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Development Unlearned: (Un)Reading Development Literature Between-the-Lines

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Abstract

This piece of work focuses on examining how development is defined for what it is not based on selected literature in development studies. It maps out how literature in development studies frame the ideas related to the knowledge construction of development, its mixed meanings and multiple understandings. Analysis is generated in light of Peter Wagner's (2012) investigation of development under the lens of sensitivities to "multiple modernities" approach. This work argues that "multiple modernities" offers a grounded analysis of reading development literature that can continue further deliberations on development through selections of existing literature and situating these accounts to the intersection of changing dynamic in the international arena. Further, this work highlights the role of ambiguity as an underrated characteristic of development. This account is particularly relevant not only because it unpacks the meaning of development, but also because it situates its concerns under the current context of changing international politics. This task is an attempt to reconfigure ways of "societal self-understandings" (*Ibid*.) by taking into account the variety of conceptual transformations of development along intense political activities among institutions and social forces. It is hoped that this work can (re)spark discussions on development, its understandings and muted nuances.

Keywords: development, development studies, multiple modernities, societal self-understandings, social and historical discourse, ambiguity.

1. The necessity to re-read

That development is dying is far from a novel idea. The literature on development studies has been a provocative dominant intellectual affair in the decades after World War II. In the last decades, a large number of political theorists have explored the idea of alternatives to development, such as s Buen Vivir (Latin America), Degrowth (Europe) and Ecological Swaraj or Radical Ecological Democracy (India) (Kothari, Demaria & Acosta, 2014; c.f. Sachs, 1992; Ferguson, 1994; Escobar, 1995; Pieterse, 2001; Rapley, 2002; Latouche, 2007; Rist, 2008; Ziai, 2007, etc.). And development continues to occupy social research by laying down manifold accounts of thoughts, critiques and empirical experiences about development, presenting various blocs of discourses that defined how development is understood. Pressing concerns focus on criticizing developments consequences and seeking for alternative pathways for interpreting and appreciating history. However, in spite of the theoretical developments and richness of empirical accounts of development, these advancements warrant continuous reviews from different standpoints, lest there be another muted discussion overlooked.

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This work argues that there is a need to re-read development literature – but to re-read differently. Much development literature has been written and discussions are constant worldwide. Yet while a lot has been said about development's blemishes, more can still be said about the broader context that gives rise to such an enormous subject that took over the world. This work attempts to untangle on how the literature make sense of development is not as it is "committed to raising original problems in social and historical studies" (Alatas 2006: 82). In an era of questioning development's legitimacy as social goal, this work takes part of examining another side of development before the next spectacle takes over current conversations. Discussing the various opinions on development is only one side of the coin. To analyze a specific subject is one thing, to examine what it is not is another. Taking a closer look at what something is not is just as important as describing what it is. This work locates development literature as part of a transition to modernity and emerging "societal self-understanding" (see Wagner, 2012).

In hopes to contribute to development literature, this piece examines common threads on how development is read by development scholars. It reviews how development is studied under different frames. The accounts taken in this work are diverse and may inevitably be in opposition against each other. However there is a common theme among these materials: that the concept of development urges a rethinking of international aspirations and what it means to have both national and global goals.

2. Not a big D: Discourses and debates on the development project

Given that the exact theoretical origins of development studies are difficult to identify, it suffices to point out that the field needs a plurality of perspectives. And indeed, the idea of the universality of development has not gone uncontested within the ranks of development research. Before the consolidation of what are now known as the "emerging powers" (Foseca et al., 2016), discussions about the concept of development – both in the academe and international affairs – have sparked debates and critiques that transfigured how the term "development" has been understood. One of the most defining moments was the solidarity of Asian and African countries at the Bandung Conference in 1955 that marked the official cooperation among these countries with marginal global power (Kahin, 1956). The leaders of these countries met to identify and address the vital issues they share in common at that time. The developing nations' unity comes with an appeal to recompense the instability and adverse effects of the development projects in their local conditions. These debts of the development project pose a particular problem for poor countries trying to manage their institutions, environment, and people given the importance of natural resources have huge role in their people's daily lives. At the same time, the rising burden of debt servicing and the failure of new capital flows escalate environmental degradation occurring at the expense of long-term development (Ferguson, 1994; Latouche, 2007).

This revolution on the development discourse has been vindicated by various thoughts and ideas from authors – both academic and practitioners – in the field of international relations and global politics. International, regional and multi- and bilateral negotiations were conducted simultaneously, which eventually lead to a plethora of approaches concerning development. The issues discussed by the Asian and Africa countries were related to the different theoretical and political approaches on development – from historical perspectives, critique of the development project, deconstructivist, empirical researches to post-development thoughts and more purely academic stances to applied efforts at problematizing the development initiatives. For instance, Nederveen Pieterse (2001: 79) warns on a theoretical level that "each development theory can be read as a hegemony or challenge to hegemony". On a more pragmatic level, Sachs (1992) in his *Development Dictionary* suggests a demystified view on development and asks about many kind s of development, which he sees as fundamental to the equity issue of development. Some would also scrutinize the goals of development. Questioning the very goals of development such as longer

life expectancy and lower infant mortality, the two core goals, are hardly contested even by the keenest critics (Ziai, 2007). Latouche (2007) for one suggests a change of view(s) which seeks to look at development away from the virtues of unlimited economic growth. Here, Latouche challenges the assumption that economic growth – which is deeply associated to well-being, success, and happiness – is a primordial need to solve social ills.

Yet alongside the critic of development, are the once marginalized or colonized nations, which participate in the market-driven global economy. And now these countries have espoused development with its promises of economic growth and are gradually reaching better standards of living for at least a significant portions of their populations, who only a few years ago were very needy and off-track in an unrelenting underdevelopment. So herein comes the paradox of development, especially to the nations that gathered decades ago in Bandung as colonialism left their nations. Thus authors such as Ziai (2007) remark the importance of criticizing criticisms of development. As in the case of that post-development, it has "a lot of critical and constructive potential" and "needs to be further refined, explored and argued over" (*Ibid*.: 9). Ferguson (1994) on the other hand, argues for an attack from within, taking development not by dismissing it, but working within the already available discourses. As he notes, "[w]hat changes when we move from academic discourse to 'development' is not the library of available thoughts, but the institutional context" (*Ibid*.: 68). Development as an economic agenda has been challenged through refuting any implicitly accepted universal assumption about development. Some criticize how the discourse of development led it to be understood as an apolitical process (Ferguson, 1994), keeping in mind that discourses of development were born in specific contexts and are political. Indeed, while countries label themselves as "developed", the literature provides grounds that development is not an end point that some countries have already achieved.

3. Not a checklist but a kaleidoscope

The literature has engaged with the "normalization" of development as a universal goal, which has crept to various local and international policies (Ziai, 2007). Many authors have examined how development has been viewed as a universal goal with a bucket list of agenda and accomplishments to meet. As Sachs (1992: 4) expressed, "[development] allows any intervention to be sanctified in the name of a higher goal. Therefore even enemies feel united under the same banner". Indeed, along with the period of decolonization of the Third World, the 'universality of economics' (Esteva, 19, in Sachs, 1992) became a dominant 'truth' (*Ibid*.: 18), in which development and independence were often seen as inevitable pairs (Rapley, 2002). The appalling pressure of development as a goal stimulated solidarity among these nations and challenged "development" thinking. As development faced criticisms and disappointment, it began losing its credibility as a societal end-point (Latouche, 2007). The literature focused on the experiences of the developing nations and the costs of development. Indeed, Sachs (1992: 1) notes that the "[d]elusion and disappointment, failures and crimes have been the steady companions of development and they tell a common story: it did not work. Moreover, the historical conditions which catapulted the idea into prominence have vanished: development has become outdated. But above all, the hopes and desires which made the idea fly are now exhausted: development has grown obsolete". The preponderance of the idea that development is facing its demise has lead the international community to discuss if the ills of development can possibly be recompensed by the accountable parties. For instance, Nederveen Pieterse (2001) argue that African nations have suffered the most serious economic and environmental upheavals without sufficient and long-term support than what is currently offered. Latouche (2007) has also shown that participating to the world agenda of development has come with a heavy price – the scraping off the world's resources and the disintegration of the social institutions.

Reading and rethinking development in terms of local or national experiences is not valuable because these experiences are pleasant – rather, they are valuable by virtue of being a contribution on various pragmatic experiences of development. Much of the literature dwelt on various experiences of domination and repression exacerbated the already clumping detestation of the development projects (Ferguson, 1994). The weight of discussions and the remorse that comes with it are indeed enough to consolidate and aim for redirection of national goals, specific demands, and establishment of new priorities. One of the fruits of these reconsiderations is the expansion of discussions of the so-called second world and third worlds is already widespread. The steps towards global restructuring has been initiated that marks rethinking about differences between and among nations, for instance between 'South' and 'North' (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001). Each mishap of development in the developing world piled up and became another reason to refute the notion of any messianic attempt to attack "underdevelopment", and each consequence provided an opportunity to convey suspicion and uncertainty about any astounding claim of the development project.

4. Not an answer but a question with different incomparable logic

A lot has been written about disappointments against a predicted moment when humanity would advance, go off the scale and, in passing, abolish injustice and inequality. Now, with the disillusionment on development and humanity's struggle to sustain a common social goal, development left humanity with more questions with different layers. This is so if development is assumed to be an answer to humanity's ills. However, there is more to development than merely being the "right" or "wrong" direction as it is about questioning how it is understood. Questions on both the intellectual and practical merits of understanding development had been laid down by various authors and each question leads to more questions.

Development faced the world as a question on how to best examine history. The negotiations in the international level take a pernicious form when not only facts are discussed but also how best to form beliefs about those facts. The challenge is about how to assess development's consequences in reasonable ways. Once the structure of praising and criticizing development has been laid bare, it is as if there is no further argument that opposing sides can produce to convince the other because there is no method or procedure for conducting enquiry that could be agreed upon. As consciousness of development and its critique have grown, a new kind of inquiries and metaphors has entered the world. Development faced various points of contention from being a justification to penetrate nations in the name of a higher cause to normalizing the unexamined essentialism of both the development proponents and the "other". The criticisms about the concept, views and consequences of development were shared by the participants of the Bandung conference. And this sprawled an acceleration of account trying to review development (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001). For instance, those who sincerely deny the goals of development also dismiss the relevant methods and evidence used to measure development's practical legacies. Rather, the default is to question the authority of institutions that propose to boost development. Yet those who support the development project would emphasize its tangible results through both quantitative and qualitative data. Each side would insulated themselves from any evidence that would otherwise be rationally compelling for the other group. One can find similar patterns of either selective distrust or appraisal in accomplishment reports, say, on the safety of vaccines or genetically modified crops. As with so many events, development observers have thrown both hope and doubt on development while writing about it. After clever things were said, these competing accounts are suggestive of development as a question rather than an answer, that their frames and stories on development is far beyond asking about its success or failure. What is critical to note here is that however bleak a question is, it is this tantalising history in the concept of development itself that drives these questions onward, like an eternally beckoning light that seems so teasingly near yet is always out of reach.

5. Not a label but stories with multiple conclusions

Development is dramatised from various vantage points. It is not only critiques who have enjoyed retelling the development story. Development does not frustrate everyone. Each development story is not just another story about history: each is a qualitatively different kind of story told in a different frame. For instance, when making a country decision, development goals win out but sometimes these goals are foregone. It's important – even for decisions with implications that go far beyond simply achieving economic growth. But authors show that development is not everything. Often countries knowingly forego the choice that will give them the most economic growth for one that satisfies other ideals or factors that are important to their population.

Telling various stories of what counts and does not count as development also comes with variations in focus. There were stories on how poor countries realized and questioned the technocratic and hierarchical ideas in implementing the development project. For instance, non-Western countries are viewed as naturally inept, being termed as underdeveloped, lacking and deficient (Esteva, 7, in Sachs, 1992). But there are also stories that focus on the associated "backwardness" towards the underdeveloped countries as opposed to the "modern" image of developed countries. Nederveen-Pieterse (2001) argues that this unexamined essentialism and categorization produced a widespread self-criticism within developing nations. With different forms of *essentialisms* come various forms of inequality that became a theme of various discussion beyond the Bandung Conference. Further, the politics on power had been a dominant topic of deliberations. Ziai (2007) observed that whoever decides what "development" is and how it can be achieved were legitimized to have power over other nations. The developing countries had been venues of various development projects, which were not necessarily beneficial, especially in the long run. But since the late 1980s, the concept of development intervention to Africa, Asia, and Latin America has failed in the South (Sachs, 1992). And in spite of the seduction and promises of the development projects, evidence show that it ended up even leaving the poor nations in bigger risks and deeper poverty (Ferguson, 1994). Such contradictions have led many development scholars to argue that "the history of development merges with the history of the progressive destruction of self-reliance" (Rist, 2008: 125).

Furthermore, there are stories that unfold how mainstreaming development justified penetrating nations in the name of a higher cause is criticized by many scholars, noting that the seduction of development as a universal goal to which "underdeveloped" can be possibility ushered towards Truman's idea of "development"—an end goal (which the wealthy nations already achieved) (Rist, 2008). Esteva (1992: 17) shares this view, calling it 'development with colonisation' (quoted in Sachs, 1992). And the consequences of interventions in the name of development are still felt and constantly pile up "like a dead star whose light can still be seen, even though it went out for ever long ago" (Rist, 2008 p. 230). Needless to say, many countries were affected, both directly and indirectly, by the ills produced by the developed world especially when the debt crisis began and got exacerbated by the second oil shock in 1979 (Rapley, 2002). Latouche (2007) specifically focused on the implications on climate change, global warming, overpopulation and ecological destruction as long-term by-products of the choice to expand economically and to engage in development associated with Western nations historically. Rapley (2002) further observed that the pursuit of a steady growth is came with backlash of consequences such as high inflation. The consolidation of the developing nations opened an opportunity to re-imagine the world order. The Bandung conference became a moment when the world was positioned differently in various ways. These nations realized that "[a]lmost all of the nations mentioned have been, in some form or another, under the domination of Western Europe; some had been subjected for decades and others had been ruled for three hundred and fifty years" (Wright, 1956).

The challenge for authors, however, is to tell each story with a sense of common human identity and common human interest—otherwise people will divide on the basis of other identities.

Much has been said and done, the debates are here and there, the development champions and critiques shook hands and went off together for a well-earned supper. They were, after all, different stories with different frames.

6. Unreading and unlearning development: Ambiguity in the crossroads

Accounts on development can be categorized in terms of how well they deal with ambiguity. Some authors accept the limits of one's own blind spot in explaining development by understanding that there will always be things that cannot be cleanly parsed. Others become obsessed with ever-finer levels of categorization such as the binary categories of "developed-developing" and "donor-beneficiary". In dealing with these paradigms, we have to either face the fact that some realities elude categorical concepts, or blind ourselves to the inadequacy of the concepts. But to stay within the rigidities of categories is to miss out some aspects of development that deserve unpacking. To adopt Ezrahi's (2012: 7) thoughts, ambiguity is necessary to spark imagination as "the hidden sharper of politics". Similar to Ezrahi's (2012) view of politics, development became a monolithic practice that perpetuates particular interests or goals. This can be traced back to Enlightenment's influence of rigid distinctions between the knowledge produced through science from religion and arts (Funtowicz & Strand, 2007). While these distinctions have been contributory to the project of modernity, this blurred history's perception of the gift of ambiguity. The hegemonic Enlightenment-influenced way of looking at development tones down voices of resistance against the dominant discourse. However, the clear-cut dichotomies that the Enlightenment strove for was no longer adequate to the task of understanding contemporary development (Wagner, 2015).

Discourse directs thought and can be used as viable means of tracking observable change in mindset. But while there is widespread recognition of the role discourse that plays in the realm of politics, less appreciated is the fact that discourse can also be used to tone down the intensity of a particular notion towards the degree of ambiguity. Development is dominantly packaged in the discourse of economic growth and human life improvement. This reveals hegemonic patterns of thought of what development is more or less about. To use the previous example of HDI, development is directed towards education, standards of living and life expectancy – placing less stress on different aspects of life like mental health and community participation. Regardless of which indicators were included, this method suggests a fixed way of evaluating development, which faces the caveat of a hegemonic and pretentious evaluation.

To maintain the fluidity of the development discourse is not the prerogative of states alone. Rather, the development discourse is consciously or unconsciously defined and constructed by the large international community. The challenge is that the power to push the boundaries of development in the political arena can be restricted to certain groups and individuals. Hence, it is important to have a conscious attention to both nuanced language and diversity of political players to balance each other, for an eventual downplayed version of development. This means to recognize competing rationalities, subjective experiences and varying vantage points. To borrow Rosanvallon's (2008) idea on democracy, it is important to maintain checks and balances between and among nations, states and non-states, individuals and groups, leaders and citizens. A conscious effort to gather a wide range of alternative understandings, and alternative terms of development – especially those who dismiss development – opens up opportunities to reflect for a downplayed version of development. Accommodating multi-players with varied discursive strategies to development facilitates a re-imagined development.

However, to say that development is discursively constructed and ambiguous does not mean that it is a superficial experience. Rather, discourse on development provides the compass by which development can be re-interpreted. The diversity of interpretation about development is a reminder of its distorted and complicated character. Allowing this ambiguous character of

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development provides weaker interpretations to gain traction as they resonate with pragmatic experience. For instance, the "success" narratives of the development project can only go so far if we consider various alternatives to development. When states claim improvement in economic growth marked by objective economic indicators, these can straightforwardly be invalidated by everyday miseries citizens experience, whether it is about preventable causes of infant mortality, or high levels of inequality in education. The disparities of experiences under the development project are demonstrations of how development's tangible character collapses and gives rise to another. An ambiguous development, therefore, is comprised of contested narratives through time.

7. Conclusion: Fragments of change in-between

The literature reflects that development contains liminal confusions, and that such ambiguity can be dismissed as hindrance to understanding. Indeed, anything that does not parse neatly in a given framework can become a source of anxiety to a world that speaks development's language. It is indeed a challenge to ponder over what humanity dismissed as unthinkable and to expand outside the margins of current thoughts about development. The challenge is to outgrow the idea that there is a clear and few legitimate narratives of development. Different narratives took several iterations – some of them were retold from different perspectives, and some are fragmented accounts that can help us reshape development. Either way, considering all these patchwork accounts is where ambiguity takes relevance. The next task then is to open a space for ambiguous range of thoughts that serve as a resource to leverage this energy to a broader public. And this quest continues as there are various ways of interpreting development, and even more ways of considering what else have been not thought of.

Development has become such a storehouse of global power and change that modern man has become intimidated by its multiplicities. Perhaps what we are encountering here is not so much the edge of theory, but the limits of the ways we theorize and interpret development as a lens. Perhaps development cannot explain itself anymore. While the literature on development studies has been engaged in vibrant theoretical debates, these are yet to be translated to sustained discussions on the current context. The silence of "smaller" views on development may be not so much a reflection of neglect but of the limited ways of what counts as development. The framings on development in this work are by no mean complete. Indeed, there are more issues that warrant close investigation. As Wagner (2015: 107) claims, "it is *possible* to understand the present as a plurality of ways of re-interpreting modernity" and hence development. The challenge therefore is to have both a critical take on the existing accounts of development and conscious effort to search for new ways of discussing these themes away from any dogmatic and static traditions. Needless to say, the above text is a derivative of contemporary thoughts, which are also vacuumed in a given space and time. This prose is not designed to be another manual that claims the right path on understanding development. Rather, it locates itself in the richness of many possibilities of looking at development. With this consideration, this text finds its relevance as a contribution to capture the multidimensionality of development along the lines of many more accounts on development studies.

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Nature and Culture, Individual and Society: The Institutional Impact of Conceptual Antithesis in Theories of American Social Sciences on Adolescence

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Abstract

This article presents a sociological analysis, dealing with the matter of how theories of social sciences about adolescence have contributed to the formation of adolescent behavior. In particular, we examine how adolescence as a social category was constituted and transformed along with the modification of social sciences' (psychology's and sociology's mostly) relevant concepts in the USA, from the late 19th century until the early 21st century. Around socialization, two opposite theoretical foundations of human condition were reproduced, the "socio-cultural" and the "individual-natural". The dominance of some theories on others was related to the institutional consolidation of various social control forms (e.g., symbolic control, surveillance) depending on the kind of behavior that is being rationalized, naturalized and legitimized. The historical reconstruction of three phases in the development of the social sciences' field of symbolic control enables us to focus on the importance of a renewed naturalism in the explanation of adolescent behavior, from the 1980s onwards.

Keywords: symbolic control, adolescence, social sciences, psychology, sociology, social categories.

1. Introduction

In 1904, a two volume study on adolescence by G. S. Hall, president of Clark University and professor of Psychology and Education, was published in the USA (Hall, 1904), constituting a breakthrough in the history of adolescence. Although the idea of adolescence as a distinct phase in life was not new, Hall's work was a breakthrough since it registered adolescence to the inventory of social sciences' (mainly of Psychology) objects of study. In Hall's theory adolescence is described as a period of inherent crisis, characterized by "storm and stress". Adolescent behavior was subsumed in a universal stage of individual development, preassigned by human nature. In contrast to this individualist-naturalist explanation of adolescent behavior, socio-cultural approaches were articulated, mostly after World War II. Later, in the 1990's, the idea of "risk behavior" has been the source of a renewed naturalism to approaches of adolescence. The subject of how and why different theoretical approaches emerge, obviously concerns the history of ideas, theories and sciences. This article presents a sociological analysis, dealing with the matter of how theories of social sciences about adolescence have contributed to the formation of adolescent behavior. In particular, we examine how adolescence as a social category was constituted and

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transformed along with the modification of social sciences' (psychology's and sociology's mostly) relevant concepts in the USA, from the late 19th century until the early 21st century. This historical reconstruction of the three phases in the adolescence's social category transformations enables us to focus on the importance a renewed naturalism in the explanation of adolescent behavior.

What does the term "social category" (Durkheim & Mauss, 2001) means in reference to adolescence? In adolescence's social category the biological dimension of this age group is causally connected to its socialization. A social reality is added to the biological reality of this age group, a reality constituted by rules and institutions that regulate behavior accordingly to the socio-cultural context (see Ariès, 1990; Mead, 1954). Thus, the conceptual content of the term "adolescence" not only signifies a theoretical point of view in a specific phase of human physical and psychological development, but also becomes a point of reference for its institutional organization and regulation of behaviors. It defines a social category through which physiology and social control, or the biological substratum with behavior's symbolic dimension, are connected. In other words, a social category is a category of thought, a powerful idea through which reality and the intellect are interconnected. What remains to be examined is how social sciences contributed to the formation of this social category.

Institutions, legal arrangements, organizations and professions that regulate various aspects of behavior, mediate between scientific concepts and perceptions that constitute common sense. In the case of adolescence, those were education, medicine, psychiatry, psychotherapy, counseling, social work and the penal system. Scientific concepts facilitate the definition of "natural", "normal" or permitted behavior for a category of people, while institutions' interventions on them acquire a rational character and become legitimate. At the same time, agents of this specialized knowledge, scientists, public servants and professionals, acquire an enhanced jurisdiction on problems of this category. Access to material and symbolic resources that they gain allows further expansion of that knowledge, as well as of those professional specializations (Abbot, 1988; Lenoir, 2004).

This interaction between social sciences and their objects of study does not take place in a social void. Symbolic systems have a political aspect. Symbols contribute to the reproduction of a common perception about reality. A common perception that combines knowledge and moral rules, therefore judgement for the correct or legitimate arrangement of social relations are entailed. Ideology, to wit, a sum of representations that reflect class interests while they appear to represent universal interests, is one of the symbolic systems available. Thus, a competition for symbolic domination takes place between social groups, a competition for the power by which the sense of obviousness, of self-evidence about things, is being established (Bourdieu, 1991). The struggle for symbolic domination is imprinted at the nexus of laws and institutions that constitutes the state. Therefore, while forms of thought, ideas, concepts, theories that social sciences produce in a given historical phase occupy various possible positions at the specter of approaches about human behavior, only some of them are favored by the wider ideological-political context.

Social sciences have entered the field of an already formed antithesis between nature and culture or between sciences of nature and sciences of culture, and produced explanations or interpretations of behavior with theoretical forms that place them closer to the one or the other pole of this antithesis, or to combinations of those different modes of organizing representations. Having established as agents of legitimate and valid knowledge, the symbolic antagonisms have been transferred at the inside of the field of social sciences. Concepts deriving from social sciences, whether related to socialization or individual behavior, have a common core of ideas about edification, shaping and transformation of the human creature from a biological to a social subject. Around socialization, two opposite theoretical foundations of human condition are reproduced, the "socio-cultural" and the "individual-natural". The dominance of some theories on others is related to the institutional consolidation of various social control forms (e.g., symbolic control, surveillance) depending on the kind of behavior that is being rationalized, naturalized and

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legitimized. This is a field of counterbalancing forces on the struggle for symbolic domination in which social sciences' concepts face each other and become stronger or weaker, depending on streams of mental forms, ideological or scientific, that run through the sum of spaces where symbolic control is exercised. The field of symbolic control (Bernstein, 2003) can be conceptualized as a social field of interdependencies, encompassing a distinctive logic and tensions, acquiring meaning at certain conditions of structural relevance.

The appearance and establishment of adolescence as a social category is related to the expansion of educational institutions, from childhood to adolescence, and the establishment of social sciences in academia. It is related to the emergence of adolescent behavior's most important institution, the school of secondary education ("high-school") and the recognition of social sciences as agents of symbolic control. The outcome of proceedings mentioned above was that adolescence was transformed from a mental representation that related adolescent physiology with various social meanings, to a clearly demarcated by institutional arrangements, and social groups. The modification of adolescence from physical to social category can be conceived as an outcome of institutional accommodation of younger generations' problem of social control. Scientific concepts were the foundations of practical disciplines and professions, of specialists holding knowledge to deal with the problems of adolescence. Theories of social sciences have not only contributed to the institutional consolidation of adolescence but to the institutionalization of specialists on adolescence as well. In other words, they have constituted "institutionalizing theories" that have modified institutionalized practices (Georgoulas, 2017).

2. The establishment of social sciences and the public appeal for social control of adolescence

Hall's theory on adolescence can be considered as such an institutionalizing theory since it launched a field of forces between social sciences and institutions that has given birth to new theories, new professional jurisdictions and has consolidated new terms for adolescence's social regulation. The problem of young generation's institutions of education and social control emerged in a specific historical juncture: in the context of developing capitalist economy and institutional reorganization of the late 19th century, citizenship and rights deriving from it were at the center of antagonism between various social groups in the USA (Marshall, 1950; Turner, 1990: 189-227; Nakano-Glenn, 2002: 19-30, 55-60; Sklar, 1992: 51-92; Bowles & Gintis, 1979: 23). At that point in time, consideration for social arrangement of adolescent behavior that exceeded family's and education's abilities to manage was imprinted at institutional level (Rodgers, 1980; Schnell, 1979; Zimring, 1978). The coming of progressivism, at the early 20th century, has advanced the idea that social problems such as poverty, criminality and alcoholism could be tackled by the improvement of living conditions of unprivileged social groups (the working class, racial and ethnic minorities, etc.) (Meyer et al., 1979; Drake, 1961).

Psychology and sociology have constructed their discourse at the conceptual context of evolutionary theories of their era. Theories by which human behavior was explained according to laws that supposedly govern the evolution of natural kinds, that is, processes by which man, as a kind and as individual organisms, adopt to external conditions of life. These theories held that innate forces of the individual, or accordingly of groups as an aggregation of commensurate individuals, consist the basis of differentiation and classification, while the place of every individual or group in social world's hierarchy was justified as an outcome of natural selection. Spencer's theory has been the main point of reference of American social scientists for the conceptual connection between human biology and culture. However, it was limited to a teleological, historical comparative frame of studying different modes of adaptation based on instincts and emotions. It has not been able to provide criteria of validity for the observations

about the interaction between individual's symbolic ability and the environment (Georgoulas, 2014: 53-99; Greenwood, 2009: 243-265; Ross, 1993: 87).

What has permitted social sciences to focus on the relation between behavior and cognition by providing a theory of how knowledge and morality is connected, was the philosophy of pragmatism. The term derives from Charles Pierce (1839-1914), who claimed that the motive for knowledge is lifting the doubt in order to return to the calm state that the certainty provides. Idea seeks its confirmation to action and confirmed ideas constitute habits. However, Pierce did not specify truth, but only a way of acquiring knowledge at the level of physiology (Durkheim, 1983). James (1890), Dewey (1916:160-173), Baldwin (1902: 260-267), Mead, Cooley and others (Calhoun, 2007: 5) extended his observation to the level of behavior. Despite their differences, they held in common this distinct stance towards knowledge: knowledge about reality cannot reside outside the individual and its purposes. Pragmatism, as Durkheim puts it, has been a "*…philosophy of people, to wit, a collective consciousness that incorporates scientific truths in unified whole*", and it can be epitomized by the phrase: "*….true is what has been established or prevailed as such and whatever is true is ethical also*" (Durkheim, 1983: 54).

Social sciences shifted interest from inherited traits of behavior to their social formation, thus moving the guidelines of social control. This closer connection of behavior to symbolic ability and culture enabled the formation of a field of intervention for symbolic control, since it meant that behavior could be modified by institutions that use discourse as mean of guidance. Nevertheless they reproduced social world's hierarchical grading by maintaining utility as the final yardstick of their categories. Thus, social sciences held an individualist-naturalist approach that was limited to control of the individual by its immediate environment.

2.1 *Hall's impact*

Hall's biography is indicative of his pivotal role in the establishment of adolescence as a scientific concept in the midst of academic field's rearrangements and in the wider cognitive context of sciences' development. In 1878 he became the first to obtain a PhD in psychology in the USA at Harvard, under the supervision of William James. In 1884 he occupied the first psychology chair in the USA, at Johns Hopkins University. Later he established the first journal of psychology in the USA. He has also been the first president of American Psychological Association. Four years later he took over presidency of Clark University which, at the time, was delivering most of PhD's in psychology (Arnett & Cravens, 2006; 165-171).

The term "adolescence" was unknown in the USA before the late 19th century. There was nearly no usage of the word and interest for that which would be later called "stage of development" was limited in the field of physiology (Kett, 1971: 283-298; Demos & Demos, 1969: 632-638; Dornbush, 1989: 233-259; Fustenberg, 2000: 896-910). Hall emphasized bodily changes, which he related to a group of personality traits, independently of a person's social origin. The adolescent, according to Hall, reveals outstanding potential for development, but also contradictive impulses at the same time: hyperactivity and indolence, happiness and depression, egoism and altruism, radicalism and conservatism. Within so much change and conflict, the adolescent tends to experience "storm and stress". Hall has reshaped widespread perception about youth of his times, combining them with the idea of evolution, collecting data in a large scale (questionnaires from parents) and presenting them in a convincing manner.

Hall suggested that adolescent sexuality should be put under control, channeled to manifestations of "natural" adolescent idealism since love for the opposite sex, nature, homeland and God, is awaking. He advocated a pragmatic stance towards adolescent nature, centered on the quest for an "authentic" identity beneath artificial conventions. In contrast to moralist's texts of his age, who expressed protestant, individualist values of American society encouraging

youngsters to assume adult responsibilities, Hall suggested a moratorium of responsibilities. He encouraged a relaxing of pressures for adult activities and preparation for adulthood, since adolescents need rest instead of excitement, while sexual awakening brings them to conflict with civilization (Hall, 1904a: 13, 384). Efforts to understand adolescents and dialogue should be used, according to Hall, as means of guidance instead of blind obedience and punishment. He stressed that the natural process of development and the moratorium of responsibilities conceded to adolescents were not enough to bring the desirable outcomes, since parents and teachers cannot provide the right guidance by themselves. Specialized institutions and organizations should take control of this process (Hall, 1904b: 86-87, 429-432).

Thus, Hall validates, in the most formal, organized and analytical manner, the appeal for a social policy for control of adolescence and encompasses it with the status drawn by his position in the scientific field. At the same time this appeal concerns the institutionalization of symbolic control of adolescence directed by social sciences. Social sciences were given the responsibility of organizing specialized institutions for adolescents and of discovering the right proportions between discipline, guidance and encouragement of initiatives. Hall "discovered" that a specific pattern of adolescent development existed in nature and, according to it, suggested a process that ensured a successful completion of this development. He was the protagonist in the construction of the scientific concept of adolescence. Ever since, empirical knowledge of social sciences have contributed to the creation of new institutions for adolescence or the modification of the preexisting ones. The appeal for a public recognition of adolescence as a distinctive age category – hence for its connection with special privileges – was articulated, advanced and produced institutional outcomes approximately at the two last decades of the 19th century and the first of the 20th century. This distinction was validated by social sciences. Socialization acquired characteristics that lean on the individualist-naturalist version of human condition's theoretical founding, albeit having its practical implementation in relation to "social control" (education, correctional system, voluntarily organizations such as Boy Scouts). Since human nature, by which adolescent behavior was explained, was taken for granted, the question was how to develop institutions according to its operation principles, in order to tune the individual with the social level within their interaction. Against this naturalist theoretical founding of adolescence, social and/or cultural accounts of human condition were developed. However, the constitution of "symbolic control" as a field of opposing forces had to be preceded by a political breakthrough: the "New Deal".

3. The establishment of the social sciences' field of social control and of adolescence as a social category

The consolidation of the welfare state and the reinforcement of federal government's intervention have multiplied social sciences' potential to effect social reality (Schaffer, 1991; Kennedy, 2001: 376). This meant that only when their material and ideological-political bases came into being, were they able to effect the institutional context of social life's organization. Thus, the symbolic control of social sciences became stronger and wider. Their theories fed specialized knowledge used by professional to address social needs and at the same time to legitimize their authority on social problems. Psychologists have claimed the acknowledgement of their jurisdiction on the sector of "personal problems" (Abbot, 1988: 459-462; Baker & Benjamin, 2014: 33-36). Sociology and social work in the USA have not developed, initially, as discrete objects of knowledge but as parts of progressivism, a wider movement of institutional reform, with often overlapping fields of intervention (Abbot, 1999: 80-86, 101-105; Lengermann & Nierbrugge, 2007). By the 1940s, sciences specialized in institutions, sociology and anthropology, have added a new perspective of adolescence's problem, claiming, at the same time, their jurisdiction on its management (Parsons, 1942; Parsons, 1959; Mead, 1954; Benedict, 1934: 36).

At the second period, after World War II, due to secondary education's legal establishment and expansion, the appeal for a socially managed age of adolescence has been satisfied. When the majority of adolescents were included in secondary education, adolescence has been placed under the auspices of the state and formal institutions (Goldin & Katz, 2011). At the same time, symbolic control of adolescence gets complicated as a new form of social control strengthens: the "Mass Media". Those are responsible for the establishment of the term "teenager", in the 1940's, that signifies chronologically those between the first and the second decade of their lives. Adolescents acquire considerable purchasing power and became a target group for the advertisement. The expansion of secondary education has opened their perspectives for inclusion to professional hierarchy by criteria connected to achievement instead of ancestry (see Coleman, 1961). Differentiation and specialization for the professional structure of an advanced division of labor without endangering discipline and standardization of behavior, was the aim of education and symbolic control of adolescents under those new conditions.

The symbolic control of social sciences, which until then had been based exclusively on educational institutions, was held by an entire field, including counseling and psychotherapy services for adolescents (Capshew, 1999: 15; Pickren & Rutheford, 2010: 214-218; Tomes, 2008: 667). Sociologists' professional role as specialists-advisors on social problems has been enhanced (Janowitz, 1977). At the same time, a strong trend of critical approaches to symbolic control has been developed, uncovering group interests or identity issues concealed to the notion of an equivocal normality[1]. Theories about adolescence in Psychology during that period reflected a drive towards renegotiation of rights connected with this age group, of the anticipated behaviors and of institutions' desirable actions. Despite of its one-sided approach of culture (civilization) as source of oppression of an individuality focused on instincts, Freudian accounts (Freud, 1958; Blos, 1962; Erikson, 1968) contributed to a cultural understanding of adolescence. This side of Freud's theory was explored especially by Erikson, who has suggested that adolescence is created on the basis of social expectations and is a period in which the individual is allowed to postpone decisions regarding its identity and experiment with roles in order to discover itself. His approach conceives the interaction between the biological, the psychological and the sociological dimension of identity as a civilizing process. Bronfenbrenner's approach followed the same direction. He has processed a "bio-ecological model of human development", emphasizing the interaction between the biologically and psychological developing individual and people, objects and symbols that surround it, on the micro, middle and macro social level (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2007).

Adolescence became an object of social policy while sociology and psychology were leading the institutionalizations. The socio-cultural pole of symbolic control's field of adolescence strengthens and prevails as the official version of adolescence. The understanding of the socio-cultural, to wit of the time and space specificity of adult behavior, was presupposition for the understanding of adolescent behavior's particularity. The guidance of adolescent behavior became a matter of transmitting common cognitive and moral elements that contribute to the formation of a self-controlled individuality. Theories of sociology and psychology indicated the possibility of conciliation of demands made by youth for larger margins of freedom with the need for orienting their behavior towards social spaces, where the adolescent, as a developing biological and psycho-social entity, could acquire an identity. Thus, except from the group context of activities for adolescents controlled by adults (e.g., education, sports) symbolic control was enriched by the interpersonal communication of individualized interventions. Through practices of psychotherapy and counseling the adolescent could be faced- and face himself or herself- as individuality, a product of a particular family history, of a certain social background and not a just a member of a group in a school class. Professionals of the practices mentioned above had the knowledge and the

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[1] Derived or influenced by the so-called "Frankfurt School" and of constructivism, mainly in the form of "labeling theory" (Wallerstein, 2007; Abbot 2001: 67-69).

moral commitment to facilitate the connection of individuality with collective aims and identities, in cases that family and education had difficulties in handling. Except from psychanalytical approaches that had a pure clinical orientation, theories about adolescence were enunciated as a contribution to the knowledge about adolescent development to be used by society through public institutions and professionals.

Yet still, because of social state's deconstruction, conditions providing autonomy to the field of symbolic control were disturbed. A larger share in the exercise of social control was conceded, in part, to the individualist version, because of the connection of adolescence to a self-referential quest for identity, independent from forms of collective identity, and in part to the naturalist version, because of the turn from symbolic control to surveillance and to therapeutic standardization of adolescence.

4. The turn from symbolic control to surveillance and repression, and the transformation of adolescence as a social category

The third period, from 1980s and on, is dominated by neoliberal policies (Harvey, 2005; Foucault, 2008). The state withdrew from the field of economy but exerted greater control on social policies that normalize behavior, attempting to lower their cost at the same time. This was pursued by changing the criteria of their function. In education, managers were put in charge and new tools of social control, new goals and efficiency criteria, like standardized teaching methods and teachers' evaluation, were imported. Equivalent processes took place at the field of psychotherapy and counseling. Instead of the field's normalization function, that could ensure that the outcomes of the social division of labor would be humane, the function of surveillance and of "unnatural" behavior's repression is reinforced.

This transformation of social control is connected with a triple ideological erosion of social policy at the level of knowledge and its practical implementations: first, a renewed biologicalism based on neurosciences is the source of definitions about normality and deviance based on a group of observed behaviors, without reference to causes attributed to society or consciousness. Second, the introduction of effectivity criteria, mostly in education, where conceptual constructions are based on the externality and accountability of observable behavior and the concomitant devaluation of any professional activity's aspect that escapes from that short of evaluation (Sloan, 2008). Third, the demand for knowledge that can be used in risk management through implementation of techniques of repression through surveillance, drugs or through stricter penalties for offenders.

Politics that push forward standardized testing, procedures of quantified evaluation, competition and emphasis on the "right" of school choice by the parents, as well as various shorts of privatization of schools are developed in public, elementary and secondary education (Hursh, 2007; Friedman, 1955). The matter of youth criminality and appeals to stricter laws and means of repression are becoming the supplement of politics for management of the disadvantaged social groups. The emphasis on disciplinary treatment of adolescents is evident in the adoption of "zero tolerance" or "broken windows" policies by schools (Teske, 2011; Wilson & Kelling, 1982). The philosophy underlying those policies was that the establishment of preordered strict penalties even for the less serious offences, regardless of the circumstances in which they took place or of the offender's situation, prevents the consolidation of an impunity climate.

A series of events concerning students shooting, their classmates and teachers inside the school has created a sense of insecurity to school community and the wider public opinion. Those events have also elicited the matter of school intimidation ("bulling"), that has been connected with later manifestations of violence, as victims of bulling accumulate anger and become perpetrators themselves. In 2008, Congress has passed a law according to which, among

other measures, schools were to be shut down if proved unable to offer a secure environment. Thus, schools took a number or measures, like installing metal detectors, having police or private security at school, establishing a dress code to make class differences non visible, initiatives for students arbitrating disputes, etc. (Owen, 2011).

In psychiatry and clinical psychology the role of DSM has been enhanced from the 1980's and on in the USA. A model of psychiatry based on drug therapy prevails, practiced through a taxonomy of symptoms of various behavioral patterns. In the 1980 version of DSM (III) a new section is introduced, containing disorders that usually appear in infancy, childhood and adolescence. There, one can find a category of diagnosis called "conduct disorder" that includes a series of symptoms: a repetitive and persistent pattern of behavior in which the basic rights of others or major age-appropriate norms are violated, like risk sexual behavior, premature smoking, alcohol and drugs consumption, low self-esteem, cruelty, anger outbursts, provocative recklessness, etc. Complications of this disorder includes expulsions from school, delinquency, venereal diseases, high percentage of injury from accident, fights and suicidal behavior. Damage inflicted by this disorder is classified from mild to severe, which can possibly need incarceration to some institution.

DSM's role to psychotherapy and counseling has gotten wider than just a scientific manual. It constitutes the institutional consolidation of a scientific discourse about mental illness, disorder or whatever is considered as such at the time. Nevertheless, it is a scientific discourse influenced or directed by extra-scientific interests, since scientists, professionals, insurance companies and pressure groups of parents and teachers along with drug industries transact using the classification in the official manual of the America Psychiatric Society as "currency". From 1980, research's turn to cerebral biochemical malfunctions or deviances is reducing subject's role as a rational being to completing questionnaires, matching symptoms to illnesses and occasionally drugs. Thus, psychotherapy and counseling, instead of being enriched by social sciences knowledge, incorporating them to intrapersonal communication aiming to a mutual understanding of socially defined symbols, is being degraded to an automated process of classifying information (Chodoff, 2005; Shorter, 2013; Papadopoulos, 2017: 139-146).

This ideological mutation of social policy is also evident in the field of symbolic control of adolescent behavior and it is reflected on new theoretical advances of social sciences regarding adolescence as well. Those theoretical advances contribute to modifications of adolescence as a social category, a process that takes place within new conditions of the division of labor and a new arrangement of relations between social classes and between generations.

In the early 21st century structural changes in work, education and family are accompanied by changes of the life circle, to wit, the socially defined succession of a person's affiliation to roles and institutions. During the last decades of the 20th century, age indexes of facts that signify the inclusion of a person to adulthood, marriage, completion of education and labor market entrance, exhibit upward trends, except from the age of first sexual intercourse, which is becomes lower. Quite so, whereas in the early industrial society, adolescence was related to the separation of learning process from production, during the last decades of the 20th century the none-productive period in a person's life is prolonged, due to academic demands of labor market, dictated by fast devaluation of knowledge in economy and by the growing work insecurity. Therefore, a growing number of people in their 18 to 30 years of age postpone their commitments and prolong their education or their economic dependence by their parents or the state (Larson, 2002; Mortimer & Larson, 2002; Fustenberg, 2000).

As limits between work, education (Kerckhoff, 2002: 64; Shanahan, 2000) recreation, play or even between private and public life (Crogan & Kinsley, 2012; Côté, 2014) become more permeable, behavior anticipated by adults converges with that of the adolescents. At the same time, through a "postmodern" perspective, the standard of the adult person, which is the

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developmental goal of adolescence, is questioned or redefined along with the content of concepts that describe but also orientate individuality. "Self", "subject", "identity" are located in the center of the discussion about "post-modernity" or "late modernity" (Jameson, 1991; Harvey, 1990; Baumaister, 1987; Harter, 1999: 59-88).

Rights and obligations connected with age categories are renegotiated. New theoretical advances, institutionalizations and collective representations for adolescence do not expel older ones. However, they contribute to new directions in the treatment of adolescents that move away from the direction followed during the previous phase of social control field's development. This decomposition of the division of labor and of the institutional complex that tuned adolescents' experience is reflected in efforts of re-conceptualizing adolescence in social sciences. On the one hand, multiplication of specialized fields of study of adolescence (Crosnoe & Kirkpatrick-Johnson, 2011; Smetana et al., 2006; Steinberg & Morris, 2001) is an outcome of division of labor advancement within that field, which results to enrichment of knowledge. On the other hand, this knowledge is difficult to be reformulated as different aspects of the same object. Adolescence is no longer considered a problem to be dealt with by a total social management but a source of a series of problems for which piecemeal solutions are requested.

Those changes are recorded in social scientific approaches already from the 1970 decade. The extension of education, of economic dependence by the parents and marriage postponement were considered by sociological perspectives as signs of a "nearly endless adolescence" (Gunter & Moore, 1975: 63). On the other hand, and while classical definitions of clinical and developmental psychology set 22 years old as higher limit of adolescence, approaches based on neuronal changes of the brain that effect impulses control, emotions and rational ability, move that limit to the age of 25. Coming from a brain neurobiological perspective, Arnett (2000) has proposed a new term, "emerging adulthood", as a discrete developmental stage between adolescence and adulthood in order to describe traits of behavior of the space between 20 and 20 years of age.

Meanwhile, since 1990's politicians and pressure groups were promoting the idea that adolescent suicide, pregnancy, violence and risk behavior are the fundamental problems of American society. Political campaigns were organized incited by fear of a youth that increasingly includes ethnic minorities. Naturalism, in defining adolescence, was renewed by a "science of adolescence", providing arguments in favor of legislating legal measures. Centered on the idea of biologically determined adolescent incapability, pressure groups promoted various policies, from curfew on youngsters to the abolishment of death penalty for adolescents, and pushed for founding of projects about youth management (Males, 2011).

4.1 *The resurgence of naturalism in the explanation of adolescent behavior*

Indicative of biologically founded approaches is the association of adolescence with risk behavior made by Arnett (1999) and Steinberg (2007). Risk behavior includes, among other things, driving in high speed or intoxicated, sex without contraception or with strangers, commission of crimes due to usage of illegal substances. Behaviors mentioned above are attributed to psycho-physical traits of adolescence: adolescent's tendency to seek intense experiences and emotions. Arnett connects aggressiveness with increasing level of testosterone. Steinberg attributes risk taking to changes in developmental changes of the dopaminergic system that regulates emotions and rewards. This is making adolescences prone to sensation seeking behaviors especially at the presence of peers, until the development of cognitive control system in late adolescence and adulthood.

Techniques for neuro-imagining and evaluation of behavior have focused on behaviors that are consider typical of adolescence in all cultures, even in the animal kingdom: new

experience seeking, risk taking and peer-directed sociality. Those behaviors characterize efforts made by individuals to become independent from adult care, self-sufficient members of their society (Munakata et al., 2004). Data on brain structural and functional development are subject to processing and explanation prior to their connection with behavior. Molecular genetic biology, modeling through computer, chemical testing and other techniques have also contributed to data collection and processing. Thus, a new scientific field of knowledge has been formed, drawing methods and explanatory models from psychology and social sciences in general, as well as from neuroscience and genetics. This new field of knowledge constitutes a "neurobiological complex", a scientific discipline, consisted of theories, practices and technologies that has been developed from the 1960's onwards (Rose & Abi-Rached, 2010).

Yet still, the initial programmatic ambition of neuroscience, the subsumption to mind's materiality of every explanation about phenomena related to human symbolic ability, cognition and sentiments, has abated. In general, neuroscientists confess their inability to cover the gap between data coming from imaging techniques, laboratory, experimental, clinical studies and the complexity of interaction between the individual, the social and the natural environment that determines human behavior. Inside this gap there is a space for social sciences and humanities also, besides biological determinism. In any case, motives and pressure from state and market to scientists, through research programs founding, publications, and academic positions, are leading neuroscience to fields of result implementation. Corresponding theoriticalizations are requested for government policies, focusing on detection, prevention and repression in matters concerning deviant/delinquent behavior of "high risk" groups. At the same time, neurosciences respond to demand for medicine, therapies, techniques and practices of self-improvement that target, not only the body but the brain as well (Pitts-Taylor, 2010).

5. Conclusion

We have summarized the formation process of a field of forces, the field of symbolic control of adolescence through social sciences that produces theory and social policy. This took place in conditions of power fluctuation between social classes, incorporating appeals of various social groups while establishing the jurisdiction of professional groups. The individualist/naturalist pole of the field has strengthen over the social/cultural not only because of the resurgence of naturalism. This happened also because of the encouragement of new forms of sociality that hold the enterprise as a standard and the ability of the individual to reshape reality according to the goal of self-fulfillment as a ruling principle (Boltanski & Chiapelo, 2007). Control of behavior does not only proceeds by surveillance and forcing of rules to defend security, but with the construction of niches of creativity and sociality inside a universe of mechanistic labor and isolation in private life (Deleuze, 1992).

However, naturalistically founded theoretical approaches to adolescence became one of the sources of legitimation for techniques of control through surveillance, repression and standardized criteria of behavior, to wit, forms of control that become effective regardless of the degree to which rules are internalized. In addition, those forms of control restrict subject's ability to participate in the formation of such rules. On the contrary, in social control through language and communication in education, complemented by counseling and psychotherapy, though it runs through uneven relations of domination between social classes and groups, conformity to rules depends on accession to values and devotion to collective goals. Institutions that formed the field of symbolic control were not just instruments for the imposition of arbitrary power, but a part of the social state, the institutional expression of solidarity relations between members of the lower classes and of the dependence of the higher classes from them. In spaces created by those institutions, resistance to control was developed as much as struggle for the rules of control.

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Educational Policy and Multiple Disabilities in Greece of the Crisis: A Case Study of Inequalities

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Abstract

Disability is a complex phenomenon and is related to the policies pursued at the socio-economic level of society. The purpose of this paper is, through two cases of multiple disabilities people, to investigate the educational framework of their integration within the context of the economic crisis in Greece. The semi-structured interview was used as a research tool, and the participants were mothers of two multiple disabilities students. The results discussed within the context of the social model revealed that, despite the existing legislation, the respective structures that support them have yet to be developed. In addition, the privatization of services during the period of economic crisis in Greece and the growing social inequalities have resulted in that families of low socio-economic status and uninsured people in experiencing social exclusion and being at disadvantage compared to those who have more financial resources.

Keywords: disability, social model, educational policy.

1. Introduction

Since 2009, Greece has been under economic surveillance due to the widespread economic crisis it has been facing. Austerity measures were implemented in Greece by three international institutions: the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the European Commission (EC) and the European Central Bank (ECB), through three memorandums, which based on the principles of neo-liberalism in deregulating and liberalizing labor markets and privatizations (Rotarou & Sakellariou, 2019).

This period of economic crisis and subsequent supervision by lenders brought about a number of changes in the social life of citizens in Greece (Papageorgiou & Petousi, 2018). During this period, Greece lost 25% of its Gross Domestic Product, while its debt reached such limits that it is virtually unsustainable (IMF, 2015). According to the Hellenic Statistical Authority, the population at risk of poverty or social exclusion from 27.6% increased to 34.8%, while the population living in low-volume households from 6.5% reached 17.6%. Moreover, the poverty risk estimated at the 2008 poverty threshold rose from 18.9 in 2009 to 46.3 in 2017, whereas people materially deprived rose from 23% of the population in 2009 to 36% in 2017. At the same time, the percentage breakdown of social protection expenditure on the basis of the European system of integrated social protection statistics for disability was decreased from 6.1 to 5.9 in 2016, while for people who have a kind of a disease the social protection expenditure dropped from 28.1 in 2009 to 20.5 in 2016.

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The crisis also led to changes in pension and insurance arrangements, thus shrinking the public and private sector and imposing cuts on employee earnings and wages (Karamessini, 2015). The neo-liberal and market-based practices imposed upon Greece led to a humanitarian crisis where labor conditions were deregulated and several labor rights were lost, whereas social inequalities have grown even more among families (Karagkounis, 2017). The State was forced, due to the cuts in insurance funds and special education funding, to reduce benefits both to infrastructure in education (Ombudsman, 2014) and to additional services that individuals were receiving for therapeutic purposes from specialists, such as logopedists and speech therapists[1] (PSL or PSA, in Greek, 2016).

- Despite the existing legislation, the respective structures that support them have yet to be developed.
- The privatization of services during the period of economic crisis in Greece and the growing social inequalities have resulted in that families of low socio-economic status and uninsured people in experiencing social exclusion.
- Low socio-economic status and uninsured people being at disadvantage compared to those who have more financial resources.

Within this context, tackling the difficulties of disability has been transferred to the sole responsibility of the families of the disabled people. The aforementioned have differentiated the quality of life of the disabled and have shaped conditions of privileged and non-privileged (people and their families) within the area of special education and training. The services provided and the ability of the disabled person to have a better life are proportional to the professional and financial level of his/her family in Greece of crisis. Here, it is worth noting the following: (a) in Greece, the percentage of the disabled people in 2011 was over 20%; (b) in 2011, 20% of people with severe disabilities live in families with severe material deprivation; (c) over 30 % of people with disabilities drop out early; and (d) about 50% of people with disabilities live at the risk of poverty and social exclusion (Grammenos, 2013).

The present paper attempts to detect, through the discourse of the families of disabled people in Greece of the economic crisis, the accessibility of the disabled people to education.

2. Theoretical framework

Disability is a complex phenomenon whose approach is related to the policies pursued at the social and economic level of society. These policies specify models that address disability, through which both the roles, the social status of disabled people delineated, as well as the value system and social representations are embedded in the concept of disability. In the international and Greek literature there are many models of approach to disability, such as: the *Religious / Moral model* (which considers disability as a result of sin), the *Rehabilitation model* (which considers disability to be as an insufficiency that should be addressed by a rehabilitation professional) (Kaplan, 2000), the *Charity model* (which perceives disability phenomenon as vulnerability that requires special care and attention) (Jackson, 2018), the *Personal tragedy model*, the *Economic model* (which focuses on the impact disability has on the abilities of the disabled person and his/her integration into the labor market), the *Cultural model* (which is concerned with how different concepts of disability and non-disability function within a particular culture, and how "disability areas" are constructed), the *Rights-based model* (which integrates human rights, civil and political, economic, social and cultural rights) (Retief, & Letšosa, 2018), the *Biopsychosocial / Multidimensional model* (which takes into account both the social dimension and the medical dimension of disability).

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[1] Panhellenic Association of Logopedists and Speech Therapists.

In the present work we focus on the *Social model* of disability. The *Social model* was introduced by the movement of the disabled and the analyses of the special scientists in the field as a result of the critique of the *Medical model* of disability. In the medical model, disability was correlated with the effectiveness of the disabled person in the social division of labor. The labor power of the disabled person and his/her participation in labor production was the way in which society represented the notion of disability. The productivity of the disabled person also defined his/her social reality (Christakis, 2000), whereas disability was shown as the measure of poor working performance or of a disadvantage that deprives the individual of the possibility of social integration (Zoniou-Sideri, 2008). The approach naturalizes both the conceptualization and the social position of the disabled person, thus making the human body subject to social discipline and social control (Foucault, 2011). In addition, diversity is stigmatized, and society perceives the disabled person as a biological entity (Goffman, 2001), who is himself/herself responsible for the difficulties that s/he has, thus legitimizing social inequalities that come from the social representation of disability.

At the same time, moralization and stigmatization intensify humiliation and demerit that a disabled person receives as a "miasma" due to his/her diversity (Savvakis, 2013). In the *Medical / Biological model*, the polarity of "natural" or "non-natural" is dominant, and the person is perceived through the deficits and weaknesses s/he experiences (Jackson, 2018). "Normality" and disturbances in these people are socially constructed and are a crystallization of the collective social representation of the accepted and non-accepted behaviors and social practices (Oliver, 1990). Whereas equation-homogeneity of behaviors and the discourses of the new social subjects reproduce the established status quo and preserves the acquired positions of authority and prestige. The person is placed in the margins of society and interventions in him/her normalize his/her difficulties with the use of therapeutic means of enforcement and social control (Koutantos, 2000). Moreover, the cultural capital of disabled people is not taken into account, and what is happening is that, through symbolic violence, the normalized models of mainstream social subjects are imposed upon them.

On the contrary, the Social model focuses on de-legalizing the "realization" of the responsibility of the disabled person's body by highlighting the obligations and adjustments that should be made in the structural elements of the social framework so that disability can be experienced through collective responsibility and solidarity of social actors. The Social model deconstructs the legalized and objectified responsibility of the disabled person, transferring it to those social structures that should support and create the social framework of acceptance and accessibility of social resources for the disabled. The Social model does not refer to a static, individualized deterministic interpretation of disability, but it integrates the individual into the social structure and transforms social interactions that act on the biographies of individuals and dynamically identify their social inclusion.

According to the movement of people with physical disabilities (UPIAS, 1976: 14), disability is considered as "*the disadvantage or restriction of activity caused by a contemporary social organization which takes no or little account of people who have physical impairments and thus excludes them from participation in the mainstream of social activities*". In contrast with the individual-medical approach, overcoming this problematic issue is achieved by socially integrating the disabled person's impairment and the individual's exclusive and "dogmatic introversion".

The individual's interaction with the context does not only concern the arrangements of the physical space but also to the symbolic conceptualizations made with regard to the disabled. In the *Social model*, disability is a consequence of the social action of individuals, it is socially constructed and refers to the cognitive interaction and the emotional experience of the disabled (Koutantos, 2000). Education in this context is consolidated in the principles of inclusive education (Zoniou-Sideri, Deropoulou-Derou & Vlachou-Balafouti, 2012), which is a modern

priority that demonstrates both the degree of accessibility of disabled people to morphogenic environments that are formed within the general education context and the result of a didactic-pedagogical process.

Inclusive education has at its core the dilemma of educational policy to give the same status to the disabled, and the emphasis on a unicultural model of social policy or the acceptance of diversity and social acceptance and empowerment. Democracy in pedagogical and teaching reality in the school context finds its actual implementation with the context of inclusive education. Learning involves all students who are part of it as equal members (Sharma, Loreman & Forlin, 2012; Soulis et al., 2016).

At this point, it is necessary to point out that the social model has received a lot of criticism on two axes, as Oliver states (2013: 1025): "*The first of these suggests that there is no place for impairment within the social model of disability. The second alleges that the social model fails to take account of difference and presents disabled people as one unitary group...*" The criticism that is being made does not concern the conceptual approach to disability but the adoption of the model as a "new orthodoxy" in the area of disability (Oliver, 2013). Moreover, Degener (2017) states that the Social model remains at the level of critique and interpretation of disability issues without going beyond them.

3. Educational policy in Greece

In Greece, there are state policies on the disabled people since have been Kapodistrias' rule (Stasinos, 1991). However, Special Education has been fragmented and disorganized, whereas the Church and private initiative have played a leading role (Syriopoulou 1998). Fragmentation in the treatment of the disabled has been predominant, thus highlighting both social inequalities and class differences of the time as well as the physicalization of the social characteristics of people with disabilities.

Stigmatization and marginalization that are intensified by class differences are evident. In several cases, the Greek State has dealt with cases by passing laws for the establishment of schools for specific disabilities (Chronopoulou-Pantazi 2011; Kouroublis, 1994). The main interventions began with Law 1143 (Government Gazette A'80 31/3/1981) in the 1980s, which laid down the categories of disabled people and established the educational areas where the special education would be provided. Law 1566/1985 (Government Gazette 167 / 30.07.1985) introduced general education issues for special education for the first time in legislation (Lambropoulou & Panteliadou, 2000). The positive points of Law 1566/85 are identified in the effort to incorporate the international legislation on the disabled (Lambropoulou & Panteliadou, 2000) in the Greek educational legislation.

After Law 2101/1992 had been passed, where the right of disabled people for education was guaranteed (Articles: 2, 28, 29), curricula of special education were introduced (Presidential Decree 301/1996) and the right of the disabled to claim their right for education. Some years later Law 2817/2000 was passed. That Law provided a number of positive elements which redefined the institutional framework of special education in Greece, giving new impetus to the education of the disabled people. However, that Law continued to be characterized by a concentration of guidance on educational policy without changing the policies of segregation and categorization (Zoniou-Sideri, 2000). The last "great" law on special education (Law 3699/2008) covers the shortcomings of Law 2817/2000 and creates a unified framework for national education policy. That Law attempted to prepare society for the necessity to accept disabled people so to be able to integrate into the society smoothly and contribute to it with their active participation.

Nevertheless, classifications and segregation continue to exist shaping response and service frameworks as well as peculiar exclusions from inclusion. Thus, despite legislation, the

provision of low-quality education to disabled people or the impossibility to integrate all disabled people into the education system is more than an objective reality. The accessibility of the disabled is not at the level that is required by an education that would recognize the diversity of the student population and provide equal education to all. Barriers related to inadequate teacher education, logistics, infrastructure and analytical programs are among the most important dimensions of the problems faced by disabled people and their families (Charoupias, 2011). According to the findings of the Ombudsman (2015), "in many cases the YPEPTH (i.e. Ministry of Education): (a) states that it is impossible to implement the parallel support measure, despite the fact that the competent public diagnostic agencies have issued opinions on its necessity, attributing the problem to insufficient funds or teachers; (b) treats as abusive or disregards the opinions of its competent diagnostic centers, the KEDDY[2], thus degrading in practice their scientific work; and (c) treats the institution of parallel support as equivalent to a student's attendance of an integration classes without taking into account the different needs that each institution has created to meet or the nature of the specific educational needs of each student. .... in some cases .... there is a risk of transferring responsibility for providing parallel support from the State to the family".

In the KANEP-GSEE survey (2014) it was noted that the already low expenditures on Greek education had been decreasing over the longer term during the crisis. It is worth noting that the change in the cost of purchasing education services by households has more than doubled since 1974 (KANEP-GSEE, 2017). OLME (2013) reports that there has been a government cut in public education, ranging from 33% to 47% in the years of crisis, while public spending declined during the last year reaching 2.15%.

The objective of this paper is to investigate and approach, with the aid of the social model, the educational framework and context within which people with multiple disabilities are integrated and the difficulties that their parents have been facing during the economic crisis in Greece.

4. Methods

4.1 *Participants*

The present work was based on two cases of disabled people and was carried out using the semi-structured interview method, and the participants were the mothers of the disabled students.

Interview-case 1 (PA) concerns a teenager (16 years old) with Autistic Spectrum Disorder with Autism, which is accompanied by Heavy Mental Disability, who attends a special school. He cannot speak, he is not self-sustaining and has no control of clamps. He has been abandoned by his father since he was 3 years old. The parents' educational level is high school.

Interview-case 2 (KB), concerns a teenager with an Autistic Spectrum Disorder with High Functional Autism; he is 15 years old and goes to a regular school (Gymnasium or Junior High school). He can speak, is self-sustaining, and his intelligence is at a normal level. His parents have been separated for a long time, and his mother has taken on his exclusive care. The parents' educational level is high school. The mother works as a civil servant in a public hospital.

During the conduct of the interview, the semi-structured interview method was used, and the participants were the mothers of two people with disabilities. The mother PA was long-term unemployed, surviving with only the welfare benefit. Given the low income of the mother that comes exclusively from the child's disability allowance and the child's health insurance in welfare, the teenager has no access to specialized centers that provide rehabilitation programs.

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[2] Diagnostic and Support Differentiation Centers or KEDDY, in Greek.

These programs belong to the private sector, where the cost of treatment is covered part of the insurance funds. Here, it is worth note taking that the mother is not able to find a job, not only due to the economic crisis but also due to the fact that she has the exclusive care of a child who needs continuous preoccupation and supervision.

Mother KB had a permanent job with stable income, and was helped financially by the father (although they are separated); she has been able to cover the child's needs (therapeutic, educational, etc.), thus ensuring as much as possible the best course and outcome for that. It should be noted that the family's financial situation and the medical and health insurance (OIPI)[3] of the child have contributed so that the child get specialized and intensive intervention from his early age.

4.2 Research tool

The research was conducted using the semi-structured interview method and the participants were the mothers of people with disabilities. The interview guide had topics related to: (a) the concept of disability. In this section of the guide we analyze the meaning of disability and its particular form and characteristics; (b) the parent's role. In this section, mothers describe both their role and procedures they follow while supporting people with disabilities in their day-to-day work as well as their functionality, and the difficulties parents face during the educational process either in public or in private agencies; and (c) the governmental role and educational policy. This section describes government policies related to both the welfare state and benefits to families and people with disabilities and to the educational policy and pedagogical and didactic practices implemented in the period of crisis in Greek education.

5. Findings

5.1 Conceptualization of disability

Mothers define disability in a different way, which is related both to the form of disability and to their social class. On the one hand, PA approaches disability through her experience and the difficulties that it has generated. She characteristically mentions: "*Too heavy, very difficult and tiring, terribly tiring. I myself have been fighting for so many years, ...We are talking about a very serious situation*." On the other hand, KB defines disability by distinguishing the constraints it creates for the child: "*Any spiritual, mental, emotional dysfunction that does not allow a person to live a normal life is understood as a disability*".

5.2 Educational integration

As far as the education system is concerned, it seems integration into an appropriate framework is difficult for several cases of disability before the age of early childhood, even though there are serious economic problems. Many depend on the private initiative.

PA states:

"*We started since he was 3 years old to have done logotherapies and ergotherapies in a private center; when he was 4 years went to all-day private school for children with these problems, then for two years he went to a public special school in Zefyri because I could not pay. The expenses were too many, and I could not afford to pay them, and now he has been in Macedonia and Thrace to a full-day special school since 2014, where I take him back home at 2 pm, and he has logotherapies and*

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[3] OIPI: Organization of Insurance for Public Insured or OPAD, in Greek.

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occupations cone, and he spends his time. Moreover, every August he goes to a special camp since he was 4 years old."

5.3 *Exploration of disability by the private sector*

An important issue that becomes conspicuous is the existing exploitation in the response structures. The more severe the disability or the lower the socio-economic level, the greater the exploitation is.

PA states:

"There is no education, there is exploitation. I have experienced them very well. When he made the therapies I always informed the experts that he had the problem of the toilet and whether they could help me solve it, but no one has helped me. Everyone tells me that due to the fact that his disability is heavy, the clamp does not communicate with the brain, and at school, even now no one has helped me; I'm still cleaning him. I believe everything is exploitation. For me, personally, there is nothing real in this State. I have been desperate with Greece and its people. Abroad it is different."

Here, it should be noted that the private sector, from a "profit" point of view, does not support the individual if he or she is not insured or cannot contribute financially.

PA states:

".......... The private sector does not take on cases when the people are uninsured".
"In the private sector you have to pay 1,500 euros a month. Which parent can give so much money so his/her child have good time? Let the parent rest for a year, no more. I cannot give so much money; I get 500 euros as allowance and 500 euros as my pension. If I give more money, we will get hungry; we will be without electricity etc. ... because this State wants to happen like this!"

On the contrary, KB does not refer to the exploitation that exists in the field of special education but only to the satisfactory results: *"The education that took my child helped him in his further development very much; without this development the skills he currently has may not have been able to acquire them".*

5.4 *Social inequalities and disability*

The family financial capacity plays an important role in tackling disability, whereas, at the same time, it is the measure of social inequality.

PA states:

"I've seen the life's bad side with the issue of my child. These children should have been paid more attention because they need the State. Unless you are rich, and you do not have to knock at doors. I do not have any money and bank accounts, I'm not rich, and I have paid a lot up to now, emotionally and materially."

KB's discourse, compared to the previous mother, shows even more the specific social inequalities inherent in and related to the course and development of the child:

"From the age of three years that he started a behavioral treatment program in a special training center – which lasted eight years, the parents were learning at the same time from the therapists some behavioral techniques that helped greatly in everyday difficulties. His training course was very good, he learned quickly and was from the "good case" as the center officials mentioned."

5.5 *State policies*

The state appears to be unable to effectively support the treatment of people with severe disabilities and to only have a deficient benefit, which relies more on "temporary" European grants through programs, which are most often delayed due to bureaucratic problems. Shortcomings in services and infrastructure are significant and cause difficulties in the families' day-to-day lives.

According to PA:

"This state does nothing; it has thrown them (i.e. the people with disabilities) into the hell!"

"From the State NOTHING! Only an allowance of around 500 euros a month, which he gets due to his illness but due to the fact that the little one is not insured, we have big issues and the private sector does not take on cases when the individual is uninsured. He entered the special school through an NSRF program because of low income, but the school has yet to receive the money from the NSRF of the previous year, and there is a problem. I am now being asked to sign a responsible statement, ... What money can they get from me?"

"Where is the social justice of this state (when so much money has been wasted) to help these children and parents and not to chase after them asking for papers every now and then, as if my child could suddenly become well?"

"There are not enough infrastructures in the public; they are only prioritized if the mother is, for example, a cancer patient or she has reached zero in order to accept the child; otherwise, (you are in a) two-year waiting list for there are no posts."

KB points out the same difficulties, although her therapeutic orientation towards treatment was the appropriate:

"I have not encountered any difficulties in medical orientation, the issues of diagnosis and direction of education have been settled immediately. I faced difficulties with financial issues of state provision (OIPI or OPAD, in Greek); *the specific fund had been delaying payment of the treatment for several months so we had to pay the money to the training center and collect it later. That was a very aggravating factor for a salaried family."*

5.6 *Parents' suggestion for the education of the disabled*

Parents demand equality and respect for diversity, which can be reflected in state policy practices

KB:

"The state must accept that disabled people have equal rights and obligations with normal people. It should enable them to have a decent life by facilitating their access to health, education, and generally to maintain as much as possible their autonomy."

They stress by specifying the aforementioned; that is, there should be the appropriate logistical and school infrastructure, which are considered much subordinate to those of other countries.

PA:

"What should the State do? To bend more over the parent's problem; to develop <u>infrastructure</u> for these children; to be able to help them; to protect them because it has abandoned them completely. There should be <u>specialized schools</u> only for

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Autism or just Down syndrome, so the children are not stack together in one classroom. So you cannot put them all together in one cup because every kid, every illness has its own peculiarity, and that happens in both the public and the private sector."

Finally, they point out to the need for appropriate training of the teaching staff: [PA: *"They have not the proper training for this disability, which is a very difficult part of psychomotorism"*] and the solution of bureaucratic impediments [PA: *"I am indignant with Greece because I am fighting to help the child and find bureaucratic impediments. They chase after me. There is nothing; even special schools do not have specialized teachers in auticism"*].

6. Discussion

The social model is not only an ideological approach to disability but also a methodological tool for upgrading the quality of life for all society (Levitt, 2017). This person does not bear the responsibility of the "weakness" of his/her individuality, but causes are identified in the de-legalization of his/her rights and needs by/from the society (Bailey, Harris & Simpson, 2015), but also the inability or unwillingness of society to removes socio-economic and physical barriers (Waldschmidt, Berressem & Ingwersen, 2017).

Through the narratives of the two mothers, it appears that - despite the legal regulations that exist for the education of people with multiple disabilities - the respective structures that support them have yet to be developed. Thus, the needs of children with "severe" disabilities and even with "mild" disabilities are not satisfactorily covered by the existing public educational framework and network of medical and social services, with the result that parents are forced to turn to the private sector. The social policy on the approach to disability also conceptualizes and give a meaning to the two mothers' understanding of disability itself. On the one hand, PA, the mother of a low socio-economic level approaches her child's disability through her experiences. On the other hand, KB has a medical biology approach to the concept of "normal" as a measure of analysis. The cuts of the welfare state on disabled people in the period of the economic crisis (Rotarou & Sakellariou, 2019), despite the fact that these are a social reality (ESAmeA, 2017), transfers the responsibility of dealing with people with multiple disabilities to their families and shapes concepts of disability. The medical model continues to be dominant in social practices.

At the same time, the institutional classifications of disability legitimize not only a scientific assessment of the individual's limitations but also the socially constructed model of social perception and treatment of the disabled person and his/her family. Thus, educational policy – which is a general action plan of the state with a specific philosophy to achieve defined educational goals (Saitis, 2008) – transfers the responsibility for coping with the difficulties that arise to the family and the (financial) capacities it has, as it is conspicuous in the case of PA, where a single-parent family, whose teenager is characterized as a "heavy case" and who is insured in welfare, tries (*"fights"* – his mother's expression) with poor public social and rehabilitative-type services, to ensure any quality of life for the child. The welfare state, which aims to meet the needs of citizens in critical social sectors and to reduce social inequalities (Stasinopoulou, 2003), in the case of disabled people in Greece shows a deficit, failing to limit or eliminate the physical and social barriers of these people.

The social reality that emerges is inspired by the principles of neoliberalism and utterly individual competition, as the state regulations and the obstacles that precede them direct the disabled to private-for-profit agencies in order to deal more effectively with their difficulties. The experienced exploitation of the "outcasts" turns disability into a "lasting enterprise", as Apple (2001) says about the failing of the welfare state. The private sector in the capitalist era has "colonized" the public sector in areas that are not at the core of its interests or cannot support

them. Privatization of education concerns neo-liberalization processes in a globalized environment and includes self-regulation, decentralization and commercialization practices in the publicly proclaimed right of the individual to education (Brehm & Silova, 2014). In Greece, the crisis has affected state benefits and allowances to the disabled, with an increasing commercialization of welfare services (Karagkounis, 2017; Ombudsman, 2014). The aforementioned points show an inherent contradiction in the public discourse between the rhetoric of democratic education and integration and the social and school reality of people with disabilities.

Here, the concept of inclusive education cannot be implemented, as the dominant/mainstream ideology of the medical model is being strengthened, while state and educational stigmatization of disability continues, thus legitimizing individuals' differences. The phenomena of partial or total marginalization, stigmatization and social exclusion (e.g., services, decisions, etc.), are usually present in the experience of the disabled person and his/her parents (Jaeger & Bowman, 2005). According to Goffman (1963), stigmatization that is a consequence of disability and unrealized social patterns constrain the individual's social prospects. Social inequalities are intensified and reinforce the individual's rejection or marginalization on several occasions. Social inequalities result in families of low socio-economic status and uninsured to experience social exclusion and to be at a disadvantage compared to those with more financial resources. Social stratification is reflected in preferences between the private and public sectors, generating social and economic segregation, stigmatizing the public system (Ball, 2003).

The better financial capacity of the KB family to cover the expenses to support their child since he was a toddler, provides the prospect of a better outcome, but also demonstrates emphatically social inequalities in a market economy. According to Ajzen's (1985) designed behavior theory, money is one of the factors that influence the degree of individuals' ability to fulfill their intentions, while the social class is linked to better education (Blacklege & Hunt, 2004. Giavrimis, 2015; Peters, 2008) and the acquisition of better health services (Iezzoni, 2009; Drainoni et al., 2006).

Finally, it is necessary to point out that the country's economic situation, combined with the long-term lack of proper planning for the application and implementation of those provided by innovative legislation for Greece make, although there has been improvement from the past, the school and social integration of disabled people difficult and, in some cases, still unfeasible (ESAmeA, 2008; ESAmeA, 2009). In addition to producing legislative work for the disabled, the State must ensure its implementation by developing the necessary educational and social structures and practices (logistics and infrastructure, teacher training, bureaucratic facilities, etc.), according to the two mothers' views, which will live up to their needs and ensure their functionality in the social context.

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