	6.
Assault	2,3	1,3	3,8	2,4	1,9	2,3	2,0	3.-4.
Robbery	3,1	2,3	0,8	1,3	1,1	0,5	1,4	6.
Extortion	0,7	1,4	0,8	1,2	2,6	1,4	1,1	2.-3.
Vandalism	14,4	11,5	11,9	7,7	8,3	11,5	9,0	3.-4.
Shoplifting	11,6	22,5	11,4	9,3	12,0	13,2	11,1	2.
Bicycle or moped theft	0,9	1,3	0,4	0,5	0,8	1,7	0,7	1.
Car burglary	1,3	1,9	2,0	0,8	1,5	1,7	1,3	3.
House burglary	1,1	1,1	1,5	0,7	2,2	0,8	1,1	5.
Motorcycle or car theft	0,8	0,8	1,3	0,6	0,9	0,5	0,7	6.
Computer hacking	50,9	7,1	10,4	6,7	8,9	10,6	14,0	2.
Drug trafficking	2,1	3,8	2,7	1,6	3,1	2,3	2,2	4.
Ecstasy or amphetamine use	2,9	1,2	3,1	1,2	3,2	1,4	1,9	4.
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	1,3	0,6	1,5	0,9	1,7	0,8	1,0	5.

Table 6, similarly to Table 5, shows that the prevalence of delinquent behaviour in Slovenia compared to the five other countries is relatively small, particularly in group fighting, weapon carrying and robbery. Again, bicycle and motorcycle theft, as well as shoplifting, are more prevalent in Slovenia as a whole (including medium-sized and small cities).

To extend the research further than the comparison between Slovenia and the other five Eastern and Central European recent EU members, Table 7 compares the Slovenian data with data from

five Western European countries. These were selected based on intuitive possibilities of comparison. Italy and Austria are Slovenia's neighbours, Italy and Spain are Mediterranean countries, among which Slovenia is often included. Germany and Belgium, two continental countries that are among those which somehow define the concept of Europe and the European. In comparison with these five countries Slovenia fares even better. In as many as 13 out of 15 activities it ranks 5th or 6th, in one case 4-5th, but it also places 2nd in one instance – surprisingly, in hacking. On the other hand, Slovenia has the lowest prevalence of robbery (i.e. pick pocketing).

Table 7: The percentages of young people from Slovenia and five Western European countries that have ever committed any of the 15 delinquent acts.

Activity:	Country:						
	Italy	Spain	Austria	Germany	Belgium	Slovenia	Ranking SLO
Group fighting	27,3	22,1	20,9	12,1	21,6	12,4	5.
Weapon-carrying	10,0	9,3	10,2	10,0	15,0	6,9	6.
Assault	3,1	1,5	4,4	4,7	3,5	2,3	5.
Robbery	3,6	1,1	4,8	2,9	2,4	0,5	6.
Extortion	2,7	1,6	1,8	2,2	2,4	1,4	6.
Vandalism	15,7	13,0	16,9	13,4	10,7	11,5	5.
Shoplifting	18,9	20,9	18,2	7,9	20,1	13,2	5.
Bicycle or moped theft	4,6	3,7	3,3	2,1	5,1	1,7	5.
Car burglary	4,5	3,6	2,3	1,2	1,7	1,7	4.-5.
House burglary	3,6	2,8	1,5	0,9	2,0	0,8	6.
Motorcycle or car theft	1,1	1,6	0,7	0,5	1,2	0,5	5.-6.
Computer hacking	10,4	31,6	6,7	5,8	6,8	10,6	2.
Drug trafficking	3,7	6,1	3,3	3,3	4,3	2,3	6.
Ecstasy or amphetamine use	1,6	3,8	1,8	1,2	2,3	1,4	5.
LSD/heroin/cocaine use	1,8	4,4	1,6	0,9	1,4	0,8	6.

C. Comparison between Slovenian cities of different sizes

The differences and similarities between Tables 5 and Table 6 pose the question to what extent combining the data from the capital city with the data from middle-sized and smaller Slovenian cities will affect the results, particularly Slovenia's rankings.

Because the comparison between Tables 5 and 6 only shows small differences, we can conclude that we will not find significant differences between the three different types of cities. Table 8 does in fact show that the differences in the prevalence of individual types of behaviour between the three types are relatively small. It even seems somewhat surprising that in Ljubljana the prevalence of most of the activities (8 out of 15) is lower than the average. The only statistically significant difference, reaching the risk level of 0.05, concerns only one type of behaviour, namely shoplifting, which is more frequent in Ljubljana than it is elsewhere. However, despite its statistic significance, this difference in percentages is relatively small.

Table 8: The percentages of young people from five Slovenian cities that have ever in their life committed any of the 15 delinquent acts.

Activity:	City:	Ljubljana	Celje	Piran, Jesenice, Kočevje	All cities
Group fighting		9,9	13,2	14,2	12,4
Weapon-carrying		7,6	6,4	6,7	6,9
Assault		2,1	1,8	3,0	2,3
Robbery		0,1	0,8	0,5	0,5
Extortion		1,5	1,2	1,6	1,4
Vandalism		11,4	10,0	13,2	11,5
Shoplifting		16,3	10,4	13,0	13,2
Bicycle or moped theft		1,9	1,2	1,9	1,7
Car burglary		2,7	0,6	1,8	1,7
House burglary		1,2	0,1	1,2	0,8
Motorcycle or car theft		0,7	0,4	0,4	0,5
Computer hacking		8,7	10,1	13,0	10,6
Drug trafficking		2,1	2,5	2,2	2,3
Ecstasy or amphetamine use		1,1	1,8	1,2	1,4
LSD/heroin/cocaine use		0,7	0,4	1,3	0,8

Discussion

In a general sense, the ISRD-II study has illustrated the possibilities of internationally comparable research of youth

delinquency using the self-report method. In a more specific sense, the results of the study show that the structure of delinquent behaviour in various countries is surprisingly similar and that identical or similar factors (of social control) are statistically linked with the occurrence of delinquency in various countries (although this has not been examined in detail in this article). The two research questions set in the article can be answered as follows:

- The prevalence of delinquent behaviour in Slovenia is relatively small compared to other countries. This holds true both in the comparison between the six new members of the EU, five of which are among those Eastern European countries that approximately two decades ago underwent a transformation of their social system, and even more true in the comparison with the selected Western European countries, two of which are Slovenia's neighbours.
- There is virtually no difference in the prevalence of the 15 selected types of delinquent behaviour among the three smaller towns, medium sized cities, and the capital city. This supports the view of Slovenia as a relatively unified area, where deviance characteristics (e.g. drug use or criminality) do not vary much according to region or type of environment.

An empirical study of youth delinquency at first glance does not present anything other than dry numbers. Their meaning and applicability depend on who and how they are put to use. If the thesis that there is a decline in the interest in youth delinquency is true, than perhaps these numbers will not be of interest to many. The main idea of the research presented here is, first, to provide internationally comparable information, and second, continually conducting the research using the same methodology through time. Both of these aspects are concerned with the standardization of knowledge or data, likely to serve as the basis for more rational decision-making. The ISRD study was conducted for the first time in Slovenia between 2005 and 2007. The third international research project is now starting, and it will be Slovenia's second. We expect that it will be conducted by the Institute of Criminology.

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Subjective Well-Being in Adulthood and Connected Factors

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Abstract

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The article presents the results of a longitudinal study focusing on the role of family interaction measured in adolescence, and the subjective well-being of young adult women. Subjective well-being was studied using two components: the cognitive component, referring to an individual's self-assessment of their life, and the emotional component, which is made up of two independent components – positive and negative affect. The index of emotional well-being was also taken into account. Family interaction was studied using Lewis' theory. 66 young adult women (2. measurement) and their parents (1. measurement, information gathered ten years ago) participated in the study. The following instruments were used: the Family of Origin Questionnaire (Lewis, 1989), the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS, Diener et al. 1985, Slovene version) and the Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS, Watson et al. 1988, Slovene version). The results confirm the

premise that how the mother deals with the needs of the daughter, as perceived by the mother in the daughter's childhood and adolescence, is a significant factor in predicting the daughter's subjective-well being in adulthood. Connections between such predictions and the father's experiences or the competency of the family system were not ascertained. The article also presents the connections between subjective well-being and other demographic factors.

Key words: *subjective well-being, positive affect, negative affect, index of emotional well-being, family*

Introduction

In the last ten years, one of the fundamental paradigmatic fields in the development of positive psychology has been the model of subjective well-being (Musek and Avsec, 2002) developed by Ed Diener (1994; 2000; 2005) and his co-workers. The model consists of the central and global variable of well-being and life satisfaction, which Ed Diener has termed subjective well-being (SWB), and using satisfaction with life as a synonym. Subjective well-being is defined as an individual's evaluation of their own life, a way of measuring how we experience our own lives (Diener, 2000). It refers to experiencing positive emotions, a low level of negative emotions and a high level of subjective well-being (Diener, Lucas, & Oishi, 2005). Musek and Avsec (2002) consider subjective well-being to be an umbrella term, synthesizing a series of evaluations referring to an individual's life: cognitive and emotional, general as well as specific. It is a strictly subjective, phenomena-based concept. The evaluations of subjective well-being depend on past experiences, current circumstances and future expectations. In this way, the evaluation of our lives is significantly linked with our emotional experiences and of course also with our personality and temperament.

Various researchers concur with Diener's claim that there are two sides to subjective well-being. The first is the cognitive component,

measured by the SWLS questionnaire (Satisfaction with Life Scale) (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985), which has been used in our research. Here, subjective well-being is defined as an individual's general evaluation of their life (Diener, Emmons, Larsen and Griffin, 1985, as cited in Schimmack, 2007). In evaluating their own lives, individuals subjectively (according to their own experience) assesses the significant aspects of their lives, consider both the good and the bad, and create a general picture of their well-being in view of the standards they have set for themselves. This evaluation is assumed to be relatively stable and not affected by the individual's current mood. The second factor of subjective well-being is the emotional component, which is comprised of two separate dimensions – positive (PA) and negative affect (NA). Diener (1984, as cited in Schimmack, 2007) thinks that subjective well-being is more than just the absence of negative emotions and moods. For a high level of subjective well-being, a high level of positive emotions and moods is also necessary. In Diener's opinion, both aspects have their own different causes and effects, which was a hot topic of debate in the literature of the field for a long time (Schimmack, 2007). Another questionnaire measuring the emotional aspect of subjective well-being is the so-called PANAS (Positive and Negative Affect Scale, Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988), which has also been used in this study. The cognitive evaluation of subjective well-being is largely stable in adulthood, while the emotional component is much more dependent on the personal context of the individual (Larsen, 2009). Larsen (2009) introduces the index of emotional well-being (EWB), which refers to the emotional status of an individual at a certain time. It concerns the main tendency, the characteristic level of emotional well-being in an individual, the positive to negative affect ratio. Responsiveness, duration and cognitive involvement are asymmetric in positive and negative affect and this significantly aids our understanding of the relationship between the two types of affect and helps us in defining the relationship between them. In order for an individual to maintain an overall positive ratio between the affects, one needs to compensate for the negative affects with more numerous or stronger positive experiences, due to the fact that both aspects do not equally contribute to subjective well-being. Negative affect most certainly has a stronger influence on the subjective experience of well-being compared to the positive. This is why, in

order to achieve a favourable emotional balance, it is much more effective to develop self-regulation strategies to limit negative states than to simply encourage positive experiences on an equal level. On the basis of various studies Larsen and Prizmic (2008, as cited in Larsen, 2009) come to the conclusion that the most common ratio between the two affects is between 2.3 and 5.1. They suggest that the best indicator of the ratio is π (3.14). This means that negative experiences trigger negative emotions, which are on average three times as strong as positive experiences of equal gravity.

We are also interested in research that focuses on the factors connected with subjective well-being. Many studies focus on researching the role of important social relationships. Various studies have confirmed this connection both theoretically and empirically (e.g. Myers, 2004, Ryff, 1995; as cited in Diener, & Diener McGavran, 2008). Close social relationships are also linked to mental health (Lewis, 1989; Gable and La Guardia, 2007). Research into social relationships usually focuses on the role of partnerships, family life and friends in relation to subjective well-being. Diener and Diener's (1995, as cited in Diener, & Diener McGavran, 2008) international research has shown a connection between subjective well-being and family relationships based on a sample spanning 31 countries. Various studies have shown that the relationships between parents and children are connected with the child's ability to develop social relationships in general and also remain a good way of predicting subjective well-being in adolescence (Diener & Diener McGavran, 2008). The authors cite the results of various studies which confirm that the most reliable way to predict an adolescent's subjective well-being is an emotional connection and closeness with both parents. Naturally, we have to take into account that the results of correlational studies show a low to medium connection, and that there exist other factors that also significantly influence subjective well-being, e.g. temperament, personality and other demographic factors.

We are, however, hard-pressed to find longitudinal studies in the literature, which would research the connection between family relationships in childhood and adolescence, and subjective well-being in adulthood. Our research is concerned above all with the predictive value of the parents' experience of family interaction in the participants' adolescence for the evaluation of subjective

well-being in adulthood. We will focus particularly on researching the role of the interaction between the daughter and both parents. Preliminary research (Poljšak Škraban, 2010) has shown that systemic family factors (competence) measured in adolescence, while linked to the level of psychosocial development in adulthood, do not have any predictive value for subjective well-being. The results concur with Plomin's findings (in Bussell & Reiss, 1993) that the specific relationship with the parents is more important for the child's development than the general atmosphere in the family. For this reason, we have excluded the variable of the family system's competence from the set of predictive variables. More content specific descriptions of the interactions between the parents and the adolescent are provided in the next chapter on method, in the presentation of instruments and in Poljšak Škraban (2003; 2008).

Method

Participants

92 women in early adulthood were invited to participate; between 1995 and 1999 they had taken part in the research conducted for the doctoral dissertation entitled *The Role of Parents and Interaction in the Family System in the Identity Formation of Students of Social Pedagogy*, where both parents of those included in the sample also participated. 66 women responded to the invitation (60% of the original sample), aged 29 to 37 ($M = 32.2$). 95.5% of the participants live in their own households, 98.5% are employed, 88% are married or are living with a partner, and 64% have children. The information concerning family interaction in late adolescents was taken from the answers given by the parents in the original research. The parents were then aged between 36 and 71 (M mother = 48 years old, M father = 51.5 years old).

Instruments

1. Family of Origin Questionnaire (Lewis, 1989)

The Family of Origin Questionnaire (Lewis, 1989) was used to research the quality of family interaction and how it was

experienced by the three family members. For the requirements of this research, we will only be using the results of the first part of the questionnaire, which Lewis based on Shereshefsky and Yarrow (1973, in Lewis, 1989). It comprises of six questions referring to the interaction between the parents and their adolescent daughter, divided into two sections, childhood and adolescence (12 questions in total). It concerns important qualities of parenthood. The participants answer on the Likert scale from 1 to 5; the content of the answers differs from question to question, but always in the sense that (1) equals *very good* and (5) *very bad*. In the original research, the questionnaire was processed using factor analysis. Based on the results, the following variables were constructed for further statistical analysis, which we have termed as follows:

- D1– parents' anxiety about parenting (in childhood and adolescence),
- D2– dealing with needs (the parents' ability to recognize and satisfy the emotional needs of their daughter, the closeness of the daughter and the parents, and the parents' satisfaction in their parental role – in childhood and adolescence),
- D3– parents' intrusiveness.

The internal consistency coefficients (Cronbach's α) of all three versions of the Family of Origin Questionnaire in the first part move within the region of 0.70 and 0.90. For the requirements of this study, we will only take into account the mother's and father's evaluation of family interaction.

2. Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS, Diener et al. 1985 – Slovene version)

The questionnaire comprises of five items, and the participants answer on the Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). The questionnaire is evaluated by summing up the results of all the questions. Cronbach's α is 0.79.

3. Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS, Watson et al., 1988 – Slovene version)

The questionnaire comprises of 20 items. The participants answer on the Likert scale from 1 (very slightly) to 5 (extremely). The questionnaire is evaluated by considering the sums of both subscales separately. Cronbach's α is 0.77 in the positive affect subscale (PA), and 0.90 in the negative affect subscale (NA).

Results

To discern which family related factors predict subjective well-being in early adulthood, a number of regression analyses were conducted. As has been mentioned in the introduction, our choice of predictive variables was determined by the results of the preliminary research (Poljšak Škraban, 2010), which showed that the competence of the family system measured in the participants' adolescence does not hold significant predictive value for subjective well-being in early adulthood. The competence of the family system was measured using cluster analysis, taking into account the way the three family members perceived the experiences of the family system; as a result, two groups of families were established according to the level of system competence (more or less competent families – for more information, see Poljšak Škraban, 2002; 2005; 2008). In view of the fact that there were quite a few family-related independent variables to choose from, and taking into account the relatively small research sample, we had to be careful to meet the demands of all the conditions in calculating regression. For this reason a set of regressions was conducted to predict subjective well-being based separately on the mother's and on the father's perception of family interaction. First, five independent compounded variables were included in the regression analysis (D1 – parents' anxiety about parenting, D2 – dealing with needs, D3 – parents' intrusiveness, D4 – communication in the family, D5 – dealing with emotions). The preliminary research showed that beside the family system's competence, variables D4 and D5, where we asked family members about how they experience the family as a system, were also not significant for predicting subjective well-being. The predictive variables were only those where we asked the parents about their interaction with the adolescents (D1, D2 and D3). These variables are more thoroughly described in the presentation of instruments. The following dependent (criterial) variables were included: life satisfaction (SWLS), positive affect (PA), negative affect (NA) and the emotional well-being index (EWB). The latter was calculated according to the formula suggested by Larsen (2009), by dividing the sum of PA with the quotient of the sum of NA and 3.14 (π).

The fundamental finding of the research is that all the predictions with statistical significance are linked exclusively with the mother's perception of her interaction with the daughter, while the father's are not. Table 1 shows the results of the regression analysis for the predictive variables linked with the mother's perceptions.

Table 1: Multiple correlation (R), explained variance (R²) and the statistical significance of the regression analysis

Dependent variables	R	R²	F	df	p
SWLS	0.313	0.098	2.239	3 (62)	0.093
PA	0.334	0.111	2.593	3 (62)	0.061
NA	0.375	0.141	3.378	3 (62)	0.024
EWB	0.438	0.192	4.908	3 (62)	0.004

We can see from Table 1 that the model is statistically significant only for the last two variables: negative affect (NA) and emotional well-being (EWB). For the other two variables, the model is approaching significance. In the cases of all four dependent variables (SWLS, PA, NA, EWB), regardless of the significance of the prediction model, the sole statistically significant predictive variable is the mother's dealing with needs (D2). The results are as follows: life satisfaction (Beta = 0.303, $t = 2.483$, $p = 0.016$), positive affect (Beta = 0.326, $t = 2.689$, $p = 0.009$), negative affect (Beta = -2.73 , $t = -2.29$, $p = 0.025$), and emotional well-being index (Beta = 0.344, $t = 2.978$, $p = 0.004$). The results show that the correlations are positive in every case except concerning negative affect, which is understandable because less negative affect equals higher subjective well-being. The prediction model of the emotional well-being index has the most bearing as it explains almost 20% of the variance. In an absolute sense, this is not a lot, but it is certainly not negligible if we keep in mind that subjective well-being depends on a long line of variables.

Gilligan (1982) and Josselson (1987) have already written on the mother's role in the development of female adolescents. They claim that women develop above all through relationships (significantly through their relationship with their mother) and thus through the processes of separation and connectedness. For women it is important to remain one's own person, while at the same

time being close to others. We expect that the mother's sensitivity in dealing with her daughter's needs also enables this. Elium and Elium (2001) claim that girls must develop their own, separate self, but this self develops within an ever increasing complexity of relationships, particularly relationships with the mother. Preliminary research (Poljšak Škraban, 2010) has shown that a well-developed personal self (measured by the level of psychosocial development) is significantly linked with life satisfaction ($r = 0.64$), positive ($r = 0.49$) and negative affect ($r = -0.46$), as well as the emotional well-being index ($r = 0.77$). All of the above-mentioned correlations are significant on the level of $p < 0.01$.

Unfortunately, we did not find much research concerning the prediction of subjective well-being in adulthood on the basis of family interaction. Research that analyses the interaction of children and parents predominantly focuses on the opposite question – how much do children affect the subjective well-being of parents. Research focusing on predicting subjective well-being in childhood and adolescent is more numerous. Diener and Diener McGavran (2008) cite results that confirm the predictive value of the interaction between parents and children for subjective well-being both in childhood and in adolescence. According to the authors, the mother is more significant to the subjective well-being of the child, while interaction with both parents is significant for adolescents (Ben-Zur, 2003, as cited in Diener, & Diener McGavran, 2008). Demo and Acock (1996, *ibid.*) found that the strongest and most consistent factor for predicting dissatisfaction with life in adolescence is discord between the mother and the adolescent. Although in our research the father's perception of his interaction with his daughter did not turn out to be a significant factor for predicting the daughter's subjective well-being, we have detected in the above-mentioned variables low, yet nevertheless significant correlations on the level of $p < 0.05$, moving from $r = -0.26$ for negative affect to the highest point at $r = 0.34$ on the emotional well-being index. Thus we can supplement the claims of the authors (*ibid.*) by saying that the results of the correlational studies which confirm the positive connection between the parents-children interaction and subjective well-being in childhood and adolescence extend to early adulthood as well. This is also compatible with the results of the research of Guarnieri, Ponti and Tani (2010) into important relationships in early

adulthood. Among a number of variables their results highlighted only the relationship with one's parents and romantic partners as significant for predicting an individual's subjective well-being.

Many authors of course stress the fact that other factors are important when it comes to subjective well-being, in particular temperament and demographic factors. Temperamental characteristics were measured in our original research, but will not be discussed here. Our results did show similar connections between extraversion and neuroticism, and various aspects of subjective well-being, compatible with other findings (Musek & Avsec, 2002). Demographical data shows that many significant events have occurred in the lives of the young women from our sample in the last decade: they have all completed their university education, created their own homes (95.5 % of the participants have set up their own households), are employed (98.5 %), living with a partner (88 %) and have children (64 %). We expect that these events also had a significant impact on subjective well-being as they concern the basic developmental tasks of young adults. In view of the high percentages cited above, we can assume that at least some of the developmental tasks have been successfully accomplished by the participants. Many researchers confirm the significant connection between age, gender, income, education and marital status (or partnership), which should explain around 20 percent of the subjective well-being variance (Musek & Avsec, 2002; Diener, 2008).

Discussion

Social relationships, among which the relationship with one's parents is among the most important, have again both theoretically and empirically been proven to be a notable factor in an individual's development. The results of the research have shown that certain family characteristics are an important developmental factor not only in earlier periods, but in adulthood as well. The research focuses primarily on the role played by the interaction between both parents and their daughter as it concerns subjective well-being. The results have shown that how the mother deals with the daughter's needs, how she perceives them in the period of the daughter's

childhood and adolescence is a significant factor in predicting subjective well-being in adulthood. Meanwhile, connections were not ascertained between subjective well-being predictions and the father's experiences, or the competence of the family system. While mother-daughter interaction explains only a relatively small amount of variance in predicting subjective well-being, it is not negligible. Subjective well-being depends on a long line of variables, particularly on temperamental and demographic factors. Our research also took some of these into account (completed university education, living in one's own household, employment, partnership and children) and we expect that these factors also play a significant part in explaining subjective well-being in adulthood.

The results reveal the importance of preventative and curative work with parents of children and adolescents, because such work affects not only the subjective well-being and mental health of children and adolescents, but in the long run also the subjective well-being and mental health of adults.

Our research is of course limited in certain ways, primarily in the size and composition of the sample (exclusively female). A fair amount of research confirms Lewis' findings (1989) that family factors play different roles in the mental health of men and women, which is why it would be beneficial to expand the research to both genders. The particular advantage of the presented research is that it is set in a longitudinal manner, as this gives weight to the prediction of results.

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The Experiences of Social In-/exclusion of Young People During Long-term Unemployment

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Abstract

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The article presents the experiences of social in-/exclusion of young people during long-term unemployment according to age and education level. The qualitative research used focus groups that encompassed 21 unemployed young people in the Ljubljana area between 19 and 26 years of age. These young people with different levels of education and of different ages emphasize both individual and in particular systemic difficulties that for them present significant obstacles in entering the workforce and choosing desired biographical paths. The results show that the assistance and support strategies for helping young people in the position of unemployment should be directed towards establishing a balance between different areas in an individual's life and in this way mitigating the risks of individual transitions into adulthood and employment.

Key words: *young people, long-term unemployment, social in-/exclusion*

Introduction

“I think most young people that are unemployed feel lost. Somehow they don't know what to do with themselves. Maybe it would make more sense to include some workshops of a more personal nature in the programme of the Employment Service to encourage young people to explore the inner essence of their personality – this is where wishes and visions of the future stem from. I believe that every person should do the work that he finds personally fulfilling and that offers him the challenges where he can exceed himself. The state does not sufficiently support/protect the self-initiative of young people, who wish to create their own role in the workplace, and there is far too much hiring through family connections or friendships.” (Interviewee comment, 2004)

Youth unemployment today presents a pressing problem in most European countries, including Slovenia. Unemployed young people can be defined as a population under threat, as nowadays, numerous studies warn of the negative consequences unemployment can trigger in health and social areas; unemployment is a risk of poverty and social exclusion, dependence on social assistance and on family bonds.

Walter and Schlachhoff (2001) examine various source materials and find that youth unemployment in European countries also importantly reflects the consequences of the changes in transitions on the one hand, and the still traditional response of programme policies on the other. They cite the following findings (Walter & Schlachhoff, 2001, p. 106):

- Youth unemployment in Europe is relevant for the formal labour market in various ways. Because of work shortages, employment policies are focusing on encouraging self-responsibility in individuals (European Commission, 1999).
- The processes of education and employment are undergoing structural changes; the diversity of education and training is a decisive factor when it comes to differences in adapting to changes on the labour market (Shavit & Mueller, 1998).
- The structure of unemployment is different according to gender. These differences can be seen in the segments of education, training and the labour market.
- The problem of specific groups of young unemployed people such as migrants, dropouts, young people with lower levels of

education, with a criminal record, etc. is shown in the combination of the lack of resources and suitable institutional procedures.

- Hidden unemployment and the informal economy are parts of the complex phenomenon of transition into work and employment that official statistics do not discern, but seem to be increasing in all parts of Europe (Mingione, 1994; MacDonald, 1998).

Social inequalities concerning access to resources and opportunities become apparent in individualized transitions and different biographical opportunities. The ability of an individual to negotiate the transition into adulthood and employment depends on his cultural capital, support in the family, the opportunities and limitations in the educational process, on gender, social and ethnic affiliation. This divergent constellation leads to various forms of transitions into employment. Du Bois-Reymond and Lopez Blasco (2003, p. 23) highlight the following:

- Young adults with limited resources who are *forced to switch between precarious jobs, unemployment and remedial training schemes;*
- Young adults with considerable resources that enable them *to freely make decisions according to their own needs and preferences;*
- Young adults who would want to *try out new solutions in the combination of working and learning, but are under various forms of pressure forced to adjust their career and educational paths to standardized and restricted forms of training;*
- Young adults that *are prolonging their dependence on their parents, forced to do so because of insufficient social security and unemployment.*

Walther and Schlachthoff (2001, p. 102) are also of the opinion that because of the unequal division of economic, cultural and social capital, as well as other resources, young people are faced with the following forms of transitions into employment:

- transitions in hazardous, marginal biographies, where because of low levels of education and bad conditions on the labour market young people do not have the opportunity to achieve autonomous life projects and the conventional status of adulthood;
- transitions aimed at traditional, 'normal' biographies;
- transitions in selective biographies, autonomous life projects, following an individual life path.

In the characteristics of modern transitions into adulthood we can recognize in the attitudes of various institutions towards these fundamental changes to this social process that they are overlooked. The consequences can be seen in the fact that young people, using socially accessible resources and public forms of support (education, training, counselling and various other forms of support and assistance), become more and more dependent, while the experts in various institutions persist in the role of offering them new challenges, guiding and transferring them according to their options and capabilities, and according to the programmes set by the programme policies (Walter & Schlachthoff, 2001, p. 108).

The findings of comparative European studies draw attention to the following contradictions, which occur because expert policies in the field of employment do not take the contemporary phenomena in the transitions of young people into account (Du Bois-Reymond & Blasco Lopez, 2003, p. 35–37):

- The employability trend is determined in view of possible employment at a later time, which goes against several concepts of skills being transversal and against the contextual development of competencies within the framework of life-long learning.
- The concept of life-long learning emphasises informal learning and its integration into formal education and training. However, programme policies veer towards formalizing informal modes of learning, which undermines their fundamental motivational importance and character.
- To adjust the standards to the altered forms of transition into the workforce, the importance of individual counselling is increasing. Individual counselling, however, does not ensure that the specific needs of an individual are truly taken into consideration, which is why such programmes often simply present a replacement instrument for social control and normalization.
- Difficulty in reaching the population that is in the most unfavourable position in terms of employment is being noted in various European countries; meanwhile, the most successful and attractive programmes are those that increase the options of the unemployed and satisfy the standards of success as determined by programme policies. These standards must also be met by those that are in the most unfavourable position on the labour market.

These types of interventions can lead to the reproduction of segmentation and stigmatization of the programme users.

- Flexibility is a principle that is universally taken into account when encouraging individuals in the processes of education, training and employment. The practical application of this principle in fact means autonomy, which in turn means control of resources. If a balance is not established by taking into account the individual's characteristics, the results of flexibility are limited solely to those that possess higher levels of economic, social and cultural capital, while those that are in the worst positions on the labour market find themselves in even more unfavourable and precarious circumstances.

Studies on the subject of young people and the labour market (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997, 2003; Harslóf, 2003; Walther et al., 2002) show the presence of guiding young people onto educational paths that do not lead to permanent, stable employment and do not enable a socially secure status. Some young people even respond to this type of intervention by leaving or withdrawing from the system of public institutions, preferring to accept the 'status zero' position, and experiencing alienation and humiliation.

The insecurity of their position on the labour market is one of the more pronounced characteristics of young people in Europe. They are exposed to the risk of social exclusion and social inequality in various areas. Transition into adulthood is dependent upon and determined by the programmes of government and non-government institutions, by education and training and by access to the labour market. The policies of various institutions signify some kinds of transitional regimes for young people, which determine their navigation in taking certain positions, assessing gender specifics and affecting the characteristics of biographical paths.

The purpose and the methodological approach of the research

The article presents one part of the results of the qualitative research that builds upon the quantitative research entitled *Socialna v-/izključenost in psihosocialno zdravje mladih z izkušnjami brezposelnosti*

(Social in-/exclusion and psychosocial health of young people with experiences of unemployment) (Dekleva & Rapuš Pavel, 2004).¹ The qualitative section deepens the understanding of marginalization and social in-/exclusion among young unemployed people. Our interest was to find out how young people of various age groups, with experiences of long-term unemployment and with completed or uncompleted education define the vulnerability of their situation in life in connection with social in-/exclusion, and what they experience as the key obstacles and limitations, as well as support, in their transition to the workforce.

The sample

The sample included 21 young people that have been unemployed for a long time (registered at the Employment Service for more than 12 months), who were divided into four groups based on age and education level. The sample was chosen randomly. The counsellors provided us with a list of people who fit our criteria from the register of first time employment seekers. They began inviting them by telephone and later in writing to join the focus groups, according to the order on the list. Participation was in principle voluntary. The gender structure of the sample included more girls than boys in each group, and in this suitably reflects the gender ratio in the information register in accordance with the criteria for forming the groups. The following groups were formed:

1. group: young people without completed vocational or high school education, up to 23 years old, registered in the category of first time employment seekers for over 12 months (referred to as “younger dropouts” in the rest of the text);
2. group: young people with completed vocational or high school education, up to 23 years old, registered in the category of first time employment seekers for over 12 months (referred to as “younger successful students”²);

¹ The report presents the results of the research project entitled Social in/ exclusion and psychosocial health of young people with experiences of unemployment, which was conducted in 2003-2004, Dekleva and Rapuš Pavel (2004). The project was financially backed by the City Council of Ljubljana.

² The somewhat unusual use of the term “younger successful students” simply means that the people in this group have successfully completed their studies at a vocational or other type of high school. In many cases this is only a two-year vocational program that the people themselves do not view as a sign of any particular scholarly achievement or success.

3. group: young people without completed vocational or high school education, between 24 and 26 years old, registered in the category of first time employment seekers for over 12 months (referred to as “older dropouts”);
4. group: young people with completed vocational or high school education, between 24 and 26 years old, registered in the category of first time employment seekers for over 12 months (referred to as “older successful students”).

We initially also wanted to include a fifth group, including those with completed university-level education. However, after studying the information register, it turned out that there is only a small number of such candidates seeking employment, which is why we decided to abandon the idea of including this group.

Collecting and processing data

Data was collected using the method of focus groups, in which we discussed the issue of unemployment with the young people. We included the following areas:³

- Work and employment: *What are your experiences with work and employment? What does employment/unemployment mean to you? What does work mean to you? What are your experiences with employers? What methods are you using to look for employment? How much and what types of work have you done in the past? Do you find retraining or deciding on a different school a problem? What is your vision for the future in terms of work and employment? Which institutions do you turn to for help with your current situation?*
- Economic situation: *How do you make a living? Do you feel deprived of material goods in your current situation, and which ones? What kind of circumstances do you live in, are you satisfied? What do you give up, what do you find the hardest? Does anyone help you in a material or financial manner? What are you doing to become financially independent? How would you evaluate your chances of becoming materially independent from your parents? What do you see as the biggest obstacles in your way? How important is permanent employment to your future as a precondition to starting a family?*

³ The outline of the prepared questions is in the online material of the project.

- Support of family and friends: *How do your parents support you in this position (material, social support, interest in your situation, are they worried, do they give you advice)? What kind of help do you expect from your parents in your current situation? Does the current help your parents provide contribute to your autonomy and independence or is it holding you back in a position of dependence and passivity? What is their role? How important and effective do you find the support of peers, friends, relatives – for furthering your education, for your transition to employment?*

The focus groups enable the participants to voice their opinions and convictions, to talk about their behaviour; it also utilizes the possibility of group dynamics where participants affect each others' explanations and views (Sim, 1998).

The focus groups were conducted in February 2004 in the offices of the Employment Services of the Ljubljana regional unit. The conversations lasted two and a half hours on average. The focus groups were conducted so that the participants were encouraged to voice their opinions, viewpoints and convictions about their situation in life, determined by unemployment. The group dynamics enabled the participants to think about each other's points of view, convictions and perceptions and influence the other participants in the conversation, while at the same time being influenced by their views on various experiences and consequences of unemployment in return. In guiding the conversation, we used analytical techniques, summarizing, confronting differences of opinion, and in the discussion, we connected various areas of life with work and employment.

In the analysis of the conversations in the focus groups we paid attention to how young unemployed people experience the factors (sources, circumstances, conditions, characteristics) that are leading them either to social inclusion or to social marginalization, deprivation, exclusion. The collected material was processed by marking all the statements where the interviewees expressed their opinions on these topics. For every individual group these viewpoints were then divided into two sections, negative and positive, according to how they impact the process of social inclusion. Within the negative and the positive pole, we divided the statements and the factors into three sub-sections: those connected with the labour market, with the participants' economic situation and with the support of their family and friends.

Results

Tables 1 through 4 show the factors of in-/exclusion that individual groups called attention to in their economic situation, the labour market and the support of family and friends.

In the group of younger dropouts, young people are coming into contact with work predominantly by working on someone else's student employment referral, by being active on the black market. In striving for autonomy, they are interested in any form of temporary work, and they point out examples where they used their own initiative and resourcefulness to find market niches and use connections and acquaintances to get temporary work. In the material sense they are dependent on the support of their parents, who in most cases are not financially well-off either. Several of the participants said that they receive more financial support from their partners. Sharing living expenses with partners enables them to live outside of the primary family unit. They report that their financial limitations affect them by shrinking their social circle and narrowing their friendship networks. When it comes to friendship, they particularly stress the importance of moral support, socializing and relaxation. In terms of systemic limitations, the young people emphasize difficulty in accessing temporary work and gaining work experiences, which drives them onto the black market. They also voice concerns about the lack of measures being taken in the system to resolve the housing problems of single unemployed young people. Biographical paths in this group of young people point to a longer history of family problems, a lack of family and peer support in the past and present, resulting in dropping out and not finishing their education, as well as being more susceptible to bad influences from those around them. They feel that their limited circumstances have markedly contributed to their present position without status.

Motivation for continuing their education is in this group closely connected with their vision of employment in the public sector. Employment in the public sector (e.g. positions in health care) supposedly carries more social security and a regular income. These young people feel that they are flexible when it comes to looking for work. They are also interested in employment abroad. They rely especially on their own competence and abilities, and look to their parents, partners and friends for moral support and for encouragement in education; they stress their desire and efforts for financial independence and autonomy.

They achieve this by working on the black market, receiving social welfare, handling money carefully and saving. They see the reasons for the structural aspects of exclusion in a lack of possibilities for acquiring work experience within the system and ensuring social security for work in the private sector. They point out the problem with unregulated records of temporary or seasonal work, which would help solve the problem of work experience, and with difficulties accessing temporary work. The state also does not have mechanisms and measures in place to help young mothers have suitable access to work. They are of the opinion that the legislation for prolonging length of service is keeping young people from the labour market and is an added obstacle to their attempts at entering the workforce. In terms of individual factors of exclusion, individuals face issues such as lack of family support, problems with drug addiction, experiencing feelings of inferiority to their peers because they are unemployed, problems with procuring citizenship, financial and housing distress. In facing these kinds of problems they have had bad experiences when seeking help from state institutions and are sceptical that such assistance in these areas would be effective.

Young people in the group older drop-outs point out the efficiency of directly approaching employers with the guidance and support of the counsellors from the Employment Service. How they manoeuvre on the labour market is determined by the employment plan and tied to their work and educational competence. They plan educational paths that in most cases involve building upon an already acquired level of education. They are particularly motivated for vertically upgrading their level of education, but they are less in favour of retraining. Their material and financial situation depends on decreasing and limiting their material needs, saving their occasional earnings and on receiving social welfare. They receive both emotional and instrumental support from their parents. A fairly pessimistic attitude towards employment can be found in individual biographies, which is linked to repeated experiences of failure to find work in the field of their acquired education. Young people in this group point out the problem of moral values – they turn down jobs that are not in accordance with their personal values (e.g. canvassing) and have an aversion to using connections and acquaintances to find work. As in the other groups, they emphasize the lack of work experience and additional skills and knowledge that the employers require. Because of self-exclusion from the labour market for the above-mentioned reasons, some of the participants have said that they do not have a realistic picture of the opportunities on the labour market. When it comes to factors of

exclusion, they point out misleading employment notices and job ads in the media (e.g. in *Salamonov oglasnik*), the pressure placed on them by employment counsellors to retrain; employers' requirements being too demanding, employers not taking on part of the financial costs of hiring them, changeable and uncertain circumstances both in the educational system and on the labour market. They emphasize the unregulated measures concerning housing, health care and public transport. Within their social environment, they report weak or discontinued social network ties, contributing to their social isolation. They particularly stress a lack of understanding and conflicts with the older generation, which often exhibits impatience and pressure in connection with their unemployment status.

The individual sources of inclusion in the group of older successful students are motivation for work and a profession that they find pleasure and are interested in, and where they can use their skills and knowledge. The young people in this group look for temporary or occasional work less often, and even in these cases, the work in question will be connected to their interests or similar to the type of work they wish to do in future. They respond to available work in accordance with the established employment plan which they have drawn up together with their employment counsellor. Most perform undeclared work, creating a network of clients and providing competitive and quality work or services. In future, they are interested in working in the private sector. In terms of education, they are motivated for specialization or building upon already acquired vocational knowledge. They say that particularly connections and knowing 'the right people' is important for the transition into the workforce. In terms of individual biographies, it is characteristic of this group of young people that most come from socio-economically well-off families, are materially and financially very well supported by their parents, some even by relatives abroad. They also make good use of all available forms of financial welfare that they are eligible for in their situation. In attempting to enter the formal labour market, they encounter a high level of rivalry and competition, work being devalued and not taken into account, as well as exploitative, unjust and authoritarian attitudes of employers. These are the key reasons for deterring their interest in employment in the formal labour market. In terms of their experiences of working with different forms of institutional assistance, they are critical of the inappropriate attitudes encountered in workers from Social Work Centres, and also critical of the encouragement given to people by the Employment Service in those fields of education where they do not see any employment prospects in

the future. They take a critical stance against society that does not take advantage of the resources that young people present.

Table 1: Three areas of in-/exclusion factors reported by members of the first group – younger dropouts.

	INCLUSION FACTORS	EXCLUSION FACTORS
Labour market	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – active and prepared to look for any kind of employment – creative in offering skills and services – able to utilize acquaintances and connections to get temporary work – working by using someone else's referral from the student employment service – motivation for education in accordance with the needs of the labour market – searching for market niches – interest in self-employment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – lack of work experience – lack of systemic opportunities for gaining work experience – low level, unfinished education – unable to access jobs using student employment services – exploitative attitude of employers in catering – low level of useable knowledge acquired in vocational education – deciding on a career too early – demanding requirements of employers – limited access to various kinds of work – less work offers for women than for men
Economic situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – partially able to pay the fees of an extramural educational course and financially contribute to the family budget – striving for a life independent of the primary family – skilled in handling money – inventiveness in financial affairs – material support of parents – income from undeclared work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – problems with lack of space and consequently issues of privacy – high rent prices – absence of systemic support and the possibility of solving the housing problem – continually endangered basic existence (food, flat) – financial limitations restrict socialising with peers – inability / difficulty in payment of tuition, rent – moving and constantly dealing with the housing crisis
Support of family and friends	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – moral support of friends and encouragement for an independent life – living with friends and partners – parental support and understanding – the importance of relaxation and having fun with friends 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – discomfort at being seen as different from peers who have successfully finished their education – bad influence of other friends in the past – loss and narrowing of the bonds of friendship

Table 2: Three areas of in-/exclusion factors reported by members of the second group – younger successful students.

	INCLUSION FACTORS	EXCLUSION FACTORS
Labour market	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – motivation to retrain for professions that offer employment in the public sector – motivation for educational fields that offer higher possibilities of employment – undeclared work – searching for work abroad – seasonal work during the summer school holidays – looking for market niches – help from CIPS (vocational information and counselling centre) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – lack of work experience – too demanding conditions of employers – exploitative attitude of employers – limited access to temporary work using student employment services – problems with performing the work due to the consequences of drug addiction – problems ensuring childcare – low level of education – problem of seasonal or temporary work not being recorded as work experience – badly paid work – more opportunities for employment in a city than a village – the legislation prolonging length of service decreases the opportunities of young people to find permanent employment
Economic situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – importance of social welfare – contributing to the family budget – rationalizing the costs of tuition – living with (grand)parents eases the financial strain – the importance of the financial support of the Employment Service for education – various forms of savings for a better future – occasional earnings from hobbies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – distrust of state support – housing problems – citizenship not in order – social welfare enables survival but deters from finding employment – financial limitations in enrolling in desired educational courses – limitations to shopping for basic goods – material and housing dependence on parents, family – giving up hobbies and cultural goods – moving often due to irregular income and financial problems – lack of control over rising rent prices
Support of family and friends	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – encouragement of friends to finish education – moral support of parents, friends 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – uncomfortable feeling different from peers who have a settled and financially stable life – lack of parental support in the past – lack of understanding and attention of foster parents while growing up – experiencing loneliness and social exclusion

Table 3: Three areas of in-/exclusion factors reported by members of the third group – older dropouts.

	INCLUSION FACTORS	EXCLUSION FACTORS
Labour market	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – interest in types of knowledge that ensure a more competitive position on the labour market – inclusion in support programmes for finding employment and career orientation – effective ways of seeking employment through direct contact with employers – aimed at finding jobs included in the employment plan – aimed at achieving a higher level of education – scholarships from employers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – misleading employment notices in some newspapers – pessimistic attitude, expecting to fail in finding work – a lack of motivation for looking for work because of previous failures – refusing hard manual or inappropriate work, or work that is not in accordance with personal values – not looking for work due to focusing on studies – lack of work experience – conditions that limit their chances of employment: medical examination costs, required vehicle, mobile phone, etc. – lack of additional knowledge required by employers (languages, computer technology, etc.) – aversion to using connections and acquaintances, subordination to the employer – inconstant and uncertain conditions on the job market deter from seeking employment – negative attitude to occasional catering work
Economic situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – financial benefits of being unemployed – free membership in libraries etc. – not susceptible to advertising and consumerism – financial support of parents, grandparents – regularly receiving an allowance from parents – the welfare income pays for tuition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – deprived of certain forms of relief (not being able to have a student monthly travel pass, only a regular one) – financial difficulty in the event of required medical services (you cannot stop paying additional health insurance once you apply) – no options for solving the housing problems of single unemployed young people – living arrangements – forced to live with (grand)parents
Support of family and friends	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – occasional financial/material support from parents/grandparents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – friends turn their backs on them, withdraw – limited contacts with friends – often goes out alone – staying at home because there is no need to go out – pressures and conflicts in the family – a lack of understanding

Table 4: Three areas of in-/exclusion factors reported by members of the third group – older successful students.

	INCLUSION FACTORS	EXCLUSION FACTORS
Labour market	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – undeclared work – being competitive and marketing their skills and services on the black market – establishing a client network – find approval for good work encouraging – sometimes looking for occasional work, choosing easier types of occasional work – interest in university education – work that makes you happy is a recipe for success – work included in the employment plan – retraining as a back-up plan – interest in the private sector – looking for work that is compatible with their studies – having the right information – languages – knowing 'the right people' – parents' connections – bribery 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – negative attitude to working in catering – stricter inspections for undeclared work – gender discrimination (e.g. in veterinary work) – conservative social climate that does not know how to use the potential and the knowledge of the young – employers' prejudice on the basis of appearance – expensive tuition in private schools – not acknowledging quality programmes at private schools – the Employment Service encourages an ineffective method of seeking employment (sending applications) – employers do not respond to applications – unprofessional attitude of people from the Social Work Centre when claiming their right to social support – no systemic opportunities to acquire work experience – employer perceives the knowledge and skills of the young as competition – small opportunities for permanent work – labour market is too small for certain services – competition in the work place – humiliating and exploitative attitude of the employers, unfair and authoritative employers – no opportunities to show and prove your knowledge and skills – problem of underemployment – prepared to only accept work suitable to their level of education – distrustful of the benefits of retraining to get work
Economic situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – financial support from family abroad – only required to fulfil certain material needs themselves (e.g. buying clothes) – sufficient material support from parents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – low and insufficient personal income – financial insecurity and dependence on others
Support of family and friends	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – tolerant parents who show understanding: encourage having a social life, taking advantage of your youth – moral support of parents to develop personal and professional potential 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – due to uncertain employment do not cohabit with friends or partners – boredom, lack of things to talk about with friends that are employed and have different life experiences

Discussion

We can summarize that particularly younger participants find ways of illegally entering the student labour market, while young people with vocational and high school levels of education create social networks for finding work on the black market; they do also attempt to enter the formal labour market, but the systemic conditions are very unfavourable, acting as a deterrent. Ignjatović (2002) is of the opinion that reintegration through flexible forms of employment (fixed term employment, part-time employment with shorter working hours, etc.) does not signify a long-term reintegration without the systemic regulation of their position and the integration of flexible forms of employment into the labour market and social policy. This means that young people need to have access to basic sources of social security: additional education, secure employment, housing, health care, etc., which our participants have also pointed out. Hammer and Julkunen (2003) are critical in their assessment, saying that the social security models for entering the labour market neglect the participation of young people as fully equal citizens. Even in the universalist social security model, which represents and emphasises the concept of full citizenship and includes numerous mechanisms and support methods to help young people become independent from their parents, have access to employment and support in case of unemployment, there is the problem of enforcing fully equal citizenship when it comes to the social security of young people's integration into the labour market. This problem is most pressing in South European countries, where young people have no – or minimal – access to public forms of support, which is why in these cases we are not only dealing with the problem of poverty, of material and social deprivation, but primarily with the problem of keeping young people in the position of permanent dependence. This problem was also highlighted in Slovenia in a study on the social vulnerability of young people (Ule, 2000, p. 13), calling attention to an increase in paternalism and the diminishing autonomy of young people, which reduces their defences as well as their participatory and creative abilities.

Entering the formal labour market in the current circumstances would for most of the young people that live in strained material circumstances mean the loss of institutional financial support, which some young people see as a big risk for their already uncertain

situation in life. The fundamental reasons the participants of all the groups cite for abandoning or staying on the margins of the formal labour market are: payment is too low to enable basic survival, experiences of exploitative and unfair employers (particularly in the private sector), lack of work experience, and poor access to temporary work. Temporary work can also present a risk factor for social exclusion because often entering into a temporary employment relationship exposes young people to the risk of consecutive periods of unemployment. At the same time, temporary work can also be a positive security factor if it concerns voluntary choices and decisions and enables young people to have more choices, which reflects modern individualised transitions into adulthood (Rapuš Pavel, 2005).

The modern social system defines work and capital as its central values, while the modern individual is supposed to be drawing away from the sphere of work and devoting himself to values that even directly oppose those of society – hedonism and anti-workaholism. In this sense Ignjatović (2002) feels that work as a value within the structures of more developed countries is also systemically maintained, even while it can be seen that it no longer occupies the central position within the value systems of individuals. Our results show that young people, besides seeing work as an existential necessity, also place significantly high value on finding pleasure and satisfaction in your work. Particularly older interviewees with unfinished high school or college level education, who are the least present on the formal labour market, still place work as a value among their priorities in life. They describe it above all as a profession that would embody it and as an important part of their own identity.

We find that in an economic sense, the most at risk participants are the younger ones with (un)finished education – they report the most problems in maintaining their basic existence. They express their material distress in connection with paying tuition fees, solving housing problems, giving up socializing with their peers and attending various cultural events. Younger participants with completed education prefer living on the financial support of government institutions and working on the black market to employment on the formal labour market, because with their levels of education, a poorly paid job on the formal market does not provide enough income for survival, particularly if they have already created their own families. It seems that older participants with uncompleted education, in contrast

with other subgroups, are more resigned to their material dependence on their parents and the state; they are reconciled with their situation, they do not see or seek opportunities for achieving independence, they try to adapt to the falling standards of living in all areas of life. Older participants with completed education report that their financial sources are working on the black market, and also find the financial support of their parents important. This subgroup expresses a higher level of material distress in the position of unemployment above all in connection with spatial mobility.

We find that the acquired level of education and the socio-economic status of the family emerge as the most influential factors of marginalization on the economic field as well (cf. Dekleva & Rapuš Pavel, 2004). The results draw attention to the material distress of basic survival particularly with younger interviewees; older interviewees with unfinished high school level education mention adapting your lifestyle to your circumstances, lowering the standard of living; older young people with finished high school or college level education express material distress particularly in connection with spatial mobility.

Various authors are finding that different models of welfare in European countries mitigate the economic marginalization of young people to a larger or a smaller extent. By changing the structural context and the labour market, the phenomenon of poverty is changing as well. Poverty among young people in Europe is today already a general trend, the only exception being Great Britain, where poverty is still more characteristic for the middle-aged population. Permanent unemployment leads young people into poverty and dependence on social and other government forms of assistance (Rapuš Pavel, 2005),

The support received by young people is connected both with social as well as individual factors. Ule (2002, p. 33) is of the opinion that today one of the most important factors in the social differentiation of young people is the existence of familial support, in other words, whether a young person receives family support and the quality of that support. The emotional support and the social networks of the family are of vital importance. In today's highly competitive atmosphere and increasingly strict selection processes for entering prestigious schools and employment, this differentiation is proving to be fatal. The author finds that in this last aspect, social differences creep in, as families at the top end of the social ladder, because they are materially better equipped, can offer this kind of support to their children more easily

than those at the lower end of the social ladder, and this can also be seen in our results. They show that older interviewees, who enjoy better socio-economic circumstances and better relationships within the family, receive more support from their parents and more understanding about their current position. They have received this support in the past and even today, when they are facing unemployment. Already reached agreements concerning education and financial participation prevent the occurrence of conflicts, which illustrates the importance of good communication in the family. In these circumstances, they are more free to experiment with various types of work and forms of employment, to further their education and acquire other forms of competence to increase their chances of entering the workforce. Meanwhile, the younger interviewees more often report the absence of instrumental and emotional family support in the past, which has also greatly affected their current situation. Some get more support from grandparents, while the most support comes from partners. In this group, the problem of communication within the family was pointed out, with conflicts occurring often, and parents, grandparents and relatives showing less understanding for the current situation of the young people. Where there is a lack of understanding, emotional and material support in the primary family, we can say that this group of young people is more vulnerable, facing considerable psychosocial distress and fundamental survival hardships. In describing the family circumstances, most younger interviewees include the following aggravating factors: bad socio-economic conditions, problems with housing, broken families and violence in the family. Some younger interviewees also cite these particular problems: milder disability (caused by a traffic accident), the consequences of drug use, mental health problems caused by prolonged exposure to the burdens of strained family situations. Those for whom mental health problems have become more pronounced due to their unemployment, speak about lack of willpower, depression, suicide attempts, fear of failure, feelings of guilt, etc.

In his study on youth unemployment Kieselbach (2003) finds that the risk of social exclusion is smaller for unemployed young people if they are satisfied with the social support of their family and their immediate social network. The results of his study show that the risk of social exclusion is smaller in Southern Europe and Scandinavia. In the first instance, the risk of social exclusion of unemployed young people is reduced by the strong support of the family, but at a later point the

parental support can present an obstacle for integrating into wider social networks. In studying the connection between unemployment and family characteristics, a distinct pattern of similar intergenerational issues and obstacles in the life course can be seen, leading the author to conclude that close relationships and connections within the family in the case of unemployment do not always present a protective factor and prevent social exclusion. The issue of unemployment as it relates to family support needs to be approached using the young people's self-evaluation of their individual experiences and in this way gaining insight into how they perceive social support and the quality of the social relations with their family and other social networks.

The results show that in most cases young people are dissatisfied with the current situation rather than enjoying the freedom of choice to experiment with different jobs and lifestyles. Despite the limitations of individual and systemic resources, young people want to explore and experience new opportunities in terms of work and education, but they are under various forms of pressure forcing them to adapt their professional and educational desires to established and restrictive training paths. They are also prolonging their dependence on their parents, forced to do so by insufficient social security and the position of unemployment. Activities and active orientation in the everyday lives of young people point to the choices between different subjective identity strategies – from conventionally oriented, searching for yourself, to neoconservative attitudes. We find that young people are aware of the importance of accumulating cultural capital on the one hand, but on the other, there is a lack of individual and systemic flexibility. The participants of different ages and with different levels of education have pointed out both individual obstacles and in particular obstacles presented by the system preventing them from choosing their desired biographical paths. Especially those with a lower level of education have higher expectations of professional and vocational careers but encounter problems in their realization due to economic (e.g. tuition fees) and social reasons (e.g. childcare). Assistance and support strategies for young unemployed people should be focusing on establishing a balance between various areas of an individual's life and in this way trying to reduce the risks in the transition to adulthood brought about by modernization. This means that dealing with young people should be conducted on a more individual level, more adapted to the different situations and needs of individuals than it is now.

We should consider strategies of guidance and support (for seeking employment), using mechanisms and measures that would enable participation, the use and validation of the knowledge resources that young people possess. A realistic perspective on career paths should be developed together and by taking into account the individual's current situation in life. Before being included in programmes of employment policies, other programmes that are directed more towards reintegration and motivation should be made available, and the psychosocial stabilization and personal development of an individual should take precedence over integration into employment training or education.

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They are young; they are healthy, so why don't they go to work?! Examining Society's View on Youth Homelessness

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Abstract

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The present article focuses on one of the marginalized social groups in our country – young homeless people – placing their social status within the context of the risk of permanent disintegration of a social group vulnerable to intergenerational poverty. In relation to this, the article includes the concept of the underclass and ponders its various connotations. It describes contemporary phenomena which pose an ever greater risk for young people, and focuses primarily on the transition into the world of employment and the inclusion into the health care system. For purposes of illustration it relies on two studies of homelessness conducted heretofore, “Homelessness in Ljubljana”/»Brezdomstvo v Ljubljani« (Dekleva and Razpotnik, 2007) and “Homelessness, health, and access to health care services”/»Brezdomstvo, zdravje in dostopnost zdravstvenih storitev« (Razpotnik and Dekleva, 2009). The results reveal a trend, whereby young homeless individuals have on average a lower level of education even when compared to the larger category of homeless people, and none of the young homeless individuals taking part in the study (2009) had

been permanently employed at the time the study was conducted. Another salient issue is also the high rate of expulsion from school – homeless youths are more than twice as likely to have been expelled from school as the entire sample group of homeless individuals. For these reasons homeless youths in Slovenia fit the concept of “status zero youth”.

Key words: *young people, the homeless, post-modernity, employment, health, revolving door effect, underclass, status zero youth, intergenerational poverty, risk.*

Introduction and purpose

Homelessness as a widespread and visible phenomenon afflicting a diverse group of people is relatively new in Slovenia. A growing number of disparate individuals, including an increasing number of young people, find themselves in conditions of extreme social exclusion. Thus far the subject of youth homelessness has not received much attention in Slovenia nor has there been a thorough analysis of the issue, the only exceptions being a few articles authored by Leskošek (2002) and Razpotnik (2007). In this article I will examine the issue of youth homelessness from two perspectives – the transition into the world of employment and the health care system. I will clarify and elucidate the relation of the two aspects of youth homelessness.

Judging by different public responses it seems that people find it difficult to understand how even young individuals can wind up homeless and at the mercy of the streets. While exploring this issue, I frequently encountered responses from members of various segments of the public expressing a lack of sympathy for the fact that there are young people living in the street. The intensity and frequency of such responses are also the main incentives for this article, which attempts to unveil the background of the issue of youth homelessness with a particular focus on the transition into the world of employment and the issues of health and inclusion into the health care system.

A lack of understanding of how young people can find themselves living in the street can also be discerned among experts in the professional community. This incomprehension and bewilderment are most frequently related to the assumption that young individuals should not depend on charity, for they are in good health because of their youth and could therefore participate actively and productively in society. Two suppositions held by the public underpin this notion. The first is the supposition that homeless people, who live in the streets and are visible and exposed to the public, should be viewed through the discourse of mercy. Whether or not they are deserving of charity from passers-by is assumed to be clearly discernible from their appearance. An individual's appearance of strength and vitality should indicate whether that individual deserves charity. An obvious problem with such an argument is that the full extent of effects of social exclusion on an individual need not always be visible to an observer. Furthermore, the public's judgement of who is deserving of charity is informed by unexamined discourses, which usually reflect traditional beliefs about the statuses of various social groups rather than the contemporary empirical reality. At this point we could also delve into a discussion on the meaning and merits of the discourse of mercy, however, we will leave that off for a more appropriate time. The second assumption underlying an unsympathetic attitude towards youth homelessness is that young people cannot experience social exclusion presumably because of their youth, which affords them physical strength and vitality. Public responses reveal a suspicion that these young people are merely pretending to be helpless and are in fact impostors as opposed to those who are traditionally believed to be 'deserving' of charity (the old, the sick, the disabled or children). Furthermore, public discourse frequently portrays them as folk devils who, although faced with legitimate troubles, are assumed to deal with their problems in socially unacceptable ways (retreating into inertia or addiction, which leads to health problems and social ramifications). This attitude makes all the more pertinent Cohen's assertion that: 'More moral panics will be generated and other, as yet nameless, folk devils will be created. This is not because such developments have an inexorable inner logic, but because our society as presently structured will continue to generate problems for some of its members – like working class adolescents – and then condemn whatever solutions these groups find' (Cohen, 1973).

Rather than only focusing on individuals, the public (and especially the professional field) should analyse and criticise social, youth, employment, housing, and health care policies in the country, all of which frame and delineate possibilities for young people to successfully enter adulthood. Indeed, a lack of sympathy for the fact that young people may plunged into homelessness because of their social exclusion permeates even the political climate, in which this issue is currently being overlooked.

Because the attitude towards youth homelessness is conditioned and informed by unfounded assumptions lacking any basis in empirical reality, this article attempts to discuss existing trends and discourses, and to present some illustrative data related to young people and their exclusion from the labour market and the health care system. Although these two areas are by no means the only critical ones – the issue of homelessness inevitably entails the question of housing policy – they are nevertheless crucial, and are in fact key elements of the abovementioned public charges against homeless young people. The purpose of this article is to present the changed social conditions and to shed light on how these conditions constitute a threat even to young people of extreme social exclusion and homelessness.

Postmodern blurring, pluralized underemployment and the underclass

In his *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity* (1992) Beck asserts that a new modernity has emerged beyond its classical industrial design. If we take the industrial modernity as classical, then the period following it should be viewed as reflexive modernity. If during the last two decades we have considered the new modernity as a new phenomenon, at once auspicious and haunting, it has nowadays become a thoroughly vetted subject, which the humanities have examined from every possible angle, but one which has not lead to an end of history or to a liberation, but has regularly brought about new challenges stemming from uncertainty. The last two decades have also witnessed the emergence of new dividing lines and an oftentimes barely perceptible rise of new social groups based on the privilege of access to important resources, the level of social power they exert, and the capacity for confronting risks.

Regardless of the fact that the new modernity is nowadays no longer novel, we are still witnessing an 'intermingling of continuity and discontinuity' (Beck, 1992), whereby the industrial society carries within itself the causes for discontinuity – it destabilises itself through its establishment. Continuity thus becomes the cause of discontinuity. The concept of the industrial society rests upon the contradiction between the universal principles of modernity such as civil rights and equality on the one hand and, on the other hand, the exclusive structure of its institutions, in which these principles can only partially be realised.

In industrial society, social life was based on the nuclear family, which became normative and standardized. On the other hand, the nuclear family was based on what Beck refers to as 'feudal' sex roles, which began to break down as modernisation processes such as the inclusion of women in the work process, the increasing divorce rate, and so on, continued. This led to a shift in the relation between production and reproduction, and a destabilisation of other processes which had relied on the 'industrial 'tradition of the nuclear family': marriage, parenthood, sexuality, love,' (Beck, 1992) intimacy (Giddens, 2000), as well as growing up and transitions between statuses.

In urban industrialised societies, which are characterized by a complex division of labour, the gap between the rich and the poor is steadily increasing. Those who are at the top of the social hierarchy can acquire privileges and power as well as a disproportionate share of social wealth. According to Bradley (2003), these new social hierarchies may be based on military conquest, property ownership, occupation, familial or ethnic background, religious affiliation, educational qualifications, gender, and age. She believes that in contemporary societies, hierarchies rest upon a complex mixture of many of these factors. Beck too asserts that the 'system of coordinates in which life and thinking are fastened in industrial modernity – the axes of gender, family and occupation, the belief in science and progress – begins to shake, and a new twilight of opportunities and hazards comes into existence' (Beck, 15). What exactly are these new opportunities and new hazards for the particular social group of young people, or, to put it another way, to whom do these new conditions represent an opportunity, and to whom do they represent a hazard?

We can say that young people comprise a social group which has gained a lot from the current welfare state. It has received improved and fairer forms of education, the possibility of permanent employment after schooling, social security and health insurance, a legal safety net, and numerous institutions devoted to dealing with the problems young people face (Mizen, 2004, as cited in Ule, 2008). However, during the last two decades, the situation for young people has changed dramatically in our society. For a small portion of the group the changes have opened the doors to professional success, career opportunities, and a standard of living which had heretofore been beyond conception. But for the majority of young people the changes described by Beck (1992) and Giddens (2000) have resulted in a prolonged dependence on parents, an increase in living expenses and a strong sense of uncertainty, even anxiousness about the future. A growing number of young individuals are faced with the uncertainty of fixed-term employment, a prolonged dependence on the immediate family, greater demands in the educational and work processes, the institutionalisation of lower income, diminishing state assistance and a drastic increase in expenses for maintaining at least some degree of independence, not to mention the difficulties they face in terms of housing and ensuring a safe and stable living environment. Ule (2008) interprets the growing number of young people in tertiary education as the result of fewer opportunities offered by the labour market, rather than greater opportunities for further education. On the other hand, young people from the middle and upper classes have profited the most from the rising demand for a qualified work force in the labour market. If in the past, unqualified workers were still able to find work, today's restructured and market oriented economy demands mainly workers who possess higher qualifications. Thus in our society, two groups are emerging, the so called 'winners', i.e. young individuals who can take full advantage of the possibilities afforded by modern society and its technological advancements, and the 'losers', i.e. young individuals who become lost in these social processes because they lack the resources and support necessary for success in our competitive society.

If Ule (2008) sees the 'winners' as constituting a minority and those to whom risks pose a threat rather than a challenge as being in the majority, then we can add to this a small fraction of young individuals who succumb to the weight of risks and plummet to the margins where access is out of reach.

In order to better understand the shifting nature of the labour market and employment it must be pointed out that the mid-70s mark the onset of long-term trends of economic recession – the end of economic growth as well as the idea of infinite growth. This shift was accompanied by the arrival to the labour market of the off-spring of the *baby boom* generation, which triggered the rise of unemployment, particularly among young people. Bradley (2003) likewise establishes that in the last two decades young people have become particularly vulnerable to recession and long-term unemployment. They bear a disproportionate share of the weight of unemployment, and in many countries represent one third or even a larger share of all unemployed persons. Based on his study of unemployment and the risk of social exclusion among young people in six European countries, Keiselbach (2003) establishes that the rate of youth unemployment is considerably higher than the total unemployment rates in all countries except one. In recent years, the unemployment trend has coincided with the flexibilization of employment, which has generated new uncertainties and additional difficulties for young people entering the world of employment. Flexibilization of labour also entails a flexibilization of working hours and the workplace, which in turn leads to a blurring of the boundary between work and non-work. The previous legal and social premises of labour and the employment system are fading away, or, as Beck puts it, 'are modernized away'. Mass unemployment has been integrated into the employment system in the form of 'pluralized underemployment', with all the hazards and opportunities such conditions entail.

According to the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, 41,7% of all unemployed persons, who make up 6,7% of the active population aged 15 and above, have only a primary school education or have not finished primary school. For young people, the transition into the world of employment is closely related to the acquisition of an education. Adolescents who drop out of the school system before obtaining an education have significantly more difficulties than their peers who have finished school when searching for employment which will provide them with economic security. Usually they occupy positions that require less skill and pay less. They commonly experience more difficulties when adapting to the work sphere and the social system (Ule, 2008). Ule also reports on

the youth unemployment rate, which peaked at the beginning of the 1990s with 24,2%. In the second half of the 1990s, the rate began to drop and the decline continued after the year 2000, however, the current economic crisis again threatens to efface the possibilities young people have and increases the risk of unemployment.

I will include into the following discussion the concept of the underclass. A growing number of researches from around the world assert that more and more young people are being systematically relegated to the edges of conventional and legitimate pathways into adulthood (Wilkinson, 1995; Williamson, 1993, as cited in Williamson, 2003). Although there is no evidence of a complete dissociation from societal opportunities, a large number of individuals have no access to many vital resources. The underclass may be defined as individuals who move between unemployment and uncertain part-time work and are trapped in a low-income cycle, from which they have few chances of escaping (Williamson, 2003).

The debate surrounding the underclass has a long history and is currently being inflamed in the English speaking world (Great Britain) by the "New Right", a group of conservative authors, which seeks to expose individual characteristics of the so-called hopeless members of society in order to emphasize individual responsibility, i.e. blame these individuals for their marginalized status in society, thereby absolving the community and the state from the responsibility of having to find political solutions to these problems. Such rhetoric blames the poor for their poverty, the unemployed for their unemployment and the homeless for their homelessness, dismisses the need for social intervention and denies assistance to afflicted groups and individuals. Furthermore, it instigates moral panic and incites fear of the poor and excluded, while obfuscating the real causes of poverty and the plight of the poor (Ule, 2008).

Underlying this ideology is the monetary logic of reducing spending and winning short-term political points, however, such policies increase financial costs and exacerbates social repercussions in the long term by relegating the 'problematic' elements of society to the margins, away from the 'moral majority', instead of tackling the structural causes of poverty. The underclass has in the past been referred to as a 'residuum' (Stedman, Jones, 1971; in Williamson, 2003), a culture of poverty (Lewis, 1966), or a "savage" class of people wholly or partly connected to criminal activities (Booth, Thompson, & Yeo, 1973, as

cited in Williamson, 2003). From a structural perspective, it is a class of people who are trapped in a cycle of impoverishment sustained from generation to generation, unstable employment and social disorder. Jones (2003), for instance, places the long-term unemployed, unskilled workers without permanent employment and single mothers in this category, while Baldwin, Coles and Mitchel (2003) also include the young disabled and young people leaving residential care institutions. However, there is no professional consensus that these groups really share enough similarities to justify systematic grouping into a category of 'class', given the fact that the discourse concerning the underclass is characterized by a lack, or even complete absence of 'class consciousness', which was a prominent feature of the working class. The underclass is in fact a diffuse category, with which no individual identifies, as is typical for the individualized and pluralized nature of modern societies. This fits in with the contemporary view on identity. Bradley (2003) speaks here of a fragmentation, meaning that categories such as the category of class nowadays intersect with other aspects of inequality, such as age, ethnicity, gender, and so on, thereby forming a multitude of overlapping groups.

There are considerable problems with considering the underclass to be a 'solid' category, since it does not consist of individuals sharing a common culture, but in fact includes a diverse population and various phenomena. A more appropriate concept is the notion of the underclass as a 'fluid' category, i.e. one with unfixed boundaries.

Williamson (2003) points out that young members of the underclass, who lose direction during the period of transition into adulthood and fall through the safety net on their path from education to occupation, are a relatively new phenomenon in British society. A slightly more consistent, yet still diffuse category within the concept of the underclass is what is referred to by Williamson (2003) as 'status zero youth'. In Great Britain the term is used to refer to young people who are 'not in education, training, or employment' (Williamson, 70). It is a status which appears to foreshadow a future of economic disadvantage. We might say that status zero is an inauspicious designation for the underclass, since it is precisely the permanent exclusion from the labour market that is the central feature characterizing the members of the underclass.

Running along similar lines is also the definition of social exclusion penned by Kronauer (1998) and summed up and proposed

by Keiselbach (2003). The definition is related to the context of the current employment crisis, which severely affects unqualified workers in particular. According to the author, the growing unemployment rate eventually becomes permanent reality for certain individuals, which results in a growing number of people who are unable to live according to existing social standards of material and social prosperity. The new features of the cycle of unemployment and poverty call for a terminology which will expand the present focus on exclusively monetary aspects (associated with the term 'poverty') to include non-financial aspects as well. Keiselbach, therefore, introduces a definition of social exclusion which recognizes the phenomenon as a dynamic and multidimensional process which includes social and economic aspects of living as well as subjective experiences and objective situations, and depends on the access to personal and social resources.

Williamson (2003) relates young members of the underclass with commitment to short-term goals and a preference for short-term planning, a constant preoccupation with financial matters, and a shifting dependency on financial assistance, occasional employment and – particularly when they receive no financial aid from parents or the state – occasional petty crime, with some individuals continuing on that path to more calculated and organized criminal acts. A common characteristic among the youth is also a stark disillusion and a dismissive attitude towards educational and training schemes available to unskilled young people. Frequently they face uncertainty with regard to housing and accommodation for a number of reasons (leaving a residential care institution, unstable relations with the family, inadequate resources, a lack of vision and goals, etc.). Focusing on this group of young people, Roberts (1981, as cited in Williamson, 2003) speaks of the so called **revolving door effect**, defining it as unsuccessful transitions from one form of assistance to another, i.e. from unemployment and professional training schemes to short-term occupation and attempts to obtain resources by other, oftentimes illicit means. Young people spin around in these vicious circles, trying to find alternative means to support themselves, however, such continuous shifting from one state to the other clearly points to an inefficacy of state-run forms of assistance and training, which in effect do not provide any means for progress. The concept of the revolving door effect should draw the attention of experts and policy makers to the inadequacy of social and civil systems instated to tackle issues related to a marginalized group of people.

For young unemployed persons facing the threat of social exclusion, the main obstacle is their low level of qualification (Keiselbach, 2003). Unemployment is the central risk factor for young people, which can jeopardize the whole process of social integration in the long term. In Slovenia, as well as in other countries, more and more young people from disadvantaged families and poor environments perform badly in school when compared with those from well situated families (Ule, 2008). Considering the reasons for this discrepancy, it should be pointed out that there is no conclusive evidence of a relation between poverty and diminished capacities for learning or a low level of intelligence. The term status zero is not as entrenched in our country as it is elsewhere, however, we do speak of drop-outs, i.e. those who drop out of the educational system. Ule defines members of this group as young people who drop out of school before completing it and fail to enrol in a different school or some other educational institution. In Slovenia, drop-outs comprise approximately 15% of students, which is similar to Italy and Germany (Eurostat, 2005), although it is difficult to make comparisons due to the differences between the respective educational systems (Walther, 2006). Ule recognizes that dropping out of school has dire consequences for the individual as well as society, and groups the consequences into individual, social, health-related, educational and economic repercussions. Exclusion from the educational system, which is frequently accompanied by an exclusion from other spheres, may in certain cases also lead to homelessness. Denying this issue and dismissing social responsibility and rejecting serious efforts to combat the problem (implementing preventive and remedial measures) can result in homelessness and social exclusion becoming chronic and can increase the risk of long-term intergenerational perpetuation of extreme exclusion.

Keiselbach (2003) relates youth unemployment with health issues. His comparative analysis of six European countries reveals that health risks are much higher for young unemployed persons as opposed to their employed counterparts. These risks pertain in particular to deteriorating mental health and psycho-social issues, increased vulnerability, a sense of inferiority, depression and a diminished confidence, as well as a general dissatisfaction with one's life. Rapuš Pavel (2005) has researched similar issues in Slovenia. The group is also characterized by an increased risk of suicidal behaviour (Keiselbach, 2003). Compounding the situation even further is the lack of supportive

social ties, which usually stem from the working environment and can ameliorate the experience of long-term unemployment. The issue of health is discussed more thoroughly in the following chapter.

Homelessness, health, dual diagnoses and access to services¹

In recent decades, the issue of homelessness has changed on a worldwide scale. The image of a homeless adult man no longer holds true, for the issue has spread to include previously unaffected segments of the population with more complex needs in terms of health and other areas (Turnbull, Muckle & Masters, 2007). Researchers predict that the issue will continue to spread and include an ever more heterogeneous group of individuals, especially in light of the current financial crisis and the (un)successful measures proposed to grapple with it, which obviously acknowledge the primacy of economic imperatives over the social wellbeing and health of citizens.

Homelessness is also the result of social and demographic changes taking place in the last two decades, increasing risks and the process of individualization, which may be viewed as the result of weak and dissolving social networks, which might compensate for a lack of other resources and would represent an adequate level of social security against exclusion. A key role in the rise and heterogeneity of the issue of homelessness is played by the changing function and image of the family, the rise of single-parent families and the changing patterns of child emancipation. Crucial to this issue is also the interaction between cultural and demographic changes on the one hand, and the housing market on the other. Running parallel to rising numbers of nuclear and single-parent families as well as single adults is the increasing demand for smaller residences; however, the housing market cannot accommodate this trend. The result is a shortage of residences and a rise in rent costs. In Europe, the economic crunch is accompanied by long-term trends of diminishing state assistance, which intensify precisely during critical times. This

¹ A segment of this chapter has been published in a study report entitled »Brezdomstvo, zdravje in dostopnost zdravstvenih storitev« (Homelessness, Health and Access to Health Care Services) by Razpotnik and Dekleva (2009).

issue is at the centre of attention in Slovenia as well. In this regard, the people most affected are certainly young people, who do not belong to social groups considered to be a priority by social policies. Related to this is the current ideology, which places more and more responsibilities squarely on the family. This becomes problematic when it applies to vulnerable families with few resources and little social power, which are unable to guarantee sufficient support and security for each member. Therefore, such policies implemented during crises turn out to be detrimental and counterproductive, for they result in intergenerational perpetuation of extreme social exclusion (see discussion of the underclass in the previous chapter).

Let us now look at the issue of homeless in terms of health. Homelessness is most commonly associated with mental health issues, with some researches contending that those suffering from mental health problems make up 80-95% of the homeless population. Others believe this share to be between 10 and 60% (counting prior hospitalisations and treatments in psychiatric institutions), with up to 70% of the population suffering from substance abuse (Scott, 1993; Savage et al., 2006). It is widely believed that the reason for the high instance of mental health problems among the homeless is the collapse of institutions which provided long-term accommodation for people with mental problems only a few decades ago. Craig and Timms (1992) believe that the root of the problem is too complex to be reduced simply to the deinstitutionalization or breakdown of asylums. According to them, the widening extent of mental health problems among the homeless can also be attributed to ever shorter and more intensive forms of treatment, even in cases of severe and complex mental problems – in other words, to diminishing expenditures on matters of public health. The need for long-term treatment and subsequent social rehabilitation thus remains unfulfilled, while homeless patients suffering from mental problems and requiring long-term treatment and constant social care are perceived as taking up space in the already overcrowded health care system, an issue as topical in Slovenia as it is elsewhere. Craig and Timms (1992) also expose the lack of efficient services in the field as another reason for the difficulties homeless individuals with mental health issues face with regard to access to medical services. Melvin (2004) likewise determines that effective services in the field are viewed by many experts as the most successful way to engage and include this commonly secluded segment of service users.

Studies frequently connect homelessness to risk factors such as child-abuse (Mounier & Andujo, 2003) or dysfunctional (vulnerable, marginalized, facing several problems) families (Tyler, Cauce, & Whitbeck, 2004). In Scotland, for instance, a third of homeless young people had been placed in foster homes or care institutions (Jones, 2003). Among the homeless young people, the high rate of substance abuse and addiction also increases the risk of unprotected sex, which in turn increases the risk of HIV infections (Bell et al., 2003). Related to this is also the issue of prostitution (Gwadz et al., 2004), which frequently becomes a last resort for endangered homeless addicts to acquire money. Whitbeck et al. (2004) relate the issue of homelessness to affiliation with subcultures (based on ethnicity, culture, sexual orientation, and so on). The differences stem from unequal statuses of different social groups in different societies and are related to obstacles in accessing vital social resources as well as to the discrimination different subcultures face within the system. The consequences of these systemic obstacles and unequal opportunities for access commonly appear as psychological peculiarities of an individual, which prevent him/her from establishing long-term, satisfactory social relationships, and indirectly in one's lifestyle, which increases social and health risks and exacerbates access to services, employment and other resources.

Turnbull, Muckle and Masters (2007) have found that in spite of a higher rate of various health issues homeless individuals rarely avail themselves of medical services or believe there to be a lack of available effective services. The perceived lack of suitable services is reflected by the fact that homeless people rarely visit medical institutions, therefore, their health problems accumulate and remain untreated and subsequently become harder to cure. A lack of accessible medical treatment is also reflected in the fact that emergency services are commonly the only form of medical attention homeless people receive (Savage et al. 2006). This means that for various reasons homeless people receive medical treatment only when their health deteriorates to the point where they are either brought in by others or seek urgent care themselves. Specialized literature worldwide calls for a reform of the health care system in order to adjust it to the needs of the most vulnerable and excluded segments of the population with little or no access to health care services. In certain parts of the world, this requirement is met by proactive community services available

to the homeless and the excluded, whereby professionals take to the field and approach the afflicted in their environment, instead of waiting for them to make the first step. These services must be based on individualized, integrated and indiscriminating practices.

Changing social conditions effect changes in the structure of the homeless population, which also alter the characteristics and needs of the group. In this respect, it is important to take into account the age structure of the homeless population, because the needs of the young are completely different from the needs of the elderly, the discrepancy resulting from different levels of physical health as well as from different sociological features of each generation. Surveys (conducted in the USA) based on the comparison of health statuses and unfulfilled medical needs between a group of young and a group of old homeless people (Garibaldi, Conde-Martel and O'Toole, 2005) found that the elderly place the need for medical attention much higher on the scale of priorities than young people: the elderly were 3,6 times more likely to report chronic illness; they were 2,8 times more likely to have medical insurance; heroin addiction was 2,4 times more common among the elderly than among the young (this contrasts with the situation in Slovenia where heroin addiction is more common among young homeless people (Razpotnik & Dekleva, 2007); the difference might be related to a longer history of heroin abuse in the USA when compared with Slovenia); the elderly were more likely to take advantage of medical services intended for the homeless, such as shelters, clinics and field services. In spite of a higher rate of substance abuse, however, the elderly expressed the need for treatment of drug addiction less frequently than the young. Such surveys confirm the logical assumption that medical problems progress and accumulate with advanced age and that inclusion into the health care system and favourable experiences of individuals with medical services are of crucial importance already at an early age. The key word in this area is 'preventive'; once the medical problems become chronic their treatment becomes much more expensive and less likely to be successful. This pertains to our country as well.

Studies reveal the paramount significance of post-treatment programs for homeless addicts, who are the most vulnerable and endangered among the homeless population. It has been found that relapses into addiction as well as into homelessness are much more common in cases where there is no availability of programs after

the initial treatment of addiction or detoxification. Such follow-up programs can slow down the aforementioned revolving door effect and the spiralling cycle, in which homeless people move from one assistance program or scheme into another without making any visible progress. Slowing down the revolving door effect opens up possibilities for suitable intervention and the establishment of behavioural patterns unrelated to the addict lifestyle. A number of studies (Ulfrstad, 1999; Ytrehus, 2002; Taksdal et al. 2006, as cited in Hansen, 2006) have also shown that services available primarily to addicts and the mentally ill have great potential for interrupting an individual's cycle of wandering from one institution, shelter or asylum to the next, provided they treat the person as an individual (instead of a symptom or a deviant) and offer treatment suited to individual needs, which requires mutual cooperation and the patients active involvement. It also requires cooperation and coordination between different institutions available to the homeless, for if such coordination between programs is lacking it can further aggravate the difficulties related to homelessness (Hansen, 2006).

A study carried out by Crane and Warnes (2001) confirmed that individuals suffering from a combination of afflictions, i.e. struggling with mental health difficulties, alcohol abuse as well as substance abuse, are particularly problematic in terms of access to health care and other services. The study revealed a lack or inadequacy of social services which would offer comprehensive assistance and assume responsibility for such individuals. Offering comprehensive treatment in one place would be of crucial importance for individuals struggling with several issues, since their lifestyle is marked by a refusal to seek and enter such social services.

Empirical findings

In the following paragraphs, I will focus on the situation in Slovenia in order to illuminate the abovementioned findings. The results of the survey conducted in Ljubljana (Dekleva and Razpotnik, 2007) show that 20% of homeless people in Ljubljana admit to having an alcohol addiction, at least 20% of them are addicted to illicit substances (a majority of them have consumed the substances intravenously) and 23% have already undergone treatment because of their addiction.

Approximately 40% believe that their homelessness is related to their mental problems, 24% reported being committed to a psychiatric hospital, and we can assume that the percentage is even higher among the hidden population. To this, we can also add the share of individuals who have not undergone treatment for mental health issues and whose problems remain unexamined. In 2008, a study was conducted on the availability and obstacles in accessing assistance schemes for users of illicit drugs in Slovenia (Nolimal, Leskovšek and Pokrajac, 2008). The study revealed a strong vulnerability of this group in terms of accessing assistance programs in health care and other areas.

Having the fewest opportunities for accessing medical services are those who do not have even basic medical insurance. The number of these individuals, who have been excluded from the system, has been growing in Slovenia since 1992 when the health care system was reformed. Because basic medical insurance and access to services are typically tied to various formal statuses such as citizenship, employment, permanent residence, and so on, the rise in the number of unemployed persons (in the last two decades) and the increasing uncertainty regarding employment and housing are also connected to the problem of hindered access to health care services for socially excluded individuals. In response to this shortcoming of the system, two clinics were opened in Ljubljana and Maribor, which provide consultations and medical treatment to individuals without insurance. However, the mere fact that the clinic in Ljubljana, which was supposed to operate for a limited time until the difficulties of those with no insurance would be solved, will celebrate its ninth anniversary in January 2011 reveals that the health care system in Slovenia has run into a cul-de-sac of exclusion of those who are most vulnerable. In the first five years, the clinic in Ljubljana, which is not included into the public health care network, provided approximately 40.000 services. It should be noted, however, that the most vulnerable group – homeless users of illegal drugs – is not allowed into the clinic, because the public residing nearby explicitly demanded during the establishment that those who are addicted to illegal drugs be prohibited from entering the clinic in their neighbourhood.

Even homeless individuals who have basic insurance but no additional insurance experience difficulties in accessing the public health care system, in spite of the fact that a 2009 amendment to the Health Care and Health Insurance Act guarantees that those who have

basic insurance but no other form (are not employed, retired or farmers) and whose monthly earnings and assets do not exceed 50% of the minimum wage receive free additional insurance. The consequences and possible obstacles in the implementation of this provision have not yet been studied. One of the specific problems of the homeless is that although the public health care system does not completely exclude them they cannot afford to buy the prescribed medicine or obtain the prescribed treatment because of their poverty or a lack of additional medical insurance. This again necessitates systematic measures which would allow the poor and socially excluded the same level of access to medical services as is afforded to other citizens.

Sample group description and results

After the aforementioned survey of homelessness in Ljubljana (Dekleva & Razpotnik, 2007) we conducted a survey on homelessness and access to medical services together with The Ministry of Health's Department of Health Care for Vulnerable Groups. We included in the quantitative part of the research a sample group of 122 homeless individuals living in the street (the most visible group in a diverse group of homeless and excluded individuals) from six Slovenian cities. The majority (64 %) were from Ljubljana, while the others were from Maribor, Celje, Kranj, Koper and Murska Sobota. Our choice of interviewees was random in the sense that we did not have any limiting criteria for individuals we wanted to include in the sample. Our formal definition of those we wished to interview was: *Experiencing homelessness means sleeping outside, in basements, doorways, temporary shelters, asylums and other temporary residential care institutions intended for the homeless, housing communities for the homeless; not having a guaranteed roof over his/her head, nor an own home, facing eviction and having no place to go.*

16% of the respondents were female, 84 % were males. Their age varied between 20 and 77, the average age being 42,7 years. The males were on average five years older than the females. The most common level of education was a secondary school education (49,5 %), almost as common was a primary school education (41,8 %), with very few exceptions with a higher or lower level of education.

Most of them were single (52,5 %) or divorced (31,2 %). 58,2 % were childless, while the rest were equally divided into those who had one and those with more than one child, without greater differences between the sexes. Homeless parents were equally divided into those who had had contact with their children in the previous year and those that had not. 95,1 % were legal citizens of Slovenia. 86,1 % of respondents had been employed at some point in their life and had some work experience. On average, they had 12,3 years of working experience. At the time of the survey, 63,9 % of the respondents had no employment whatsoever, 2,5 % were permanently employed, the remainder performed occasional work and menial work.

The age at which respondents first experienced homelessness varied from early childhood to old age (67). For 80 % of them this age varied between 17 and 50 years, with a total average of 33 years as the age at which they first experienced homelessness. The average duration of homelessness was approximately five years, with 21,3 % of the respondents having been homeless for more than ten years.

In order to illustrate the central thesis of this article that changed social conditions may increase the risk of extreme social exclusion for the most vulnerable segment of young people, let us look at how the subset of young homeless people differs from the remaining sample group. The subset includes individuals between the ages of 20 and 35. There were no individuals younger than 20 in our sample group. The results are merely illustrative and should not be taken as generalizations since the sample group is relatively small.

Within the subset of young homeless people, slightly more than half of them had finished primary school, slightly more than 40 % had finished secondary school, while the rest failed to complete primary school. In comparison to the whole sample group, we can ascertain a trend, whereby young homeless people are on average less qualified. 79 % of them were male, 21 % were female, however, it must be pointed out that women often hide in secluded contexts and are therefore difficult to include in such surveys. 70 % were single at the time of the survey. 76,3 % of them were childless, 18,4 % had one child, while 5,3 % had more than one child. 70 % of respondents had been employed at some point in their life, while 30 % had never been employed.

None of the young homeless people were in a permanent employment relationship at the time of the survey. 2,6 % said they

were working but not for an indefinite period, 31,6 % worked occasionally or regularly sold a newspaper published by the homeless, 60,5 % of the respondents had no employment whatsoever, while 5,3 % said they had a different employment status than the rest.

The table below shows how many of the respondents have experienced various predicaments and extreme difficulties in the past. Because the sample group is small, I did not investigate the statistical significance of the differences, the comparison only serves as an illustration.

Table 1: Percentage of respondents who have experienced various difficult situations in their life.

Type of experience:	Pertaining to the whole sample group	Pertaining to the subset
Serious and long-term altercations and arguments with parents	61,5 %	78,9 %
Eviction from home by their parents	38,3 %	63,2 %
Physical abuse at the hands of parents (or other individuals close to them)	42,0 %	45,9 %
Sexual abuse at the hands of parents (or other individuals close to them)	7,6 %	10,8 %
Exploitation at the hands of parents (or other individuals close to them)	36,1 %	37,8 %
Expulsion from school	23,5 %	54,1 %
Eviction from home by force	43,7 %	25 %

There is a stark difference between the two groups in terms of expulsion from school, with more than twice as many young people having been expelled. Additionally, there is a great difference between the high percentage of those who were evicted by their parents in the subset (63,2 %) and the percentage of those who were evicted by their parents in the whole sample group (38,3 %).

The respondents had experienced living in the following institutions: 27 % (subset – 31 %) had at some point lived in youth homes, residential care institutions, correctional homes or maternity homes; 26 % had been in institutions for the treatment of alcohol and drug addiction; 45 % had been incarcerated; 6 % had served in the military as professionals; 31 % had been to a mental institution; 52 % had been to other medical institutions (for a period of more than one

month at a time); 9 % (subset – 13,9 %) of them had lived in communes for individuals with mental health issues. When we compare the whole sample group with the subset, we cannot find many drastic differences between the two, which should be a cause for concern since it shows that young people experienced institutionalization to the same extent (with regard to psychiatric wards, communes for those with mental health issues) or to a greater extent (with regard to prisons), in spite of their youth. There is a considerable difference between the two groups in the category of living in a youth home, residential care institution or a correctional home, whereby a larger share of young people had resided in such facilities.

In general, the results of the survey of the whole sample group reveal with considerable certainty that the examined population is at a much greater risk in terms of health and that the psycho-bio-social state of the group is much worse than that of the general (Slovenian) population. This finding applies mainly to the areas of mental health and addiction, as well as to other illnesses related to a lifestyle in the streets. The results also correspond with the findings of many similar surveys conducted elsewhere in the world. If we examine only the subset of young people, we can see that the most commonly diagnosed illness for this group is hepatitis (27,8 %), followed by a diagnosed addiction to illegal substances. As I have mentioned, in general it holds true that the homeless population resorts to medical services when it is already too late, therefore, many problems remain undetected, especially in the case of young homeless people.

In our study of the accessibility of medical services to the homeless (Razpotnik & Dekleva, 2009) we found significant correlations between various factors which increase risk and a poor rating of the quality of the medical system. The larger the number of factors putting a certain subgroup of homeless people at risk, the worse their rating is of the quality of the medical system, because they experience more difficulties in accessing and taking advantage of the system. In this respect, those with the worst experiences are individuals who became homeless at an early age, individuals who have lived in a youth home, a correctional home or have been imprisoned, persons with a weak social support structure, persons addicted to alcohol, persons addicted to illegal substances, individuals who show signs of mental health problems or those who have been committed to psychiatric hospitals, as well as persons

suffering from comorbidity, i.e. from more than one affliction; all of them rate the medical system poorly and experience it as less accessible.

The table below centres on experiences with the health care system whereby a sense of stigmatization was present during treatment of homeless users of illicit substances.

Table 2: A sense of discrimination due to homelessness/substance abuse during treatment in health care institutions.

Have you ever felt that you had been treated differently in health care institutions because you are homeless/use drugs?	To whom does the question pertain?	Pertains to the entire sample group	Pertains only to the subset of young people	Pertains to drug users
Yes, in a negative sense (stigmatization, isolation, avoidance, insults ...)		33,9 %	34,2 %	50,0 %
Yes, in a positive sense (special privileges, additional attention from the medical personnel and social services ...)		8,3 %	5,3 %	11,4 %
I did not feel I had been treated differently because I am homeless/a drug user		36,4 %	26,3 %	13,6 %
I do not think the medical personnel knew I was homeless/a drug user		14,0 %	21,1 %	9,1 %
I have never been hospitalized		7,4 %	13,2 %	15,9 %

The table shows that the entire group of homeless people, and homeless drug users in particular, often (34,2 % of young people, 50 % of drug users) expressed the sense of having been treated differently in a negative sense by the health care system. A sense of having been treated differently in a positive manner was less frequent, while young people more frequently felt that the personnel had not realised that they were homeless. This is not unusual since in our culture young people do not fit the image of a 'typical' homeless person and the public is only slowly becoming aware of this group. Significant systematic changes need to be implemented so that our society does not become accustomed to the notion that anybody, especially young people, can become homeless. In my conclusion I will sum up and enumerate a few suggestions for such changes.

Discussion

According to Williamson (2003), the connection between status zero and the underclass lays in the fact that status zero youth have the greatest potential to fill in the category of the underclass, which is currently only a vague notion lacking any concrete definition and is typically used as an ideological or political device. In order to prevent this from becoming reality, society must attempt to integrate these individuals into the social structures of health care, education and employment.

A case study dealing with experiences with employment of ten young homeless persons who have had in the past very few positive experiences with the educational and employment system (Razpotnik, 2007) concludes with an appeal for elaborate and multilayered measures, at the centre of which it places housing policy and attributes an important role to the development of flexible, individualized, 'middle way' (in the sense of mitigating the transition into independence) programs, which would assist young people in making the necessary transitions in their own environment, support an autonomous and healthy lifestyle, contribute to alleviating the damages caused by a hazardous lifestyle and contribute to raising functional literacy. It also assigns an important role to staff training, whereby personnel must be instructed in how to approach this population at risk, how to treat individuals in a dignified manner and how to establish good relations, which would enable mutual planning. Frequently we hear that professionals are unable to relate to young people, whom they are supposed to assist, advise and instruct. This pessimism in the profession is particularly disconcerting when it pertains to a population at risk which urgently requires well trained and confident experts to help strengthen the position of a vulnerable group of young people. Finally, it is crucial that these young people actively participate in such programs in order not to become inert or trapped in vicious circles without any possibility of escape, but instead to find a purpose and a sense of personal value.

Focusing on the medical treatment of young homeless people, it must be emphasized that such treatment must involve more than simply medical attention. Worldwide, there are different models for (specialized) care for the homeless. It should be noted that these

models overlap and complement each other:

- Unhindered access to the general public health care system, primary as well secondary and tertiary.
- Medical and general assistance for homeless people accessible at many different locations (clinics, day centres, shelters, various locations in the field...)
- Specialized integrated and interdisciplinary services offering medical as well as psychosocial assistance to homeless people.
- Specialized flexible services (which do not require appointments and offer assistance to homeless people in overcoming obstacles to accessing the health care system).
- Work in the field (medical attention and care offered on location where homeless people frequently visit – soup kitchens, shelters, and so on).
- Proving itself to be very successful in our country is the model of ‘key workers’, experts in the fields of health care and social work, who continuously monitor an individual and offer comprehensive (extending to other areas of an individual’s life instead of being limited to medical care only) assistance in individual planning. This type of care is based on a trustful working relationship and aims to provide users with information and possible necessities in the field, assistance with paperwork, escorts to institutions, visits in case of hospitalization, and help in finding long-term solutions to medical and other problems.
- There are examples of clinics for young homeless people abroad. Such forms of care for a particular vulnerable social group must be attuned to the lifestyle of young people (e.g. opening hours should be adjusted to the needs of the group) and should endorse awareness on the part of the personnel of the psychosocial features of individuals in care and of the particular (sub)cultural characteristics of this population. They are based on a concern for prevention, which means that the population at risk must be included into the system. The only way to achieve this is to make the system fully accessible to these groups. It is essential that individuals entering the system receive clear answers to their questions, and that they are treated not as patients with a few particular symptoms, but as complex individuals with complex problems.

Two decades ago we could boast that our country's social system includes the entire population regardless of age, material status, employment status and place of residence. Unfortunately, today that is no longer the case. There are individual initiatives, however, in light of the growing number of people suffering from exclusion, they are only marginally effective (function curatively instead of preventively, respond to emergencies). According to Ule (2008), researchers agree that risk becomes a factor very early, therefore, it is necessary to involve people in intervention programs early on. Preventive schemes should be adjusted to the special needs of young people, should involve a multicultural approach, promote cooperation, mutual respect and self-respect, should seek and award creative solutions, they should motivate the individual and patiently instil learning habits, endorse long-term planning and encourage every person to establish career goals.

In terms of intergenerational perpetuation of the patterns of exclusion, we should examine forms of support on the part of the family to design similar forms of support for those who for different reasons cannot expect to receive it from their families. Flexibility is essential when designing programs for young people experiencing difficulties when passing into adulthood. Without political solutions, there is little hope for change. Although it is expected that people make 'the right decisions' when passing into adulthood, according to Baldwin, Coles and Mitchell (2003) these decisions are framed by policies which affect institutions which structure the lives of young people. The fact that a young person spent time in an institution has a long lasting effect on his/her future. Social and pedagogical services have the potential to provide vital assistance in confronting these challenges. Individualized assistance, practices based on empirical evidence and reflexion as well as sponsorship and respectful treatment of young people as individuals with complex needs, who can resolve their problems under improved circumstances, instead of as symptoms or pathological cases, are essential, and experts must provide young people with a safe and conducive environment. The aforementioned discourse about who is or is not deserving of assistance always calls for scrutiny. In public life, they may be unavoidable, especially during periods of crisis and uncertainty; however, they are simply unacceptable in the professional field.

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