CONCEPTUALISATION OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION PHENOMENA IN SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES

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ABSTARCT
A citizen's right to participate in society is one of the most important directions of contemporary society development. The article presents the conceptualization of social exclusion as newish research frame discussing problems of poverty, discrimination, intolerance, stigmatization, human rights violation. Social exclusion is rather new research frame opening problems of poverty, discrimination, intolerance, stigmatization and infringement of human rights. In article studying social exclusion of drug addicts is based on the analysis of the complex questions following from distribution and the use of psychoactive agents. Absence of sociological knowledge system processes of social exclusion / inclusion institutionalization in a structure of modern society is contrary to requirement of society for the solution of theoretical and practical problems of the social inclusion of the deprived and deviant groups. The combination of quantitative and high-quality strategy of collecting and data analysis represented dynamic process of information accumulation on different level of the studied object - social exclusion of drug addicts: methods of the documents analysis – the normative legal acts, interview with drug addicts and experts in the field of drug consumption and questionnaire, as well as the secondary analysis of these all-Russian social researches are applied. The wide range of sources and own empirical researches provided reliability and validity of the received results. Social exclusion of the deprived groups and ways of its overcoming are in direct dependence on character of the institutionalized scenarios of social exclusion, stigmatization of the deprived groups and deformation of reaction strategy of the social institutes and organizations directed to inclusion of the groups expelled from society is a consequence.

Keywords: social exclusion, inclusion, socialization, social rehabilitation.

INTRODUCTION

Social exclusion phenomenon was developed as scientific theory and now becomes socio-political discourse. Social exclusion theory was developed as an attempt of western scholars to discuss issues of poverty and marginalization. Individuals and groups excluded from social mainstream were chosen as the subject of the research. The switch to postindustrial society also became a factor of the theory development as it provoked new forms of stratification. Analysis of practices of social exclusion was settled in works of M.Weber (cultural changes concept), L.Wittgenstein and M.Heidegger (practices concept). The theory got its further development in Europe as the response to welfare state and fare of society disintegration caused by socio-economic crises. Aristotle theory about society and state according to which a person is political animal, i.e. social being willing for common habitat, became a presupposition of the social exclusion theory. In that sense exclusion of a person from a society is against the human nature.

Social exclusion theory was funded in France in the beginning 1970-ies. R.Lenoir, Secretary for social affairs of French Government[1], is considered the author of the 'social exclusion' term. Social exclusion category has European and continental genesis as the opposite to social marginality, its English-American

[1] Lenoir R. Les Exclus: Un Francais sur Dix 2nd ed. Paris: Editions du Seuil. 1989.

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equivalent. The term has French origins and it is connected to French classical thought, E.Durkheim idea of social solidarity.

According to R.Lenoir, 10% of French society in 1980-ies was socially excluded. The following groups of people were considered as socially excluded: people with mental or physical disorders, bent on self-destruction, disabled, children subjected to violence, drug users, criminals. According to these indicators rather favorable individuals can also be considered as socially excluded, which means that social exclusion is a complex phenomenon where not only formal parameters but self-identification, psychological state and way of life matter.

DISCUSSION

Exclusion is expressed through discrimination in the concept of socialization. Excluded group gives over exchange or interaction with society. However, according to J.Locke[2], people should have the opportunity of moving through the borders of social differentiation and labor division. Liberal model of citizenship highlights contractor exchange of rights and obligations. Here exclusion comes as the result of nonfulfillment of rights and market imperfection. The accent is on individual exclusion rather than exclusion of groups (methodological individualism). Strong groups are restricting outsiders' access for valuable resources through social burdens. Inequality can be decreased through social-democratic ideology which is followed up by involvement of the majority into the social life.

Poverty is one of important factors of social isolation. Exclusion in the sphere of economics leads to exclusion from other fields of life, such as cultural, political, social. Poverty leads to decrease of opportunities which lead to social exclusion. Theory of social exclusion brought a significant contribution to the understanding of poverty reasons and solutions at the beginning and further the concept was used for all deprivations (economic, social, cultural, physical). Poverty impacts lifestyle and communication with society. «People are relatively deprived if they can't afford appropriate life conditions – food, recreation, standards and services – which could let them play a certain role, participate in interactions, act as they are used to. When people lack of means to access resources or are not allowed to, and consequently can't be full members of society, we can call them poor», – states P.Townsend[3]. The use of the term 'social exclusion' rather than 'poverty' can better describe the state of a person is difficult situation of deprivation.

Social-political transformations thrusted to switch from the 'poverty' problems to 'social exclusion' problems in linguistics and political discourse. According to sociologist P.Abrahamson "Poverty acknowledging meant welfare state critics, as there was no poverty in welfare state (in some countries poverty was politically incorrect). While social exclusion became more convenient concept as it was bringing the problem to individual level»[4]. Scholars agree on the fact that the main factor for exclusion is impossibility to share same problems as rest of the society. New concept allowed bringing together problems of unemployed, immigrants, single mothers, and ex-criminals. In other words, social exclusion became the 'new' term for old problems[5].

Of course there were some objective reasons for the wide use of 'social exclusion' term as research subject in western and Russian sociology. As the term 'poverty' became inconvenient concept in the welfare state according to Abrahamson, society and conditions became different. Poverty didn't disappear but significantly decreased in developed countries comparing to the previous period. That's why the

[2] Locke, J. (1988) Two Treatises of Government. Ed. Peter Laslett. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
[3] Townsend P. The international analysis of poverty. New York: Harvester Wheatsceaf, 1993.
[4] Abrahamson, P. (2001) Combating poverty and social exclusion, in: Social sciences and modernity, №2. p. 148-166.
[5] Studenna M. (2010) Problem of social exclusion in postindustrial society by the example of coal industry centers of Poland and Ukraine, in History and modernity, № 1, pp. 193-194

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problem of poverty in postindustrial countries moved to individual level. Poverty is a classical phenomenon of industrialization period when significant part of the society was more or less poor. Social exclusion is a postindustrial equivalent of poverty when minority is getting marginalized and excluded from middle class.

There is no consensus among scholars about the reasons of exclusion of some groups and individuals from a society. M.Wolf considers social exclusion as relevant deprivation and he notes the following types of exclusion: deprivation from the means for living, from social services, well-being and social security networks, from culture of consumption, political choice, mass organizations and solidarities, and ability to understand what is going on.[6]

Private aspects can be also sited among the reasons of exclusion of individuals and groups from mainstream, such as marginal religious beliefs, drug use, disability, record of convictions. We can agree with Ch.Gor, stating that there are different constructs of approval or disapproval of different models of behavior. In Russia of 1990-ies due to complicated socio-economical condition several socially deprived groups could be considered as mainstream. Though when in 21st century society's perception changes, values are getting overestimated, previous stereotypes change, these groups can be perceived as socially excluded. As for macroeconomic reasons of social exclusion, they are discussed in concepts of K.Marx and M.Weber, also in E.Giddens structuration theory and P.Shtompka social changes theory.

There are the following reasons of social exclusion in contemporary society: multidimensional economic as social isolation means not only the level of income but also several estimations of living standards; dynamic as the level of vertical and horizontal social mobility; multidimensional social as exclusion from the social objects network – education, health care, low quality of services; adaptation factors – lack of certain resources, inefficiency of distributive system, lack of social integration concepts on the governmental level; cognitive lack of tolerance on mass consciousness level; multidimensional legal as discrimination of human rights and civic discrimination.

Social exclusion is a polysemic term which is used for description of a number of different features and processes, controversial term with various interpretations within different paradigms of social sciences, political ideologies and national discourses. The following groups can be seen as socially excluded in contemporary Russian society: unemployed, partially-employed, low-income people, disabled, imprisoned, probationers, released from places of confinement, children grown up in dysfunctional families, immigrants, race, religious, language, ethnic minorities, homeless, with no occupation and place of residence, 'people whose consumption, pastime and other occupations (drug and alcohol use, public tranquility, dress and communication mode, manners) stand condemned or deviant»[7]. Social exclusion can be described as institutionalized scenario developed on macro-, meso-, and micro-levels devoted to oppression and ignore by the society of difficulties of a certain group and deprivation of a community of social, economic, and cultural rights and opportunities fully or partially.

Social exclusion increases as a result of significant changes in society. Herewith, there is a lack of resources and perspectives for excluded groups. Different approaches for understanding the term 'exclusion' are above all connected to different socio-political decisions to overcome the exclusion. Significant condition to overcome social exclusion is social inclusion based on active participation of groups and individuals in society life[8]. Social inclusion is understood as a process opposite to social exclusion.

[6] Wolf M. Globalization and social exclusion: Some paradoxes // Social Exclusion: Rhetoric Reality Responses / International Institute for labor studies. United Nations development program. Geneva, 1994. P. 86–94.
[7] Borodkin, F. (2000) Overcomming social exclusion: new approaches, in: Sociologic journal, № 3/4, p.9
[8] Based on work of Luhman where German sociologist states opportunity of social exclusion as a negative form of social integration, so author states that social exclusion should be opposed to social integration.

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According to F.Borodkin, process of social exclusion can from the one hand be investigated as a sequence of conditions of relevant social deprivation, from the other hand as a sequence of conditions bringing an individual or a group from a normal state into social exclusion (deprivation). Consequently, he offers to distinguish the terms 'situation of social exclusion' and 'condition of social exclusion'. Situation of social exclusion is seen as certain objectivated conditions where individuals can't use existing social rights.
Theory of social exclusion was formed in 1970-ies as a result of establishement of the institute of human rights which lead to the fact that social exclusion theory exceeded academia scope and got wide socio-political resonance. Paradigms change, 'new approach' of scientists towards social problems lead to the change of socio-political discourse. Beginning from 1980-ies not only scientists but also politicians are using the term 'social exclusion' when describing poverty.

In order to pursue scenarios of social exclusion governmental bodies and civil society organizations are working on the decrease of social barriers provoking social isolation. Based on the position of deprived groups in society the following barriers can be noted: social – lack of positive role models, preventing social interaction, decrease of opportunities to participate in life of the society and lack of access to support networks; economic – limited number of work places, lack of opportunity to get education, lack of opportunities of getting qualification or changing qualification, discrimination on labor market; finance – inability to get goods and services of the first need, financial support of deviant behavior; existential – lack of access to places of rest and rehabilitation, lack of personal safety; informational – lack of access to credible information, lack of computers internet access; politico-legal – limitation of protection individual rights and freedoms.

There is a lack of systematized data regarding socially excluded groups in deep exclusion: homeless, imprisoned, injective drugs users, etc. These groups are sometimes inaccessible. For instance, researches on narcotization often demonstrate impersonal statistics, analysis of political and media discourse of the problem, medical data on medication damage. However, it's quite rare to face drug users themselves as subject of the research. Community workers have the information but it's not enough for the analysis from social exclusion prospective. 'Other people' are living in society with strictly defined frames and borders. 'Others' live in their own economic, social, political and cultural formats.

Excluded population is not homogeneous and stable group, it consists of people under dynamic transformation. Investigation of macro-, micro-, meso-levels correlation helps to understand processes building social isolation in contemporary societies on each level: macro (social politics, labour market, ect.), meso (activity of certain bodies and institutions), and micro (practices level). Social exclusion of deviant deprived assumes the following directions of exclusion: economic, social, legal.

METHODS

Empirical research – longevity participant observation of non-governmental organization 'Pokrov – support of female initiatives', in-depth interviews and case studies with drug addicted have revealed that despite of existing federal and regional programs (Strategy of governmental antidrug policy of Russian Federation until 2020, Targeted program for drug use prevention of Tatarstan Republic population 2011-2015) social policy of complex resocialization and integration of socially excluded groups is not effective and government underestimates the significance of social rehabilitation by socially oriented non-commercial organizations. According to the data obtained with quantitative strategy, 83% of respondents of Tatarstan Republic with the experience of drug use never went through the treatment in specific institutions, 13% - several times, 4% - once. Absolute majority (82%) of drug users never participated in socio-psychological rehabilitation programs.

Mechanism of social exclusion rehabilitation is established in legal terrain and fixed in legal regulations which lead to construction of burdens, discrimination of deviant and deprived groups, and human rights violations. Influence of legal regulations allowing discrimination appears on different stages and ways of exclusion of drug users. Strategy of social exclusion of drug users is determined by essential

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institutionalized scenarios of drug policy and particularities of its reproduction in Russia. Contradictions in institutionalization strategy of elements of drug policy which lead to social exclusion of drug users and IHV positive happen due to incoherence of legal content, heterogeneity of subjects and polarity of their interests, contradiction of sociocultural values of actors participating in production, distribution, and use of psychoactive substances and those coming against.

RESULTS

Discriminatory scenarios are established in the following levels: first of all, on macro level in institutional system and they are formally institutionalized on organizational level in documents: statutory regulations, instructions, etc.; secondly, on meso-level in reaction strategies of society and organizations somehow dealing with drug users to institutionalized socio-legal schemas. Macro level discrimination scenarios are the following: 'double standard' – from the one hand, drug use is violation, from the other hand, it's disease; 'drug users' list' which leads to discrimination on the executory level; 'diagnosis without treatment'. Meso-level discrimination scenarios are the following: repressive scenarios of reaction of security agencies (Federal Drug Control Service, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Federal Penal Correction Service) and medical institutions workers: 'drug user is a criminal'. Individual discrimination scenarios towards HIV positive are the following: 'illegal certification to HIV/ AIDS check-up from the employer', 'diagnosis disclosure', 'lack of free or regular treatment for socially excluded groups (imprisoned, immigrants)', 'discrimination of adoption/ tutelage', 'stigmatization on work place'.

The process of social exclusion of deprived groups takes place in legal terrain and within governmental organizations and institutions, while there is also opposite process of recovery scenarios undertaken by civil society institutions and commercial organizations. Scenarios of social exclusion and inclusion undergo with the time difference, vector of social inclusion develops on the level of social practices and initiative reaction strategies according to deprived groups' needs. Institutionalization of exclusion/inclusion scenarios has cycle character.

CONCLUSIONS

Research of socially excluded groups reveals different level of tolerance of mainstream to these groups. Socially exclude groups of drug users, ex-prisoners, and imprisoned people are the most deprived among excluded groups of the society. For society, the question of protection of rights and freedoms of groups with deviant behavior is not the priority. Society is more open to the problems of children in difficult life situations, unmarried mothers, disabled-children, etc. Lack of tolerance is a significant factor of social exclusion.

In order to analyze social exclusion, it is important to reveal particularities of governmental decisions towards socially excluded, direction of social politic, level of civil society development. The following is used as subject of the research: processes and mechanisms of social exclusion and also activity of social actors and organizations aimed on resocialization of individuals and communities. Theory of social exclusion has wide practical use: international organizations, governments develop mechanisms of social inclusion which with no question influences on international and national social politics of governments.

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