REDUCING SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN EDUCATION: A CONCEPTION OF ALL DAY SCHOOLING

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Abstract. Growing disproportion between different social groups, migration, unemployment, busyness of parents, not safe outside environment – there are just few general aspects of social life that influence concept and organization of all day schools. The purpose of the article is to analyse the possibilities of decreasing social exclusion in education by implementing all day school conception. In order to achieve research goal, secondary data analysis was done by applying multi stage sample. Research data shows that all day school phenomenon is not new in European education. States have to deal with inequalities in social life and education – to minimize learning results gaps, to compensate shortage of social skills, to prevent risky behaviour, to ensure safe environment and care at school and use all day school model as the mean to face these challenges. All day schools have purpose to serve as best as possible to students and their families by providing individual help, using benefits of longer time at school, specialists supervisions, community support. Social life realities and unique contexts form not unified models of all day school.

Keywords: all day school, family, social exclusion, student.

Introduction

Social exclusion is a complex phenomenon which is influenced by social, economic, political and cultural assumptions (Witcher, 2003). The definition of social exclusion was approved in 1989 by European Commission and after that it was widely used in EU, USA and other countries (Dumbliauskienė & Braukylaitė, 2010). Social exclusion is described as stigmatization and marginalization of certain groups in society by such characteristics as social, economic status, race, gender, disability, etc. (Hill, Davis, Prout, & Tisdall, 2004; Snowdon, 2012). M. Taljūnaitė (2001, 2004) states that it is a process during which individuals or groups are isolated from the main social resources in community or society in general. M. Ališauskienė et al. (2015) adds that social exclusion prevents people

from possibility to have minimal quality of life, leads to unsafety, non-confidence, psychological and social discomfort.

Though ratified international declarations¹ forbid any restrictions of education by gender, race, ethnicity, language, religion, political attitudes, social-economic status, disability and attitudes, scientific research proves that social exclusions still exists in educational system (Diaz, 2010; Nowicki, Brown, & Stepien, 2013). According to UNESCO (Addressing Exclusion in Education, 2012) social exclusion in education manifests not only as non-attendance of the school but also as no possibilities to involve in formal and non-formal educational programmes, not enough money for tuition fees, impossibility to attend a school because of language barriers, etc. Various research show that social exclusion in education leads to worse academic achievements; high drop our rate, low socialization and other challenges (Macrae, Maguire, & Melbourne, 2003; Honey, Emerson, & Llewellyn, 2011; Lynch & Baker, 2005; Machin, 2006; Woessmann & Schütz, 2006; Nicaise, 2012).

Globalizations processes during last twenty years affected educational policy all over Europe – most of the countries underwent reforms of educational systems (Steiner-Khamsi & Waldow, 2012). These reforms relate to welfare society principles, one of which is to ensure right to education for everyone (Bolívar, 2012). Welfare society emphasise close interconnection between educational policy and global economy (Põder, Kerem, & Lauri, 2013) as changes of occupational models and family structures influence that many families are not able any more to ensure children safety and care after lessons end; children after school are left alone without any guidance (Armstrong & Armstrong, 2004). In this context the most vulnerable groups become children from single, divorced, migrant, poor families (Pfeifer & Holtappels, 2008). Free after school time also has close relation with emotional and behavioural problems, drug abuse, delinquency (Armstrong & Armstrong, 2004).

In order to address these challenges, all day school conception has been actively promoted and realized during past decades in EU countries. This concept relates to attempts to guarantee children welfare and equal possibilities for academic success, to decrease social inequalities and exclusion. Among such countries Germany, Greece, Finland, Slovakia, England and Portugal could be mentioned. Leaders of education policy define the conception of all day school as a reasonable means which ensures children equal right to education and support

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¹ UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960), International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965), Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979), Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (1990), Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006).

(Pfeifer & Holtappels, 2008; Den Besten, 2010; Reh, Rabenstein, & Fritzsche, 2011). All day school model is implemented in West, South and East Europe, but its implementation differs by school types, forms, etc. Even definitions, titles, descriptions of all day school vary from country to country. Such variety is determined by different countries' needs and contexts, different ways of school's life organization and implementation. Differences exist not only in separate countries, but also in schools of the same country. The variety of experiences makes relevant to investigate the all day school conception implementation in foreign countries, revealing its advantages and challenges.

The purpose of the article is to analyse the possibilities of decreasing social exclusion in education by implementing all day school conception. **Object of the research:** implementation of all day school conception. Main **research questions are:** how all day school is defined in various countries? How implementation of all day school conception helps to reduce social exclusion in education?

Research methodology. In order to achieve research goal, secondary data analysis was done by applying multi stage sample. In the first stage countries were chosen according to these criteria: experience of all day school conception implementation, availability of information resources in the English, German and/or Finish languages. Five countries were chosen for analysis: England, Greece, Germany, Finland and Portugal. In the second stage – information resources inside countries were selected. Key words such as school day, full day school, prolonged school day, longer school day, integrated school day were entered in search systems. The found resources were sorted according to their validity. Data analysis of selected resources was based on interdisciplinary perspective, emphasising interconnection of macro (education policy) and mezzo (implementation of the conception at schools) levels. Principles of academic and research ethics were followed: translation was accurately validated; texts were presented with full references and could be revised by others. The main research limitation is that most of the scientific resources which were selected for content analysis are in English, German or Finish languages.

Implementation of all day schooling conception in the context of reducing social exclusion

Generally all day school is understood as a regular school with prolonged in time curriculum and non-formal activities, which last till certain afternoon hours. After analysis of selected countries' experience it could be said that conception of all day school differs according to country cultural, socioeconomic and political context, education traditions.

All day school is helpful for all children, because of possibility to have additional attention and support from teachers; to have more flexible timetable; to

involve in interesting projects and activities, to nurture individual hobbies and even try on different professions, jobs, specialities. But such school is especially meaningful for those, who are less advanced in academic achievements, and are from lower socioeconomic status and/or immigrant families. Socio-pedagogical support for families, possibility for combining work and family life are mentioned as the biggest advantages of the conception in all researched countries (Merfeldaitė, Pivorienė, Penkauskienė, & Railienė, 2017). But each country makes emphasis on certain specific aspects due to its unique context.

England is in its secondary education reform process, which is outcome of Deregulation act (2015). Schools have been named academies with more autonomic decisions on their own part. They can choose how to organize their educational process, including allocation of time for teaching and learning activities during school day. More flexible organization of school life started even earlier (The changing of school session times regulations, 2011). Around 50 % state and 70-80 % private schools used freedom of autonomic decision and prolonged school day in 2014 (Briggs & Simons, 2014).

House of Commons Education Committee (2014a) associates longer school day with space and time to do homework and get additional pedagogical support for children with lower socio-economical background. The same Committee in its later report (House of Commons Official Report, 2016) expanded value of longer school day by suggestion to include attractive, free of charge sport activities. In short, all day school is understood as combination of teaching, leaning, nonformal activities and supervised individual work during prolonged time table.

Implementation of longer school day concept has been received not without ambiguity. Representatives of educational policy report about increase of children self-esteem and involvement in school activities (House of Commons Education Committee, 2014b). Public opinion, represented by media, blames government for improvidence. People lack evidence of direct correlation between education results, money spent and longer school day (Worrall, 2013; Hobby, 2014). Scientists also argue about interrelation of spent time at school and academic achievements (Mansell, 2014).

In spite of on-going debates about value of additional efforts, time and funds at overall educational level, there is almost no question about value of additional investment at certain socio-economical level. Children that used to struggle with social, economic, cultural and educational issues, after some time, spent in all day schools, perform advancement in school attendance, learning, behaviour and relationships with their fellows (Extending school time, 2017)

All day school (*oloimero*) grassroots in Greece concurred with idea of development of so called "creative classes" in 1989 (Thoidis & Chaniotakis, 2015). Parents wanted longer day school for their children not only because of safe environment and caretaking, but also because of possibility to be involved in

meaningful artistic and sports activities. Two types of schools – of obligatory and non-obligatory attendance existed in the period of 1998–2011 in Greece. Obligatory attendance meant that all children had to participate in all school activities during full day. Non-obligatory attendance meant that all children had to participate only in the first part of school day. Second part was optional – for those who wanted to do homework and to involve in creative activities. New stage of all day schools concept implementation started in 2011. It was no more strict division between obligatory and non-obligatory all day schools. School attendance became obligatory for all till 2:00 p.m., after that time – selective program for those, wishing to spend time at school till 4:00 p.m. or even longer.

Greece government has no purpose to have all day schools for a specific group of children. It declares that such schools are for all, willing to prepare for daily life and knowledge society's challenges. It means better quality of education - more time for leaning, non-formal activities (especially creative ones); for better peers' relationships and collaboration; for involvement of social partners in school life. However, such school had specific social objectives – to decrease level of private tutoring in favour of children experiencing learning difficulties; to support families by taking care for children and helping them to fulfil job and family responsibilities (Gkoratsa, 2014). Social objectives expanded during 2015–2018. Changes have to do with legal and illegal immigration in the country. Number of political and economic immigrants is growing enormously during recent years. Greece government seeks for a best as possible social and cultural inclusion of immigrants. The second part of the day provides possibility to come together different age groups and involve into cultural activities, enriching indigenous and newcomers. All day schools are seen as places of getting to know each other, to familiarize with different cultures, as places of learning to be and to coexist together.

Implementation of all day school concepts in Greece has been also interpreted differently (Gkoratsa, 2014). Parents declared satisfaction with safe environment, pedagogical support, but complained about poor, not always attractive and meeting personal interests non-formal activities. Teachers reported about more opportunities to spend time and work together, but also expressed feeling of being overtasked. Schools have more possibilities to involve social partners, but struggle with time tables, suitable for all. Social objective – to supplant or at least significantly reduce private tutoring has not been achieved. Schools lack professional pedagogical staff to support, to supervise students, especially from poor, immigrants families. Scientists suggest to use resources outside school – local community members', volunteers, retired professionals, etc. (Thoidis & Chaniotakis, 2015). But it remains challenging task in the view of current socio-economic challenges.

Portugal as well as Greece declares all day school (Programa Escola a Tempo Inteiro) to be all children school in spite their academic achievements, socio-economic status (Dober, Echard & Sroka, 2004; Munoz, 2005; Field, Kuczera & Pont, 2007). The main idea of such school lies in enrichment of formal curriculum. All day school has been component of Curriculum Enrichment program (Atividades de Enriquecimento Curricular, AEC), aimed at decrease of discrimination in education. It was thought that prolonged and enriched time by various non-formal education activities and early English language learning could increase level of attainment at primary school level of all children. It was also thought, that care taking could be good prevention tool for possible students misbehaviour (Magalhães & Stoer, 2002). Possibility to get as much as possible quality education, free of charge food and children care services at school was considered significant support for families. But it was not found any systemic evaluation report or comprehensive comparative research about such school impact on social inclusion in Portugal. School enrichment program evaluation research (Martins, Vale, & Mouraz, 2015) presents quite moderate data analysis about social benefits of all day school. The research reveals positive viewpoints on above mentioned social aspects in two different Porto schools only.

All day school (*ganztagsshulle*) concept various in federal lands of Germany. Different expectations and aims make difficult to come up with one single definition. Association of Day schools (Ganztagsschulverband) have suggested minimum criteria to define such school: 1) students have to spend seven hours at least three days per week; 2) students have opportunity to have lunch; 3) nonformal activities have to be conceptually tied with formal curriculum (Züchner, 2015). Not only federal government, but also separate schools have right and freedom to implement their own model of all day school. Thus duration of school time, organization of pedagogical process and additional services have very wide diapason around the country.

Social aspect of such schools have been very strongly emphasised during all periods. Grassroots of such school can be found in the beginning of XX century. Children went to school not only to learn academic disciplines, but also to acquire different technical and social skills, useful for everyday life. Such schools sometimes were called "life schools", "places of youth culture development", as an opposition for strict and family members distancing boarding schools (Ludwig, 2005). The other, post-war period introduced quite different tasks for all day schools. Many families struggled with everyday life challenges - to work, to find food, sometimes to find shelter. It was urgent need to provide safe environment and care for children, while their parents were working long hours. It was even thought to make such schools obligatory for all in the seven decade of XX century (Züchner, 2015).

Similar challenges have some families in our days as well. Especially in the view of political and socio- economical context – increasing migration rates, growing gap between different society's layers (Lettau, Radisch, & Fussangel, 2016). All day school is considered as possibility for children from families having lower-economic status to get better education and individual support. Continuous research, initiated by Association of Day Schools and other bodies, as well as individual researchers, revealed that children inherit lower social status from their parents, latters – from their own parents. And that goes from generation to generation. Regular schools are not capable to make needed impact and correct so called "social peculiarities". All day school in this context is seen as a vehicle to break up "magic circle" and, according Bourdieu, stop "circulating social inequality". Growing number of low social status families leads to bigger problems. German government envisages danger of so called "basic deficit" of social capacities as possible loss of economical competencies in global market (Bettmer, 2007).

Social political aims of all day schools have been clearly stated. In support to them, following pedagogical arguments have been formulated (Holtappels, 2007):

- 1. All day schools are integral part of social infrastructure. They provide not only safe environment and care taking during all work day, but also supply with additional education services, that in other case parents have not been able to afford. It means that school provides full set of qualitative education in one place;
- 2. All day schools expand school mission. They are not only places of formal learning, non-formal activities and care taking. They also provide additional socio-pedagogical support for children and their families, especially those lacking basic social skills or/and experiencing personal perturbations. It means that school takes on social mission;
- 3. All day schools are response to urgent educational requirements. Today's schools have to develop metacognitive, learning to learn and other not traditional competences. They have to deal with such issues as environment protection, healthy life style, cultural issues, unemployment and etc. It means that school has to have more time to present and discuss those issues and to teach how to meet them;
- 4. All day schools nurture learning culture. Longer school day provides opportunity to give more time for getting to know each other, to communicate, to provide individual consultations and counselling, to learn in more relaxed environment.

Above mentioned social-pedagogical arguments have been understood and positively accepted by majority of stakeholders (Rauschenbach, 2015). The research has proved that all day schools help to develop social skills, and prevent

from not desirable behaviour, help to overcome leaning difficulties. However researches express concern about massification of such schools and danger to lose focus – individual needs (Appel, 2006), as well as quality of education as such (Arnoldt, Kuhn, & Züchner, 2011).

Finish model of all day school differs from above described examples by one essential principle. Finish school (joustava koulupäivä, eheytetty koulupäivä) is called integrated school day. It means that formal and non-formal activities are blended during whole day - from morning till late afternoon. Integrated school day is part of Mukava project, aimed at increase of students' satisfaction with school and emotional well-being (Pulkkinen, 2005). In spite of high learning results demonstrated in international arena, national research revealed quite negative approach to school of students, at age of 13-15. The researchers (Pulkkinen, 2005; Haapasalo, Välimaa, & Kannas, 2010) claim that students lack meaningful out of school, non -formal activities and in some cases suffer loneliness and feel unsafe being alone at home till late evening (Junttila, 2010). Pulkkinen (2002: 2005) emphasizes following social-pedagogical aims of integrated day school: 1) to increase feeling of safety; 2) to contribute to socialemotional development; 3) to contribute to better learning environment at school. Each student has been observed and each school day has been monitored during "Mukava" project. Such approach helped to know each student better, to overcome individual difficulties, to integrate students with risky behaviour into school community life. Integrated school day had very strong social partnership component from the very beginning of the project. Local community members, NGOs, outside non-formal education services providers have been welcomed at school. They have taken active part into implementation of school program by organizing different activities in school and outside it.

Students well-being orientated school has no specific focus on certain social groups. Integrated school welcomes all students in spite their families' social economic status, ethnicity or other traits. Such schools provide equal learning opportunities for all community members. Integrated school day advocates for pleasant and meaningful being at school. Longer brakes, possibility to rest and to involve into interesting activities create feeling of a school –home, where everyone feels safe.

National agency of education (Rajala, 2017) in its report to Estonian politicians, willing to follow neighbours' example, points out that such initiative needs patience and flexibility, strong and reliable partnerships, courage, will and energy to implement all ideas.

Conclusions

All day school phenomenon is not new in European education. Many countries have or have tried such practises in certain periods. It is difficult to say how many, because concept off such schools vary from country to country and even inside country. Such school have even different names – all day school, prolonged day school; longer day school, integrated school day, etc. All day schools have purpose to serve as best as possible to students and their families by providing individual help, using benefits of longer time at school, specialists supervisions, community support. "All day school for benefits of all children" – it is common declaration of all researched practices. Anyway, social life realities and unique contexts form not unified models of all day school. Growing disproportion between different social groups, migration, unemployment, busyness of parents, not safe outside environment - there are just few general aspects of social life that influence concept and organization of all day schools. Governments have to deal with inequalities in social life and education – to minimize learning results gaps, to compensate shortage of social skills, to prevent risky behaviour, to ensure safe environment and care at school. One of all day school goals is to meet social challenges and to deal with them. More unified efforts, consolidated vision and funds will be needed to reach this ambitious and still very concrete goal. Empowerment and inclusion in education process by various community resources, possibility to better ensure equal rights to afterschool activities what relates to raising children's motivation are also defined as positive sides of all day school. Additional funding which is necessary for implementation of all day school goals in full scope and in a comprehensive way is considered to be great challenge in all researched countries.

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