Original Paper

Is Reflexive Modernization also an Important Topic among Adolescents within Risk Zones? And Does it also Have Influence on the Further Biographical Unfolding?

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Abstract

The Alternative School Day (ASD) is a program for adolescents who have difficulties in several arenas. The purpose of this article is to see whether ASD, can enhance the adolescents ability to learn more school-related knowledge by presenting it in a more practical way. And also by offering the pupils pedagogues that showed them more attention and genuine respect.The pupils attended ASD one day per week, throughout the school year. Some theorists have emphasized that the normal school is based on middle class values, and for pupils with other class backgrounds, the school, represents a detour. Further, we have debated whether reflexive modernization is an important topic also in the general knowledge within the society nowadays, with globalization, extended consumption and several risks associated with the modern society. And we are questioning whether the students could experience the immersive turning points and fateful moment in the biography, where they actually started to look upon themselves as competent and clever pupils, while attending in the ASD. The positive attention and expectation from the teachers, as well as the tasks were more practical oriented, represented the core factors in the positive outcome measures found through this study.

Keywords

The alternative schoolday, adolescents at risk, marginalized youths, globalization, new risks within the modern society, turning point, reflexive modernization

1. Introduction

Teenagers' dropout from school is a major problem in Norway, Scandinavia and many other European countries today. In this article, a particular school initiative will be examined, namely "the Alternative School Day" (ASD). The ASD is a preventive project for adolescents who engage in antisocial behaviour, and who have difficulties in several areas, for example at school, within the family, or in their leisure time. Processes of marginalization in young age are important, not only because adolescents are in a vulnerable situation, but also because exclusion in young age can have long-term consequences. The question is whether one is included or excluded from what that is recognized as important social arenas and activities in the society (Heggen, Jørgensen, & Paulsgaard, 2003; Shifrer, Callahan, & Muller, 2013).

Pupils who attend the ASD are between 14 to 16 years of age, and they all had working-class background. The ones who were picked out, have been out of school for a long time, so based on these terms, there is a great challenge in order to try to get those students back into the ordinary school arrangement again. The schools pick out the students who will have the opportunity to participate, but the students and their parents have to give their admission. The students took part in the ASD one day per week, throughout the school year, during the era from August to June. And in fact, the students are most of the time showing up in the Alternative School Day (ASD).

Important goals during the participation in the ASD are to promote the adolescents capacity for learning, coping, personal responsibility, as well as risks associated with the new challenges within the society nowadays. Individual goals for each student are developed in co-operation with the schools based on individual educational plans. By identifying the students' life situations, plans are worked out for how one best can work with each of them. It is of great importance that the students obtain reliable and positive contact with the counsellors at the ASD. Consequently, there are two adults and a maximum of six pupils in each group.

Scholars have been arguing that the school reproduces differences that already exist in the society, and in some cases, the gap increases (Nordahl, 2010, 2013). Bourdieu (1996) introduced the concept *habitus*, in which refers to the subjective dispositions, which reflect a class-based social grammar of tastes, knowledge, and behaviour inscribed in the "body schema and the schemes of thought" of each developing person. Since many teachers are coming from the middle class, so they tend to favour students coming from the same background and inheriting the same habitus as themselves. Therefore, students coming from other conditions and exposing different behaviours and comportments, offer the teachers greater challenges, in how to communicate, understands and organize the education for them (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Giroux, 1983; Anyon, 2011).

The school has become more theoretically oriented (Reform 94), and some students seem to fall more easily outside of the school, because they are coming from a more practical govern background, in

which many students preferred (Heggen, Båtevik, & Olsen, 2000; Markussen, Løddingen, Sandberg, & Vibe, 2006). Research have also showed that the Norwegian pupils don't thrive in the school, as much as we could have hoped for. There are probably nuanced and extended explanations for why the situation is like this (Pisa, 2000-2012), (Elstad, 2008/2012). The problems as presented in this article are as following; the purpose of this paper is to see whether ASD, can enhance the adolescents ability to learn more school-related knowledge by presenting it in a more practical way. As well as creating it in "a kind of atmosphere and learning environment", where the student have a qualitative different and positive learning experience. This can create a kind of "**turning point**" or "**fateful moment in the biography**" regarding their own experiences of their school curriculum and their learning abilities (Giddens, 1991, 1994). And if some experienced this magic "*turning points*", what are the characteristics for these students? We are also aiming at mapping how the Alternative School Day (ASD), may enhance the pupils general awareness and consciousness about the "new risks" within the society nowadays. Like for instance, risk related, to globalization and extended consumptions, and to incorporate it into a sort of generic knowledge and continuous reflection. This reflection is something that the student can bring with them as a kind of prerequisites and abilities into the grown-up life.

2. Theoretical Contribution to Understanding Adolescence as a Transitional Phase and its Possible Exclusions from Central Arenas

Adolescents have been described as a marginal social category. The marginality points to the adolescent period as a transition phase and that adolescents have a peripheral role in the society (Frønes & Solvang, 1991). In order to understand the processes of marginalization, one has to consider significant institutions, such as the family, friendships, schools and organizations.

Roberts (1995) claims that while a railway journey might have been a suitable metaphor for youth in modern society, a drive in a private car is a more relevant image today. Thus, we have moved from a situation where short, collective and predictable transitions to adulthood were dominant, to a one of a long, twisting and individual path (see Buchmann, 1989). Through a series of important choices, or *turning points* in adolescence, youths encounter *the risk society*.

They have to take momentous choices they can succeed or fail. This individualization of the youth stage can be grasped through the concept *reflexive modernization*, which refers to an increasing pressure on youth to reflect on the subjective consequences of their actions (Giddens, Bech, & Lash, 1994). Another example of this phenomenon can be taken from media and the appearance of *fake news* (NUPI, 2018). The consequence of this societal development is that it puts a pressure on each individual to do their reflected deliberation concerning which news actually to rely on. This phenomenon was not common only some years ago. We are hypothesizing that the students' participation in the ASD might help them to better understand several aspects of their personalities.

In youth theory of the 1990s, one frequently encounters the terms choice, individualization, risk, globalization and reflexivity (Bauman, 2001; Beck, 1992, 2002; Bernstein, 2000; Fourlong & Cartmel, 1997; Giddens, 1991, 1994, 1999). More than in previous social systems, youth scenes in post-industrial society might be characterized by terms such as dissolving tradition, diversity, individual solutions, uncertainty and risk. A central concept in this pronouncement is "disembedding mechanisms", and that exactly is thigh ting the impairment and dissolution of the earlier strong structures; like social classes, local society, church society, etc. (Giddens, 1991). These perspectives reveal that education and other forms of qualification activities in an extended degree will get a band character, in which the parents are monitoring. It is important to make right and deliberated choices: the right schools and teachers, and the accurate subjects and marks, the appropriate friends and manners, as well as the accurate leisure activities, as well as to the right time.

When institutions dissolute as behaviour cooperation, will also the local knowledge as this cooperation's produces dissolute. In increasingly several arenas will we be meet with a more local developed understanding and knowledge, meet of a more public and none place anchored expertise (from nursery school teachers, to social worker to doctor-specialists, and flight leaders). In order to function in such a society, we do have to develop a certain degree of confidence, concerning that these expert systems are functioning properly. Life will become very difficult to live if we should go around with a basic doubt in every context where we are dependent on such an expertise.

Giddens (1991, 1994) emphasized knowledge, competence and choices as the basic challenges within the entrance into the risk society. Whereas Ulrich Beck (1986), on the other hand, are linking this entrance more to concepts like increased *globalization, new life-styles*, and the *increasingly use of the world resources* as well as *consumptions*, and *modern technology* (Beck, 2000) as the new challenges. These can be exemplified with nuclear threats, environment pollution, for example through air, water or groceries, as well as risks associated with the modern traffic systems (Beck, 1992).

Although, there are contexts where several of the main characteristics that theorists have attributed to post-modernity, will still be challenged by tradition, local culture, class and social organization. And where marginalization, although deeply is connected to what has been termed the *fateful moments of biography*, or "*turning point*" in the curriculum. This cannot be understood without considering these rather traditional sociological variables like; problem identification, false communication, stigmatization and multiple problems (Furlong, 1997; Carrigan, 2013; Øia & Heggen, 2005). This sociological perspectives, incidentally does not use marginalization as a central concept, but depicts identity problems, for example, as an effect of *a series of discontinuities*, "*critical moment*" or "*fateful moments in the biography*" (Giddens, 1991, 1994). Along with the dissolution of the old social structures, increased globalization, and "disembedding" mechanisms, more impulses and choices, every person is going through a period of individualization.

Consequently, the individual has to be related to one self in an increasingly extended degree, and his/her own placement in the society—thus a self-reflection. Thus, this dissolution of social arrangement is transferring new demands, like, freedom, expectation, control and challenges on the individuals. It gives exceeded possibilities of choices for many individuals, but can also mean that the individual most likely become more vulnerable and adjourned for possible marginalization. This gives the individual the opportunity to create their own biography, but accordingly amplifies the possibility that he or she won´t have the power to deal with the pressure. And the risk to develop what Beck and Beck-Gersheim (2001) have called; a total "collapse-biography", might be the relevant case.

3. The Context

Eight boys and one girl, their parents and teachers, where interviewed about several topics connected to ASD. The pupils where interviewed twice, during autumn (T1) and spring (T2).

In this program the emphases is to make the tasks more concrete. In that way it can be easier to visualize for example mathematical magnitudes. For instance, the teacher shows how much 10 dl of milk, and 600 grams of butter are, during the school kitchen session. Then the students can see, feel and measure the content of the liquid or populace, and in that way makes it more comprehensible to fully understand and relate to the different mathematical magnitudes.

4. Method

We used a semi-structured interview and inductive reasoning as the method. The qualitative interview is defined as a dialogue to obtain descriptions of the life world of informants with respect to their interpretation of important phenomena (Kvaale & Brinkmann, 2009). The semi-structured interview has a sequence of themes to be covered, as well as suggested questions. It is open to changes of sequence and forms of questions in order to follow up the answers given and the stories told by the subjects. The interview has the advantage that it can cover deeper essential meaning compared to more quantitative approaches. In this study, meaning condensation or an abridgement of the meanings expressed by the interviewees into shorter formulations were utilized. For example, several teachers formulated "he does not understand anything regarding theoretical subjects, but he is very clever in gymnastics and mechanical subjects". This statement was condensed to "he is very weak in theoretical subjects, but he manages quite well in practical subjects". Regarding trustworthiness there was a relatively strong correspondence between what the pupils, their parents and teachers reported. However, it has to be noted that regarding school problems, the students and their parents often meant that the teachers or the school represented the challenge while the teachers on their side, looked upon the students as being problematic. Further on, it is possible that the questions were not always adequate, since it was relatively common that the pupils answered, "I don't know" or "I have not thought about

this".

The Interview Guides

At both T1 and T2, three interview guides were constructed. These contain questions to the pupils, their parents and teachers. The first interview with the pupils' covers topics such as the school situation, wellbeing, experience of mastery and also self-esteem related to the theoretical achievements. Further on, question concerning the relationships to both parents and friends were elaborated, and also question concerning the reflected deliberation due to the new challenges within society at risk. At T2, the focuses were on possible changes since T1, for example if the students more or less shirked school, if their relationships to parents and teachers had improved, and if they had changed themselves in any way. Further on, they were asked whether the lessons about the risks related to extended consumption and risk associated with globalisation, were useful for them. As well as, they were questioned whether the knowledge about the countless possibilities nowadays, led them to do more deliberated reflection before of choosing, for example an educational trajectory or making decisions concerning other important topics.

Questions directed to parents at T1 involved if they thought their children would benefit from participating at the ASD, and conditions regarding their children's school, leisure and family situation. The questions to teachers at T1 involved what kind of influence they think ASD will have upon the students, their social competencies, school subjects coping, and level of truancy and general societal concern. Additionally, they were asked if they had been involved in mockery, and if they were in conflict with teachers and other pupils. At T2, questions were primarily focused on potential changes in the students' lives since T1, from the perspectives of both parents and teachers. And also, whether the students had become more societal engaged.

5. The Data Analysis

At T1, all the pupils where interviewed face-to-face in a location at the ASD. At T2, five were interviewed at the same place, one at home and three per telephone because they had travelled away on summer vacation. The teachers received the questions via email before they were interviewed. Because a tape recorder may distract the respondents, it was decided to do the note taking on the spot. The interviews were transcribed and the written texts become the material for the subsequent interpretation. Through transcribing the interviews from an oral to a written mode, we do make the interview conversations more amenable for closer analysis. Structuring the material into text facilitates an overview and comprises a preliminary analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The pupils were split into three groups spread on three days. As mentioned, there was one girl in the sample. This represented an anonymity problem, and the solution was that all the pupils acquired boy names. All the students had working class background.

5.1 The Participants

The pupils were divided into three tentative groups: The marginalized (M-group), the twilight zone (T-group), and the integrated (I-group). This was one way to structure the material. Some of the pupils were easy to place while others were not. Two of the students could for example be referred to as marginalized, but were placed under the twilight zone, because they were better off in some areas. The integrated students were easier to place. However, all the students had two factors in common. First, they did not cope with the theoretical subjects at school, and secondly, they did not feel at home in the regular school environment.

5.2 The Marginalized

Joachim, Jonas, and Tom showed a negative development during the school year. Joachim and Jonas quitted school, and Tom had attended a special school. Tom resided with both parents while Joachim and Jonas cohabited with their mothers. All three had a bad relationship to their parents. Heggen and colleagues (2003) found that the marginalized adolescents who had problematic relationships with their parents developed close relationships with friends. Among their friends, they got confirmation of themselves, and such positive experiences were important regarding the adolescents' sense of belonging and identity. This was not the case for Tom and Joachim. They gave the impression that friendships were not important; they seemed to have problems with establishing close relationships to both friends and adults. Further, they were depressed and seldom took initiatives themselves. The distant relationship between Tom and his parents might have been the reason why he found excitement in drugs. Thus worsened an already bad relationship. For Jonas, the situation was somewhat different. His mother had psychiatric problems, and they were poor. Additionally, he seldom met his father. Jonas was also into drugs, but he had friends outside this milieu as well. He was in conflict with his mother, but they were in contact, and he often brought friends home. Tom chose another strategy; he was seldom at home in order to avoid quarrelling and fuss. Tom and Jonas had been in contact with the police several times. Tom was arrested for using drugs and Jonas for stealing. All three boys had withdrawn from family and school, in which can be seen as an attempt to avoid social control in arenas that are important for adolescents' integration in society.

5.3 The Twilight Zone

Lars and Adrian quitted school. Lars started to work, and Adrian attended a special school. Even though they were not at the ordinary school any longer, they were better off in other arenas, compare to the students in the marginalized group. This was the case especially in regard to their relationships to their parents. Both Lars and Adrian reported that they had a good and close relationship with both of their parents. Lars lived together with both parents, while Adrian resided with his father. It was common that the students had most contact with their mothers, so the bond between Adrian and his father was an exception. Lars played football, which meant a lot to him, although he had few friends in

this group.

5.4 The Integrated

Andy, Sam, Martin and Tony were still at the ordinary school and they did not work hard, and sometimes they came late to school. All four showed a positive development during the year. Moreover, all were engaged in sport activities that meant a lot to them, and they had friends in these milieus. They had relatively good contact with their parents, but felt most attached to their mothers. All of them, except from Andy, reported that they quarrelled with their parents. Andy was the only one who did not reside with both parents. All of them also had good relationships to other students.

5.5 Reflexivity

The second researcher in this paper was conducting the interviews, and also doing the transcription of the interviews. She is unfortunately deceived. Her background was as a sociologist and she invited me into the project in order to get a more psychological understanding of the research field. We have been having a close cooperation, and she told me about the ASD, on a daily basis during the interviews. As a sociologist I would assume that she was coloured by her theoretical background, with discourses like the agency-structure perspective. Which, I as a psychologist found very interesting, due to the fact that I was trained in a tradition preoccupied with looking for pathology on the individual, and putting up diagnoses on pupils with behavioural or adjustment problems.

6. Findings

The ASD as a Comfort Zone and Relationships to the Adults

Quality of life is to a great extent related to a subjective feeling of comfort or its absence. To feel comfortable refers to different conditions: to feel at home, to be seen, to be taken seriously, and that one is having something that one experiences as meaningful in ones lives. It is obvious that the adolescents felt they were at home at the ASD, and that this represented a significant contrast to how they experienced school. *All the adolescents said that they felt comfortable at the ASD*. Tony reported "*We are like a big, happy family*". Joachim said he often had great problems with getting out of bed in the mornings, but he always showed up at the ASD, because this day offered him a day with positive experiences. However, the ASD was not only a comfort zone. The project also gave the students a feeling of freedom, i.e., freedom from school, but also a place where they could change their ways. Joachim said it meant a lot to him being there, because the adults treated him respectfully, mutually, he respected them. And they also reported that the societal topics, which they were discussing, were very interesting and stimulating. All of the students reported that the experience in the ASD was in great contrast, to both their experiences and relationships with the teachers in the ordinary school. Martin expressed how it was much easier talking to the adults in the ASD, compared to the teachers at school, because they understood him much better.

It is obvious that the adolescents' satisfaction at the ASD was related to a break from school, but also the opportunity to do something meaningful. They participated in activities they otherwise had no chance of taking part in. A central factor related to the students' contentment was the significant contact that they had with the adults. All of the students reported that the teachers both listened to them and helped them. They were regarded with respect and understanding. Jonas' teacher said that it was important for Jonas to be aquatinted with adults, as they did not have the capacity to take care of all the students. She also claimed that he did not want to talk to her, but believed that the adults at the ASD managed to get in close contact with him. In addition, Adrian's teacher gave a similar report. She meant it was very important for Adrian to get support from the adults at the ASD. She also described that the ASD had given him better self-esteem, and he seemed more reflected and content. Similarly, Martin's teacher told that the ASD had given Martin better self-confidence, because he by now was coping better with the theoretical subjects at school.

The ASD had a positive effect on the I-group. All four of them got better marks, they do not skip school anymore, and they also function better socially. Their teachers are very positive when they talk about the ASD, and what it has meant for the adolescents`who partizipated. Andy's teacher says that he has become more motivated for working with different subjects, and she relates this to his role at the ASD: "*He says that at the ASD he's a resource, and that he is an important person. He feels that he's very clever there, and that is very different from what he feels at school. He also seems to like the subject that is more practical oriented. And also the themes concerning consumption and globalization, he finds very interesting*". From these expression it seems like we can conclude that the students in this group have experience a kind of "turning point", in the way that they started to look at themselves in possession of good abilities, and that their efforts matter. The students in this group have better prerequisites, compared to the students in the two other groups.

7. Discussion

The ASD represents an effort to prevent antisocial behaviour, but the findings in this study show that not all the students benefit from attending this project. One of the employees in ASD, said: *We have to confess that we can't help all the students, but for the most of them, I think we can prevent a further negative development*". However, even though a negative development occurred among three of the students, the ASD represent a sanctuary in a chaotic life phase. The adults at the ASD are important persons for all the students; they supported them, show them respect, and the youths felt secure and comfortable among the other adolescents. Further, the ASD offers them coping experiences. Some of the teachers report that their students function better at school and both pupils and their parents confirm that the attendance have had a positive influence on their relationships. One may therefore conclude that the ASD has succeeded in its work. This study has focused on the school as a middle class arena,

and for students with working class background, it is regarded as an "away ground". The findings may indicate that adolescents from the working class do not feel at home in the regular school to the same extent as those from the middle class. Participating in the Alternative school day might also strengthen the adolescents` capacity for making the right choices at the right time, and to better prepare them in creating their own individual bibliography. Concerning the lessons they had about consumptions and the new risks within the society nowadays, most of the students said that they found these societal topics very engaging, interesting and advantageous.

Regarding the "turning points" in the biography it seems like especially Adrian came in a state where he had those particular experiences. And that these immersive experiences happened in the special school. His father reported that his son had learned more in the special school on a year compared to all the other school years. The other students that placed themselves in the integrated group, also benefited extensively from the participation in the ASD. They got better self-esteem and they were more content, so from this description it seems like they might have experienced a kind "of turning point", and have started to look upon themselves as competent agents, and not losers in the academic field. Although, the students in the integrated group, were better off in terms of different factors, compare to the students in the twilight and marginalized group. It seems like it was easier for the pedagogues to give the little extra, in order for the students to have a rather significant change in their pedagogic experience, when they were offered better and more positive conditions.

The ASD had a positive effect on the I-group. All four of them got better marks, they do not skip school anymore, and they also function better socially. Their teachers are very positive when they talk about the ASD, and what it has meant for the students. Andy's teacher says that he has become more motivated for working with different subjects, and she relates this to his role at the ASD: "*He says that at the ASD he's a resource, and that he is an important person. He feels that he's very clever there, and that is very different from how he feels at school. He also seems to like the topics, that is more practical and also the notions about consumption and globalization, in which he finds very interesting*". From these expression it seems like we can conclude that the students in this group have experience a kind of "turning point", in the way that they started to look at themselves in possession of good abilities, and that their efforts matter. The students in this group have better prerequisites, compared to the students in the two other groups.

In the discourse about agent versus structure perspective, some theorists have argued that when the students fail, it is the schools and the teachers that are not able to arrange the school into an adequate arena for all pupils (Christie, 1973; Giroux, 1983; Nordahl, 2010; Nordahl, 2013).

Regarding the critique towards the individualization thesis, it has been postulated that it empathises the free choices to an extended degree, and that it is not notifying the restrictions that lie within the already established structures (Furlong & Cartmel, 1997; Brannen & Nilsen, 2005). Theorists have also

pinpointed that the individualization thesis requires a well-established welfare state, in order to offer each individuals alleged choices and possibilities (Brannen & Nilsen, 2005).

8. Limitations Connected to the Study

One limitation in this investigation was that only students from the working class participated in this study. It is therefore not possible to say anything about how students from the middle class experience school. Many students from the middle class certainly experiences school to be boring too, and these may have problems in different arenas as well. However, it is thought provoking that only adolescents from the working class attend the project. Further, the individuals under investigation have problems in *one* or *several* arenas, which mean that they are not representative for the working class students in general.

Acher (2007) offers the "three stage model" as alternative to "fateful moments". Where her underlying work on reflexitivity is a schematic understanding of human action, hinging upon the role that reflexivity plays as an interface between structure and agency. Although it comes to study "the fateful moment" and "turning points" in the biography, there are challenges for an inquiry that seeks to avoid taking professions of agency and self-narratives of transition at face value. Although, this becomes particularly problematic given what Andy Furlong and Fred Cartmel describe as the "epistemological fallacy of late modernity": the tendency for the diversification of individual experience to give rise to an individualized self-understanding of its underlying causes. This allows us to step back from the **actualism** inherent to "fateful moments" and "turning point" while still retaining a focus on the role played by human action in shaping biographical unfolding. Therefore, the **realist** approach to biography thus involves both *understanding* and *explanation*, how individuals are shaping biographical unfolding. It also allows us to take subjectivity seriously while avoiding the **empiricist** temptation to simply "give voice "to the narrative of a participant.

To this end, Derek Layder's (1997) notion of psychobiography has proved useful in thinking through exactly what a biography is in an ontological sense. He offers this concept in an attempt to avoid conflationism in understanding individual transition over the life course (Layder, 2007).

9. Conclusion

The ASD represents an effort to prevent antisocial behaviour, but the findings in this study show that not all the students benefit from attending this project. One of the employees in ASD, said: *We have to confess that we can't help all the students, but for the most of them I think we can prevent a further negative development*". However, even though a negative development occurred among three of the students, the ASD represent a sanctuary in a chaotic life phase. The adults at the ASD are important persons for all the students; they supported them, show them respect, and the youths felt secure and

comfortable among the other adolescents. Further, the ASD offers them coping experiences. Some of the teachers report that their pupils function better at school and both pupils and their parents confirm that the attendance have had a positive influence on their relationships. One may therefore conclude that the ASD has succeeded in its work. This study has focused on the school as a middle class arena, and for students with working class background, it might be regarded as "a detour". The findings may indicate that adolescents from the working class do not feel at home in the regular school to the same extent as those from the middle class. Finally, the ASD exists in the "battle field" between integration and segregation, and one question is whether students exposing antisocial behaviour should be offered help out of school, or be assisted in ordinary classes. We recommend that the ASD offers a full-time project, for those who do not fit into the ordinary school. But at the same time, the ASD can succeed quite well for some, if its methods and philosophy were integrated into the regular school system. Some of the teachers have shown a tendency to blame parents who have "problematic" children. An improvement of the pupils' future situation can only be achieved by a trust worthy and equivalence cooperation. When children and youths encounter position of power, the way they are seen and heard, evaluated and sanctioned, is absolutely decisive.

Participating in the Alternative school day might also strengthen the adolescents' capacity for making the right choices at the right time, and hopefully also in creating their own individual bibliography. Although, this is only claiming speculation. Will it be possible to enhance young people awareness regarding issues like which education to choose, and job to apply? Together with which partner to marry and continue to stay married with, as well as which habits concerning training and food consumption to choose in turmoil, chaotic, globalized and changing world? It becomes a difficult task, although the pupils at ASD claimed that they found these problem positions very interesting, engaging and "that is a kind of extended their thinking and reflection". Although, some of the students reported that they hadn't thought about all those issues before.

As mentioned earlier, regarding the "turning points" in the biography it seems like especially Adrian came in a state where he had that particular experiences. And that these immersive experiences happened in the special school. His father reported that his son had learned more in the special school on a year compared to all the other school years. The other students that placed themselves in the integrated group, also benefited extensively from the participation in the ASD. They got better self-esteem and they were more content, so from this description it seems like they might have experienced a kind "of turning point". And from this experiences started to look upon themselves as competent agents, and not losers in the academic field. Although, the students in the integrated group, were better off in terms of different factors, compared to the students in the twilight and marginalized group. It seems like it was easier for the pedagogues to give the little extra, in order for the pupils to have a rather significant change in their pedagogic experience, when they were offered better and more

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positive conditions.

The fact, that the ASD can be characterized as a ghetto or a "sanctuary" is not necessarily a problem. The school as a middle class arena has, and still will have, huge problems with offering "difficult" pupils fundamental support. As long as this is the case, students exposing antisocial behaviour will be those who need the ASD the most, as a protection. The problem is, however, that this protection is too weak. The ASD should therefore be developed into a more comprehensive project, for example through a full-time arrangement. As we have seen above, this resolution was chosen for two students who attended special schools. For the others, especially those in the I-group, the ASD functioned very well. But for these students, the integration work could function better if the ASD was included in the ordinary school. Based on this, it would be interesting if the ASD develops a both- offering, i.e., a fulltime educational offer, for those who do not fit into the school, and as an arrangement in the schools for those who will benefit from integration. However, to establish a full-time offer, represents a considerable challenge not only economically, but also because the professional-pedagogical arrangement has to be changed significantly compared to the existing praxis.

At the same time, the ASD has some serious weaknesses. Since the ambition is integration, it is alarming that five have quitted school after they attended the ASD. This might happen as a result of reactance, and it might be elevated due to the pupil's attainment in the program, where they actually felt that they were being seen and understood. As well as a result of the pupils feeling of many years of playing the looser role, alienation and boredom in the normal school. Therefore these pupils quitting the normal school can be seen as a reaction towards this negative feeling that they have owned within the normal school system for many years. The pupils quitting of the school can be interpreted as a result of that they doesn't want to participated in an activity where they feel that they are not respected, positive valued and where they doesn't feel at home anymore. Thus, the ASD represented an upgrade of their own self-worth through the attendance at the ASD.

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