SOCIAL POLICY

AND

SOCIAL WORK

IN TRANSITION

CONTENTS

MARE LEINO

MARIIA VALIAVKO

NATALYA DMYTRYSHYNA

NINA MEŠL

Researching the landscape

(Research Methodologies in Social Work and Social Policy Research)

EDITORIAL

We used to regard and to teach that social work and social policy research is multi-disciplinary, though it may be time to reconsider this statement and to draw the difference between these two disciplines and others?

Social policy and social work are human activities focused on human rights and human needs. Social policy is supposed to create in society conditions for the implementation of human rights and for meeting human needs. Social work mostly deals with individuals, groups and communities who are not able to exercise their human rights and satisfy their basic needs.

As a human activities domain, both social policy and social work are subjective, value-based and socially constructed, both are seeking for effective and culturally appropriate programs and interventions. Both have to meet the challenge of becoming research-based disciplines and sharing research knowledge on the local and global level, reflecting changes in the local and international context.

There is a general agreement in the literature about the objectives of social policy and social work research.

The first objective of social policy and social work research is **to provide information for the development of evidence-based practice**. Actually this is reflected in the 'International Definition of Social Work' in a paragraph on "Theory":

"Social work bases its methodology on a systematic body of evidence-based knowledge derived from research and practice evaluation, including local and indigenous knowledge specific to its context" (IFSW/IASSW, 2000).

The Global Standards for Social Work Education and Training include this statement in the list of social work methods:

"Knowledge of social work research and skills in the use of research methods, including ethical use of relevant research paradigms, and critical appreciation of the use of research and different sources of knowledge about social work practice" (IFSW/IASSW, 2004).

These definitions link social work practice, policy and research, and discussions on evidencing. That is why social work and social policy research is often named as 'practice research' (not just applied). As Rubin and Babbie state:

"Most social work researches do not fit the traditional stereotypes of academic researchers. They aim not to produce knowledge for knowledge's sake, but to produce practical knowledge that social workers need to solve everyday problems. Ultimately, the aim to give the field the information it needs to alleviate human suffering and promote social welfare. Thus, social work research seeks to accomplish the same humanistic goals as social work practice; and like practice, social work research is a compassionate, problem-solving, and practical endeavor" (Rubin and Babbie, 2008, p.4).

The same notion might also be applied to social policy research.

It is worth indicating that social policy and social work research often look for best practices, the most effective interventions, for the efficacy of the policy and its impact. At the same time for research to be useful it has to address the implications of social policy implementation and social work practice. Taking into account the impact of globalization, Hugman (2010) stresses the necessity of studying the implications of international social work practice.

In the post-industrial and information society the diffusion of innovations occurs rapidly. Social policy and social work transfer learning from other regions, and different countries' experiences are common issues everywhere. So, in the modern world, as Tripody & Potocky-Tripody (2007) recognize, we experience international collaboration over research methods, as well as **sharing of social work knowledge about interventions, education, and policy development between countries**.

One of the latent but gradually becoming more and more explicit objectives of social policy and social work research is **empowerment of individuals and groups** (Beresford and Evans, 1999). It happens due to the development of research approaches that are participatory and inclusive, and that reflect views and perspectives of clients and marginalized groups. The research often addresses issues of power and dominance in society, using action research strategies.

Social policy and social policy research is often the subject of query regarding its validity and soundness. This happens because of ethical, methodological and practical challenges, and cultural differences. Rubin and Babbie point out:
"No study in social research is ever perfectly flawless. Even the best ones have some (perhaps, unavoidable) limitations" (Rubin and Babbie, 2008, p. 192)*.*

Both social policy and social work research are based on diverse methodological approaches, use positivist and

post-positivist paradigms to understand local, regional and national situations and to develop a constructive analysis of causal factors. The validation of instruments for collecting and analyzing data are rather acute issues for both disciplines, though certain methodological approaches become privileged: qualitative methods – for social work; quantitative, statistical methods, as well as documentary review – for social policy. Yet social research is far from methodological uniformity as with a number of other disciplines, for example, political sciences, management and administration.

The very process of researching at any level reflects the value-based and ethically controversial nature of social policy and social work. It must balance between the utilitarian, egalitarian and communitarian approaches that shape the philosophical background of decisions and interventions in the social area (Semigina, 2008). Each of these philosophical concepts proposes a different set of ideas and considerations for the assessment of problems and evaluation of outcomes. Moreover, clients and marginalized groups, researchers as mostly middle-class representatives and policy makers as a higher strata of society have their own different understandings of reality, while policy makers have more influence in the research domain (by financing certain types of research and dissemination of its results). The social research traditions and intellectual contexts can also influence the methodology of social policy and social work research. For example, in the USSR and many post-USSR countries there is strong scientist community support for quantitative methods. So, personal values, authority and traditions are challenges in the search for knowledge about the world.

Further developments of social policy and social work research might be very broad. The main challenge is to ensure that the research is as rigorous as possible, provides a sound base for best practice, and recognizes

postmodernist ideas of diversity. To have research that fits these criteria, well-trained researchers should be involved in research activities. This highlights the necessity of linking critical reflection and development of research skills on Bachelor, Master and Doctoral social work programmes. With regard to this, the Board of Directors of the International Association of the Schools of Social Work at its last meeting (July, 2011) decided to establish a task force group led by Synnöve Karvinen-Niinikoski (Finland) to explore the issue of what IASSW can do to ensure that the social work curriculum reflects practice needs for research.

Other opportunities for exchanging methods and findings are through publication in international journals, the establishment of networks, and participation in conferences and workshops. So, researchers can learn from each other, and master their research methodologies and instruments.

The knowledge from social policy and social work research should also be available to policy makers, social work practitioners and those who require their services. Hence, research may not only transfer knowledge, but transform practice itself.

Finally, as research should contribute to good social work practice and to efforts to achieve consensus on human rights and rights of marginalized/oppressed groups, it will require appropriate recognition of both local issues as significant topics for international attention as well as diverse methodological approaches. Only then, according to Mäntysaari & Weatherley (2010), will research be seen to truly address "the person in their environment". Only then will social work and social policy become their own research-based disciplines.

Tetyana Semigina
Co-editor

References

1. **Beresford P., Evans C** (1999) 'Research Note: Research and empowerment', British Journal of Social Work, 29 (5), pp. 671-677.
2. **IFSW/IASSW** (2000) International Definition of Social Work, accessed at http://www.ifsw.org/f38000138.html on August 10, 2011
3. **IFSW/IASSW** (2004) The Global Standards for Social Work Education and Training, accessed at http://www.iassw-aiets.org/images/Documents/Download%20Global%20Standards.pdf on August 10, 2011
4. **Hugman, R.** (2010) 'Social work research and ethics' in Shaw, I., Briar-Lawson, K., Orme, J. & Ruckdeschel, R. (eds), The Sage Handbook of Social Work Research, London/Los Angeles, Sage, pp. 149-163.
5. **Mäntysaari, M., & Weatherley, R.** (2010) 'Theory and Theorizing: Intelectual Contexts' in Social Work Research (In in Shaw, I., Briar-Lawson, K., Orme, J. & Ruckdeschel, R. (eds), The Sage Handbook of Social Work Research, London/Los Angeles, Sage, pp. 180-194.
6. **Rubin A., Babbie E. R.** (2008) Research methods for social work 6th ed. Belmont, USA: Thomson Brooks /Cole 2008.
7. **Semigina, T.** (2009) 'Public health policy: view on practice from philospical ideas prospective', Research Journal of the Uzhorod University: Political Science. Sociology. Phylospophy, 11, pp. 58-62.
8. **Tripody, T., Potocky-Tripody, M.** (2007) International Social Work Research: Issues and Prospects. New York: Oxford University Press.

IN THIS SECOND ISSUE OF VOLUME 2

This issue reflects the diversity of themes and methodological approaches of social policy and social work research.

Mare Leino (Estonia) looks on the social background of the school conflicts that had happened in the late 1990s. Author presents results of the study based on the grounded theory, qualitative research methodology aimed at construction of theories in order to understand phenomena. Leino argues that the reason for the Estonian teachers' strike in 1997 was their overload, and the essence of it was social problems all over the country. According to author, the more social problems there are, the less a pedagogue may keep pure academic role, the teachers who want to help the children cannot manage in the frames of work time any more, and that caused the teachers strike.

Mariia Valiavko (Ukraine) looks at social benefits system as a part of social policy and its impact on poverty duration. She uses the quantitative, statistical methodology (the discrete-time hazard rate models). As the research is aimed at comparison across countries that represent three types of welfare regimes: Nordic (Denmark), Anglo-Saxon (the UK), and Continental (France and Germany), the analysis is based on individual and household panel data of the European Community Household Panel (ECHP) linked with a regional time series database. Valiavko argues that the institutional context within which poverty occur matters and presents evidence supporting her view.

Natalya Dmytryshyna (Ukraine) discusses the state-of-art and challenges of the development of palliate care in her country. Her paper is based on literature and documentary review, critical reflection of the situation. Author presents the unmet The needs and challenges of the palliate care patients and practitioners, looks at constructive solutions of the problems that influence palliative care development that should be taking for consideration during the elaboration of the relevant policy.

Nina Mešl (Slovenia) presents research into the use of implicit theories of action in family social work. The analysis is based on qualitative methodology and it indicates the lack of consistent use of those social work concepts which would strengthen social workers in their individual working project of help, that is, in establishing and maintaining processes of making agreements with users in the co-creation of solutions. The article discusses ways for social workers to more explicitly use their knowledge as this is crucial for establishing and maintaining the co-creation of desired outcomes with a family in an individual working project of help.

Rachel Robbins (UK) offers an account of the complexities of undertaking practitioner research within social policy education. Authors tells the story of an attempt to address this perceived gap by offering a reflective space for social work students to consider their own stories in relation to social political concepts. Robbins uses the Memory Work method, qualitative methodology adapted by the author and used for blurring the dichotomous boundaries of service-user and social worker and emphasising how these boundaries are constructed within social work and social policy practices.

Merle Piho, Taimi Tulva (Estonia) present the results of the study aimed at clarification of the meaning of voluntary work done by the elderly for the elderly themselves and describe how this phenomenon exists in society. The analysed data was gathered through 10 individual thematic interviews in two social centres in Tallinn. Authors argues that the voluntary activities at older age provide the elderly with the opportunity to be active and useful members of the society, the work as a volunteer has a positive effect on the self-evaluation of elderly. The study proves that the activities of elderly volunteers are a source of social capital, as norms and networks the elderly voluntary associations produce general trust in the society.

Ana Diakonidze (Georgia) discuss the approach to the social assistance concerning internally displaced people in Georgia. The paper is based on the analysis of the 2009 Georgian Household survey, statistical information provided on the Social Service Agency web-site and key document reviews. Author examine how socio-economic condition of internally displaced people differ from that of the general population, the ways social assistance is administered in the country, and main challenges associated with transition from status-based to needs-based assistance for internally displaced people.

INTRODUCING THE EDITORIAL BOARD

Editors

Professor MARK DOEL, PhD, MA (Oxon), CQSW, Emeritus Professor of Social Work, Sheffield Hallam University (UK), co-Editor. Mark Doel is a registered social worker with 20 years' practice experience in the UK and the US. His research expertise is in qualitative methods and his spheres of interest are practice education, social work practice interventions and methods (especially groupwork), the involvement of service users, and international social work. He is widely published and his latest book is *Social Work Placements: a travellers' guide,* (Routledge (London). Professor Doel is co-Director of the MSW at Tbilisi State University, he co-edits Groupwork journal (Whiting and Birch) and he is one of the leaders of the EU-Tempus project, *Advancing the three-cycle system of social work education in six European countries* (ACES).

doel@waitrose.com

Professor IAGO KACHKACHISHVILI, PhD, Professor of Sociology, Head of the Department of Sociology and Social Work, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Tbilisi State University (Georgia), co-Editor. Iago Kachkachishvili leads courses on Contemporary and Post-modern Social Theories as well as Methods of Social Research. He conducts various research projects concerning the problems of education policy, ethnicity, social protection and inclusion, HIV/AIDS, safe sex and reproductive health. Iago Kachkachishvili has been involved in the development of social work education in Georgia since 2005 and is in charge of administering social work study programme at TSU. He is the Project Coordinator for an EU-Tempus project in Georgia, *Advancing the three-cycle system of social work education in six European countries* (ACES). He is also the Head of the NGO 'Institute of Social Studies and Analysis' (ISSA).

iagok@yahoo.com

Professor LAURI LEPPIK, PhD, Professor of Social Policy, Tallinn University (Estonia), Lauri Leppik is an expert in social policy, with focus on social security policy. His research interests relate in particular to the adequacy and sustainability of social security schemes, disability policy and European social policy. He is a member of the European Committee of Social Rights, a committee of independent experts to supervise the application of the European Social Charter. He is also a Director of the Institute of Social Work at Tallinn University and a Head of the Social Work PhD program at the Institute.

leppik@tlu.ee

Dr TETYANA SEMIGINA, PhD, MSW, Associate Professor, School of Social Work, National University 'Kyiv-Mohyla Academy' (Ukraine), co-Editor. Tetyana Semigina teaches courses on Community Work, History and Philosophy of Social Work, Social Policy. Her research interests cover implementation of innovations in social work, policy and practice of combating HIV/AIDS. Tetyana was involved in the international projects aimed at strengthening social policy and social services in Ukraine.

tv_sem@ukma.kiev.ua

Board members

Professor MEL GRAY, PhD, Professor of Social Work and Research Professor in the Research Institute for Social Inclusion and Wellbeing, University of Newcastle, New South Wales, Australia. She has published extensively on social work and social development. Recent books include Indigenous Social Work around the World (with Coates & Yellow Bird, Ashgate 2008), Social Work Theories and Methods (with Webb, Sage 2008), Evidence-based Social Work (with Plath & Webb, Routledge 2009), Ethics and Value Perspectives in Social Work (with Webb, Palgrave 2010), International; Social Work – 4 vols (with Webb, Sage 2010), Environmental Social Work (with Coates & Hetherington, Routledge 2012), Decolonizing Social Work (with Coates, Hetherington, & Yellow Bird, Ashgate 2012), Social Work Theories and Methods (2nd ed., Sage, 2012 with Webb), and New Politics of Critical Social Work (with Webb, 2012 Palgrave). Mel is Associate Editor of the International Journal of Social Welfare.

Mel.Gray@newcastle.edu.au

PETER HENDRIKS, MA, Senior lecturer at the Institute of Social Work and researcher at the Research Centre of Social Innovation (KSI) of the University of Applied Science Utrecht (HU), the Netherlands. He has 15 years of practice experience as a social worker in mental health. His teaching and research interests focus on international social work and intercultural social work. At the moment he is involved in research on Dutch professionals in social work with Turkish and Moroccan heritage. He is secretary of the European Association of Schools of Social Work (EASSW).

peter.hendriks@hu.nl

Professor NADIYA KABACHENKO, PhD, Head of the School of Social Work, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. Her spheres of interest are social work with homeless people, gerontological social work and social policy. She is the Project Coordinator for the EU-Tempus project in Ukraine, *Advancing the three-cycle system of social work education in six European countries* (ACES).

kabachenko@ukma.kiev.ua

PETER NELSON, MA, BA, PGCLT, CQSW, FHEA, Academic Delivery Manager and Principal Lecturer in the Department of Social Work Social Care and Community Studies at Sheffield Hallam University. Peter Nelson is a qualified and registered social worker with eighteen years of practice experience in child protection, specialist practice teaching, community social work, residential child care and mental health. His teaching and research interests focus on values and ethics, the social care of children and families and practice education. He is Academic Director for an EU- Tempus project, Advancing the three-cycle system of social work education in six European Countries (ACES).

p.nelson@shu.ac.uk

Professor GIEDRE KVIESKIENE, PhD, Professor of Education in Vilnius Pedagogical University (Lithuania). Giedrė Kvieskienė is an expert in social policy, with a focus on child welfare and positive socialization. Her research interests relate in particular to crime prevention and rehabilitation. She is the Project Coordinator for an EU-Tempus project in Lithuania, *Advancing the three-cycle system of social work education in six European countries* (ACES). Prof Kvieskienė was the member of the European Consul program, based on research on policies and practices teaching sociocultural diversity (2006-2009). She is also the Director of the Social Communication Institute in Vilnius Pedagogical University and Lithuanian CIVITAS International coordinator in the "CIVITAS INTERNATIONAL" world network. She is a member of a Socrates project, *New Modules of Activism in European Social Work* and creator of a module on Cultural Diversity and Migration.

giedre@vpu.lt

Dr BOGDAN LEŠNIK, Associate Professor at the Faculty of Social Work, University of Ljubljana, Dean of the Faculty, and Editor of journal 'Socialno delo'. His particular expertise is psychoanalysis (he is also the President of the Psychoanalytical Society of Slovenia) and group analysis. His latest publication is *Foundations of Psychoanalysis: Notes to the Concepts* (Založba /*cf., Ljubljana). Bogdan Lešnik's fields of interest include epistemology and social work in emergency situations. He is also involved in several international academic and developmental projects.

bogdan.lesnik@fsd.uni-lj.si

Professor JONATHAN PARKER is the Associate Dean of Social and Community Work and Director of the Centre for Social Work and Social Policy at Bournemouth University. He moved to Bournemouth in 2006 after 11 years at the University of Hull where he was one of the founders and director of the Family Assessment and Support Unit, a practice placement agency attached to the University, and latterly Head of Department of Social Work. Jonathan has practised in a wide variety of Social Work posts with people with Learning Disabilities, as a hospital Social Worker, in a generic field work team before specialising with people with dementia and as an Approved Social Worker (mental health). Jonathan's research projects focus on practice learning, workforce planning, theories and methods in Social Work, and dementia care. He is currently conducting cross cultural research on learning and practice with colleagues in Southeast Asia. He has published widely, including sixteen books and numerous academic papers. Jonathan is the co-editor of the highly successful series of Social Work text books Transforming Social Work Practice and editor of the Journal of Practice Teaching and Learning.

parkerj@bournemouth.ac.uk

Professor DARJA ZAVIRŠEK, PhD, Professor of social work and the Chair of the Department for research of social justice and inclusion at the University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Work and the chair of the Indosow - International Doctoral Studies in Social Work. Since 2002 she is honorary professor of the University of Applied Sciences Alice Salomon, Berlin. She has established the Eastern European Sub-Regional Association of the Eastern European Schools of Social Work as part of the IASSW. She serves the IASSW since 2003, currently as the member at large and the chair of the International Small Projects Committee. She writes on gender, disability, ethnicity and history of social work and was the co-editor of the following book in the last years: Sustainable Development in Social Work: the Case of a Regional Network in the Balkans (2005), History of Social Work. Between social movements and political systems (2006), Women and Citizenship in Central and Eastern Europe (2006), Ethnicity in Eastern Europe: A Challenge for Social Work Education (2007). Currently she is researching social parenthood in different societies.

darja.zavirsek@fsd.uni-lj.si

MARE LEINO

THE GROUNDED THEORY METHOD AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS AT SCHOOL: THE CASE OF ESTONIA

Abstract

In the late 1990s Estonian teachers arranged strikes in order to bring into the consciousness of society the low pay teachers got for their hard work. The research problem was to find out the essence of this work overload. The hypothesis was that most school conflicts have social backgrounds. This kind of research field is very complex and requires qualitative research methods. In my case this was grounded theory. According to the empirical data, the reason for the teachers' strike in 1997 was their work overload and the basis was social problems all over the country. The solution for this problem has been social pedagogy: now professionals called social pedagogues are working in many Estonian schools. Their responsibility is to work with these additional (social) problems. The result is that teachers can keep teaching.

Key words

grounded theory method, general education, problem children.

Introduction

the research problem

Education has a dual task of regulation and emancipation, which is visible in everyday life in schools. As B. Davies argues, the belief that children must be socialised into known and accepted ways of being, and the belief that fundamental to those known and accepted ways of being is a conception of an individual, who does and should stand outside of and above those forms, creates a paradox. This leads to a constant tension between control and agency in schools (Gordon et al., 2000, p 88), which in post-soviet-countries is even more obvious, because for 50 years we spoke only about collectivism ("individual" was an abusive word). The students nowadays know the words democracy, tolerance, human rights, but most school-rules have not changed significantly. Classes in Estonia are large (up to 30 students) and discipline is still the main instrument of teaching. This causes an extra tension between the school and society, as well as between teachers and students. Therefore the research object in this paper is the poly-problematic sphere of school and teachers coping, which presupposes qualitative methods.

According to M. Payne social work is a socially constructed activity (Payne, 2005, p 3), which means that problems are socially constructed, too (Berger, Luckmann 1994). Because the social world is an interpreted world, it is now widely accepted that the language and concepts we use, influence and reflect our understanding of the social world (Barnes, Mercer, 2010, p 11). Groenemeyer (2010) adds, that 'doing social problems' is a kind of moral activity. Initially Claims-Making-Activities are needed as sharing common views of the world is obligatory if one wants to improve life (Groenemeyer, 2010, p 18, p 26). To get public attention, in the late 1990s Estonian teachers

arranged strikes in order to bring into the consciousness of society the low pay teachers got for their hard work (Juurak, 1999). On 27th November 1997 13,000 teachers from all over the country participated in a strike (Rondik, 1999). This strike involved 81% of all teachers in Estonia. Taking into account the soviet-time culture of obedience, teachers' intelligence and deepening unemployment in the state as a whole, the strike was a remarkably extreme step in our region. The strike was a strong message that something has to be done in the schools.

According to Livingstone et al (2009, p 239) action can take the form of rhetorical strategies aimed at defining the intergroup context, including the relevance, scope, and content of social categories, and the projects towards which they are mobilised. Hypothetically I considered the cause of the teachers' strike their work overload; when social problems become heaped up however, the work at school does not only involve teaching. A further problem was the fact that the academic learning dominated the curriculum of teacher's training; the volume of social subjects had not grown in parallel to problems. The question arose as to what were the causes of dissatisfaction? Finding the answer presumed qualitative research.

Methodology

Grounded theory reflects a naturalistic approach to ethnography and interpretation, stressing the sensitive use of concepts, and a grounded (inductive) approach to theorising, which can be both formal and substantive. The empirical grounding of a study (its grounded theory) should be judged by the range, density, linkages between, and systematic relatedness of its theoretical concepts, as well as by the theory's specificity and generality. Strauss and Corbin urge that these criteria be followed so that readers can "judge the credibility of theory". Investigators

should be able to provide information on the sample (including theoretical variations), core categories, hypotheses, key events and incidents that emerged and were pursued during the research process (Denzin, 1998, p 329). Brian D. Haig (1995, http://www.ed.uiuc) from University of Canterbury has nicely summarized the essence of grounded theory method. He wrote that during the last 30 years, sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss have formulated and developed in great detail their grounded theory perspective on social science research. In their work they have consistently argued for the inductive discovery of theory grounded in systematically analyzed data. Their inductive perspective has stemmed in part from their dissatisfaction with the prevalent hypothetic-deductive practice of testing 'great man' sociological theories.

Since its introduction in the 1960s, grounded theory has been progressively developed in a way that is consistent with its original formulation, such that it is currently the most comprehensive qualitative research methodology available. Grounded theory research begins with focusing on an area of study and gathers data from a variety of sources, including interviews and field observations. Once gathered, the data are analyzed using coding and theoretical sampling procedures. When this is done, theories are generated, with the help of interpretive procedures, before being finally written up and presented. This latter activity Glaser and Strauss claim is an integral part of the research process. The general goal of grounded theory research is to construct theories in order to understand phenomena. A good grounded theory is one that is:
(1) inductively derived from data,
(2) subjected to theoretical elaboration, and
(3) judged adequate to its domain with respect to a number of evaluative criteria.
For Glaser and Strauss, grounded theory is said to emerge inductively from its data source in accordance with the method

of 'constant comparison'. As a method of discovery, the constant comparative method is an amalgam of systematic coding, data analysis and theoretical sampling procedures which enables the researcher to make interpretive sense of much of the diverse patterning in the data by developing theoretical ideas. (Brian, D. Haig http://www.ed.uiuc.edu/eps/PES-Yearbook/95_docs/haig.html).

The research procedure

The course-takers striving for an additional qualification as a special teacher in the In-Service Schooling Department of Tallinn University describe in one of the final papers their years-long work experience with problem children (problems meaning learning- and behaviour difficulties). The children's background and behaviour are thoroughly analysed, alongside describing the efficiency of the teaching methods used. In 1999, 23 teachers from all over the republic including big city schools as well as small provincial schools submitted a final paper (Leino, 2000a, p 58) – this guaranteed a wide geographical representation. The trustworthiness of this data is increased by the following facts:

- cases are described by teachers who deal with problem-causing children daily (children with learning- and/or behaviour difficulties);
- work has been done with the student under analysis over time;
- the child's parents are known, their educational path, domestic situation;
- I can confirm my conclusions with quotations.

In the analysis of case descriptions I used a grounded-method, the characteristic feature of which is permanent comparison

until the material is satiated: every case is compared to the previous one(s), fixing these nuances that were not seen in the earlier cases (Denzin, 1998, p 329). In other words it is finding a commonality between the cases, but not harming the originality of the material (Strauss, 1994, p 55). Coding takes place in the course of work, and systematisation and findings are common denominators (Leino, 2000a, p 59). While analysing the teachers' work experience, I was interested in:

1) On what basis is the child classified as causing problems?
2) To what extent are social problems seen in the class?
3) How does the teacher cope with them?

The process of the research using a *grounded* method was as follows:

Reading teachers' papers repeatedly I grouped the case studies on the basis of similar content. Seven typical themes appeared to dominate: hyperactivity; being aggressive; a child of a family with social problems; a non-Estonian-speaking student; a socially rejected (repelled) child; an assistant outside the teachers' room (for example a school library-worker); a child who cannot cope with loss (low self-esteem).

When there were several papers about one theme (for example four participants of the course described hyperactive children) I relied on a more thorough textual analysis.

- When making the second decision, I focused on writing that avoided the title of a typical case: as there was a message in every paper, I made a mosaic from them.

- There was also one teacher of a class of problem-causing children and I analysed her work experience separately. This kind of class is a new phenomenon in Estonian comprehensive schools and needs thorough mapping.

Next, I entered the texts on the computer and numbered the passages. The entry words that described the problems were in

italics, and the methods used by the teachers were underlined. In this way I made the problems and their solutions more understandable for myself (it was easier to analyse the text with a clear overview).

- After that I focused on problems: I identified phenomena that make giving classes more difficult.

- The following groups formed from this identification: behaviour that is not suitable for a student; problems at home; study difficulties; with medical problems forming only formed a fraction of the whole.

- In focusing on solutions I identified messages about the poly-professional duties of the teacher's occupation. Besides being an academic, 21 other roles appeared that the teacher's job includes in a classroom.

Results

1) Behaviour problems in social context

Which behaviour becomes designated as deviant reflects the standards and values of

those groups who have the power, and occasionally the authority, to affect the location of behaviour. Social deviance, therefore, is a reflection of the power of some to define others' behaviour as offensive, unwanted, and unacceptable; it is also a reflection of the forces that lead some actors to deviate and others to move back from the inviting edge. (Henry, 2009, p 20) Adults are said to socialise children, teachers socialise students, the more powerful socialise and the less powerful get socialised (Thorne, 1997, p 3). In schools the pedagogic relation is a dichotomous category: the teacher is a citizen, and the student is learning to become one; the teacher is professional and mature, the student is neither of these things. (The students are not participants of civil society, but learning to be.) In legal terms, children are citizens, but in schools they are often regarded as 'citizens-to-

be' (Gordon et al, 2000, p 66, p 44). There is no unanimous opinion about the definition of a behavioural problem. This arises from the fact that the phenomenon has several meaning. Mostly people cannot analyse objectively: instead of investigating they punish (Lindgren & Suter, 1994, p 472). In analysing the papers of the pedagogues the conviction deepens of school as an establishment of socialisation; problem causing contradicts the image of a good citizen.

A behavioural problem is more intricate than a study difficulty: it disturbs peaceful work and it may become socio-emotional and/or an impediment to mental health (Tuunainen, 1991). Originally the problem cannot be a quality of an individual as it has a reciprocal impact (Rönkä, 1995, p 149). A behavioural impediment cannot objectively be considered a phenomenon of reality; it is rather a hypothetical explanatory model of behaviour that is perceived as problem causing (Savolainen & Lukkari, 1994, p 278). Is it at all possible to fix an objective truth from subjective behaviour? After grouping the cases I also picked up some significant sentences. The idea of grounded method means here selection: I "cleaned" the whole text of non-important messages and (under each topic) used only the most significant sentences. (Meaning significant for the research questions.) After that I started to analyse the empirical data in the context of the theoretical background.

> *In answering wrongly, the boy's reaction could be unpredictable: for example he demonstratively put away his school things, made a loud remark.*
> *The student solved disagreements with his mates mainly physically, a specific feature was hitting with a foot - without choosing whom and where.*

According to a narrower point of view, a behaviour impediment is an activity which goes against expectations (i.e. a student

breaks the pedagogue's behaviour norms). Such a specification relies on power: a child is deviant when the adult thinks so.

> "*But according to our school rules, everyone moves peacefully during the break.*" (The head of studies said this to a teacher who asked for more possibilities for the movement of a hyperactive child.).

The school presumes that normal students get along well with each other. One who fights or keeps to him/herself, deserves condemnation. A child cannot have intensive personal sympathies (or antipathies) which disturb studies.

> *The boy has become violent – tries to command the younger ones and forces them to do silly things*.

From one side outer impressions gain importance at school, on the other hand they still try to reach the child's soul.

> *The conversation with the boy is one-sided: he hears the teacher talk and keeps silent. Speaks nothing from his heart – it is impossible to get close to him. How can I make the boy work*?

It is bad when a child lives out his stresses intensively, but introversion also causes problems.

> *After the classes the student does not let anyone help him – he says: I am not a blockhead*!

The other extremity is also possible – a problem causing child intensively seeking additional attention:

> *In communicating with adults Mary seeks physical contact: wants to touch, fondle, complains a lot. Makes little letters and cards for teachers.*

A large part of school conflicts are verbal (a child talks with the wrong words at the wrong place). At the same time psychologists consider talking, communicating and other verbal forms of expressing stress important in the context of mental health alongside friend-relations, and physical activity. An institutional requirement of a good student is to be active in the class - i.e. noisy. Study presume two parties; therefore keeping silent is not enough. We need children who answer the pedagogue's questions in turn, with controlled speech (Tolonen, 1999, p 139). Educational researchers have found that the time students spend waiting for something (for teacher's orders, the possibility to answer etc.,) takes up as much as a third of each school day (Thorne, 1997, p 42). A silent student consequently is ideal in an ambivalent way, but not very desirable. *An ideal student* as such is a contradictory concept (Tolonen, 1999, p 139). Nevertheless a teacher strives for some kind of abstract norm, trying to reshape the student.

2) A school problem as an indicator of home distresses

For Gusfield one of the important concepts is the metaphor 'ownership', which is an "ability to create and influence the public definition of a problem" (Groenemayer 2010, p 33). "The metaphor of property ownership is chosen to emphasise the attributes of control, exclusiveness, transferability, and potential loss also found in the ownership of property". "To 'own' a problem is to be obliged to claim recognition of a problem and to have information and ideas about it which are given a high degree of attention and credibility, to the exclusion of others. To 'own' a social problem is to possess the authority to name that condition a 'problem' and to suggest what might be done about it. It is the power to influence the marshalling of public facilities-laws, enforcement abilities, opinions, goods and services – to help resolve the problem. (Groenemayer, 2010, p 33). In my research one task was to investigate the background ('ownership') of problems. Home was central.

It is Monday, a dark and early morning of a wet February, the clock has just struck seven. The big school is rather empty. A primary class boy, who has the wind up, arrives. The headmaster inquires: "Why so early?" It turns out that as there was no-one at home at night and the boy was afraid of being late then he came in the middle of the night. "Have you eaten anything today?" the headmaster continues his enquiries. The reply is: "No".

According to the teachers, working in country schools, these kinds of cases are not rare, when on Monday morning they cannot start with lessons until some children have been fed. There are students who get food only five days a week - mainly in school lunches (that have been paid for by the parish).

The physical education teacher noticed on one boy's shoulder an iron shaped burn-mark. When investigating into the matter it turned out that the father had again been in a bad mood...

One cannot under estimate the impact of the family in the context of a problem-child: the school may do its best but when other values dominate at home, the teacher is powerless (Laajus, 1985, p 11). The cultural capital needed for a school's success divides unevenly between different societal groups (Kekkonen, 1998, p 34). Although all the age-classes commence their school-path from the first form, its course depends on home (Liljander, 1999, p 117). Bourdieu connects the school's success with culture, with the principles of a language and living, to be more precise. Also a hierarchical division of a labour force into positions of different classes in society refers to the fact that children with academic readiness get ahead at school: a social capital turns into unequal educational capital (Willis, 1984, p 27).

> *The mother, too, had problems with studies. Both of the parents studied very poorly and have antipathy towards school.*

One part of the population cannot influence social processes because of few resources (Hurme, 1990, p 269).

> *Unfortunately Avo's mother's business did not prosper – debts and legal problems arose. In despair the mother and her son went to live at her sister's "bunker".*

The parents of 'difficult' children differ from the others in that they cannot give praise for good behaviour, and react stormily to bad (Ratter, 1987, p 181). The result is a child who repels goodness because they are a stranger to it.

> *Ahti could not bear praising nor physical contact...*

Economic instability gives rise to a feeling of being unprotected, of fears and distresses in all age groups and the danger of violence increases (Laine, 1991, p 88). In families, where there is more work and sorrow than joy, people prefer methods that resolve things at home instantly– upbringing is more authoritarian, methods more violent (Allardt & Littunen, 1975, p 226).

> *Agnes comes from a family with a stepfather. 8 children grew up on their own – mother locked them up when she went to work. Home is dirty and filthy, children are sick with lack of attention because their stepfather is more important to their mother than they are. The mother's attitude towards school is repelling but in the case of a bad mark she punishes, beats.*

Acting violently the adult grounds his/her stresses, informing the child that treating them badly is justified and normal. The children are inclined to remain under the crossfire of the parents' contradictory requirements – problems deepen until they become a patient (Laajus, 1985, p 12).

> *I tried to restore the trust, but hearing the word 'home', Joe kept to himself. As the problems deepened, he went into a psychiatric clinic for examination, from where he was sent into a special school.*

The roots of behavioural problems are connected to the home environment. The difference does not depend on essence, nor on the strength of instincts but on the way these are lived out, on the inner censorship (Hägglund, 1985).

> *Ave's father has an irascible character; this is why the child refuses to study with him (in case the girl does not know, a physical punishment follows). And Ave does not like the fact that the mother only praises the dog.*

As stated earlier: a man who demands strict punishments, contributes his/her own harassment.

> *The boy took the mark "2" (= the worst mark in Estonia) very seriously – it turned out that the father is behind the fear.*

In Ziehe's opinion the results of family role, national social intervention and orientation to spending has become a special narcissism that is more conscious of itself and its wishes, but also more vulnerable and sensitive. Therefore narcissism is no more an accusing concept, characterising rather a socialisation relationship where people are more and more occupied with shaping themselves. This should not be confused with egoism or with being self-centred – narcissism has become a problem

because people do not love themselves enough: youngsters have much difficulty in creating a positive self-picture (Aittola, 1999, p 189). Support from school is above all needed for these children and their parents who cannot inject themselves with self-confidence on their own.

On the basis of the statements above a portrait of a normal pupil is drawn who corresponds to the following characters: *healthy, clean, hard-working, wants to answer, wishes to help the teacher, is active and takes on interest in the subject and results; homework is always done; does sports; does not sulk because of a bad mark; is not aggressive; has friends; physically well developed; movement co-ordinated; emotionally stable; keeps pace with the speed of the group; there are no study problems; does not express his or her emotions; sits decently at the desk; does not chat; expended behaviour; has study aids and these are in good order; clothes clean; home supports the school.*

The bar is set at a high level and the teacher's work as the one who normalizes the activity is not easy In designing the norm, industry imagines a diligent (line) worker who fulfils commands and behaves as expected to play a role. The conflict with the present time is obvious.

3) Teacher's ways to cope

School is characterised by bureaucracy and routines which partly spring from its socialising role. It falls to the shoulders of a pedagogue to make studies more human (in spite of a national and shallow curriculum) that Ziehe describes as a stress between formality and personality. The teacher is forced to balance the bureaucratic coldness of the school and impose safety for students. Whilst earlier the children's biographies remained behind the school door, the teacher now also solves

social problems (Aittola, 1999, p 204). Throughout history education is considered to be a life preserver in the case of social problems (Lorenz, 1994, p 88).

At this point, I will proceed from the point of view that solving social problems is more effective through social pedagogy. In doing so I confine myself to methods used at school. In the narrower meaning of the word "social" refers to activities outside academic teaching. In my research I call "social" activities on the teacher's side that go out of the limits of curriculum-connected messages: e.g. when the teacher writes a new task on the board, this is an academic act; in playing with students the relation becomes social. (Even if the play takes place on academic purposes I classify it as a social activity in so far as the role of a normative student is personalised in the course of the play.)

Acknowledgements

Pedagogue as an actor: the 'I command-forbid-punish' period is over and authoritarian methods do not function any more:

> *Did not give any results: sudden attacks, a punishment with a written order, sending to the headmaster or director of studies, solving the problem in the presence of strange people.*

Routine-free methods are more efficient:

> *The teacher allows students to leave the classroom and run in the corridor; group work; individualised studies; instead of a punishment the teacher speaks with the child as with a friend; giving importance to therapies; the teacher dares to doubt in the decisions of the administration; making up academic drawbacks outside studies; a computer as a supporter of an interest in studies; the teacher makes concessions, compromises because the child needs help.*

As becomes clear from the case descriptions, the presumption of coping is a role play: besides spreading knowledge the teacher acts as different professionals. The present day teacher has many different roles:

The role of the friend: *After many-time vis-à-vis conversations the boy found that he has one good friend at school and this is the teacher.*
The doctor: *The teacher started to worry because of continuous illnesses (head and stomach aches, nausea) and even inquired in the kindergarten about Ants's background before he came to school.*
The mother: *The teacher reprimanded the boy on his dirty hands. But the boy said that these do not get cleaner because he goes fishing every day, the hands get wet and this is the way they are.*
The **policeman**: *Nothing remained but to converse with Mari and send back the stolen stuff.*
The psychologist: *Peace, only peace – only a couple of days after the conflict was it possible to speak with the boy about what had happened - then h e was able to give explanations.*

The **play-therapist**: *I also thought of games and soon Rein already started to ask in the morning if we would also play after the classes? We usually play 'the shop': buy, sell and calculate.*

The **occupational therapist**: *The teacher decided to go into the yard with the boy instead: it was quiet, beautiful winter weather. The snow conglomerated well and the teacher proposed the boy build a snowman. Then Alo looked at the teacher for the first time in a sincere and happy way: "I was happy that I got him to speak!" - recalls the teacher. The boy talked little about his impressions but he talked nevertheless. In the yard they decided to remain friends.*

The **special teacher**: *With the boy and his mother we played a card game where you must draw or write something. In spring, a psychiatrist visited the school and advised a support school for the boy. The mother did not agree. The one who went to the support school was the class teacher – to get the necessary materials and knowledge.*

The **psychiatrist**: *Long conversations* tête-à-tête *had an impact - the situation became stable for a long time.*

The **social worker**: *It was only possible to talk to the mother at the shop (she did not come to school). Every time the boy did something wrong, the mother did not turn up. If Jan's mother had not been seen in the shop for a day or two, teachers started to discuss between themselves: what has the boy done again.*

The **family-consultant**: *While meeting the parents the teacher understood that in reality they are the ones who should be treated.*

The **hobby-adviser**: *I put Jan's drawings on the stand and drew the class's attention to them. Then the boy became important: he stood next to his work during the break and gave a mark with his head to show whose work really hung there.*

The **speech-therapist**: *Fear of reading decreased while we played with dolls: one doll reads well, the other badly.*

The **inspirer**: *Even a little praise, rising into prominence or a good mark inspired.*

The **sociologist**: *The teacher noticed the boy when the kindergarten group visited school. Hans was the only one who ran about all the time.*

The **network co-ordinator**: *The teacher alone cannot do very much – team work is needed. Success came once they found the tracks quickly and informed each other. But their own children and family suffered because there was not sufficient time for them any more.*

The **coach**: *Ari is physically strong and he wants to demonstrate his strength. At school I ask him to carry firewood: he takes very big armfuls, wanting the others to see how strong he is. He also likes to clear away snow.*

The **sensitive**: *The academic council advised he stay in the same form for the second time but I had a premonition that this would be wrong. I moved Leo into the front row in order to work with him individually. I invited the boy to play calculation lotto and word games that develop attention after classes. In such a way I won his trust and he could start studying. I praised wherever it was possible and the boy tried more and more. All the marks on his report were good and colleagues' words make it seem as if Leo has become a new boy.*

The **bank-teller**: *The teacher has to collect lunchmoney, and/or money for some events: for small trips, class parties et al.*

The **social pedagogue**: *When doing a new task, I always explain where they need this knowledge in life.*

The **adventure pedagogue**: *The boy likes hiking, but he keeps close to the teacher – just in case.*

Discussion

According to my doctoral thesis, the reason for the teachers' strike in 1997 was their work overload. The solution for the teachers' overload has been social pedagogy: now in many Estonian schools professionals called social pedagogues are working. Their responsibility is to take care of these additional (social) problems. The result is that the teacher can keep teaching. Community is a common existence, understanding

each other; and socialisation is preparation for this. The word 'social' has several meanings – on an everyday level this is considered to be the quality of an individual (a social person seeks contacts and enjoys company). In social psychology any reciprocal impact of men is called social (not dependant on the level), therefore everything that takes place in school is also social (Hilasvuori & Rantanen, 2000, p 5).

Social problems were widely described as a discrepancy between what is and what people think ought to be. A new brand of constructionist accounts present the foremost challenge to this realist approach by moving the spotlight from the search for underlying structural causes to people's subjective understandings of social problems. That said, from an ethno methodological perspective, the crucial analytical issue is not whether there is an objective basis to social problems but how these are constituted as important (or not) by individuals. (Barnes & Mercer, 2010, p 9).

In social pedagogy 'social' refers to co-operation as well as to assisting the poorer ones and solidarity – i.e. a concept that acquires a meaning with a value as in social political discussions, being in contradiction to the economical. Social pedagogy is interpreted as developing social and uplifting theories as well as vocational work and training (Hämäläinen & Kurki, 1997, p 15).

School is a contradictory place. On the one hand you can see a postmodernist liberality and playfulness in the pupils; on the other hand a school norm strives to (re)produce modernist citizens. The working methods of teachers go under the general denominator of social pedagogy, as a deconstruction of problems. Paradoxically when working with children who have become problem-causing, the same elements are used as when the child was not yet branded as problem-causing: playfulness, verbal activities, dealing with things that are outside study (or

are secondary), moving, art, music, etc. The school that wants to knock together same level norm-citizens from characteristically individual children nevertheless uses a personified approach in their corrective work. (Leino, 2002b).

The aim of this paper was to prove that the role of a teacher at school is more social than academic. The pedagogue must instil norms into students that prevail in society; on the other hand the teacher's rehabilitating work methods are also predominantly social. Additionally, the social-economic standing of the family influences the welfare of children: the cultural capital that is needed for school success is divided unevenly. The vocabulary, customs and routines of a school are by no means self-evident to all. Although it can be argued that several norms of educational institutions are out of date and disputable, anyone who ignores them is still labelled as special (Leino, 1999 p 220). The more social problems there are, the less a pedagogue may confine him- or herself to an academic role. From the case descriptions a multi method role descriptor of a teacher came forward: a role of a psychologist, (family) advisor, medical person, social worker, policeman, investigator, friend but also mother (and many others – I found 21 different roles in this research) is needed. Managing is made more difficult by the scarcity of knowledge. The teachers who want to help the children cannot manage in the time frames of work any longer. This was the reason for the teachers' strike in 1997.

References

1. **Aittola, T.** (1999) Thomas Ziehe. Epätavanomaisen oppimisen puolustus. (Protecting the alternative learning.) In Aittola, T. (ed) Kasvatussosiologian teoreetikoita (The classics of educational sociology), Gaudeamus. Helsinki Yliopistopaino, pp. 182-211.
2. **Allardt, E. & Littunen, Y.** (1975) Sosiologia (Sociology), Porvoo-Helsinki.
3. **Barnes, C., Mercer, G.** (2010) Exploring Disability, Polity Press.

4. **Berger, L. & Luckmann, Th.** (1994) Todellisuuden sosiaalinen rakentuminen (Social building of reality), Helsinki, Gaudeamus.
5. **Denzin, N. K.** (1998) The Art and Politics of Interpretation.- In Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (eds) Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials, Sage Publications Ltd. USA, pp. 313-344.
6. **Gordon, T., Holland, J. & Lahelma, E.** (2000) Making Spaces. Citizenship and Difference in Schools. Macmillian Press Ltd, London.
7. **Groenemeyer, A.** (2010) Doing Social Problems – Doing Social Control. Mikroanalysen der Konstruktion sozialer Probleme in institutionellen Kontexten – Ein Forschungsprogramm. In Groenemeyer, A. (Hrsg) Doing Social Problems. Mikroanalysen der Konstruktion sozialer Probleme und sozialer Haig, B. D. Grounded Theory as Scientific Method (1995) http://www.ed.uiuc.edu/eps/PES-Yearbook/95_docs/haig.html
8. **Henry, S.** (2009) Social Deviance, Cambridge: Polity Press.
9. **Hilasvuori, T. & Rantanen, T.** (2000) Yksilöllisyys ja auktoriteetti (Individuality and authoritarianism), Helsinkin Yliopisto, Vantaa.
10. **Hurme, H.** (1990) Lapsed aggression hallintakeinoista kotona ja koulussa (Childerns coping with aggressiveness at home and at school). Kasvatus (Education)*,* 4, pp. 261-270.
11. **Hägglund, T.-B.** (1985) Asosiaalisuus nuoruusiässä (Bad socialized youngster).- In Hägglund, T.-B. (ed) Nuoruusiän psykiatria (Psychiatry of youngster), - Helsinki Tammi, pp. 114-156.
12. **Hämäläinen, J. & Kurki, L.** (1997) Sosiaalipedagogiikka (Social pedagogy), WSOY, Porvoo.
13. **Juurak, R.** (1999, September 24). Töörahu katkenud (The peace of work interrupted). Õpetajate Leht (Teachers Magazine), p. 6.
14. Kekkonen, J. (1998) Eriarvoisuus ja sosiaaliset ongelmat (Differencies and social problems). Helsinki: HY Painamo.
15. **Laajus, S.** (1985) Terve perhe ja sen häiriöt. (The healthy family and its problems) Kasvatus 1, pp. 10-15.
16. **Laine, M.** (1991) Johdatus kriminologiaan ja poikkeavuuden sosiologiaan (The introduction to criminology and to the sociology of deviants). Helsinki: Tietosanoma OY.
17. **Leino, M.** (1999) Probleemsus kui norm? (Problems as norm?) In Turovskaja, A. (ed) Haigestumist ja tervenemist soodustavad

psühhosotsiaalsed tegurid (Psychosocial aspects in context of illness and health), TPÜ Kirjastus, Tallinn, pp. 216-221.

18. **Leino, M.** (2002a) Sotsiaalsed probleemid koolis ja õpetaja toimetulek (Social problems at school and teachers way to cope). Sotsiaalteaduste dissertatsioonid nr. 1 (Dissertations of social science nr. 1). TPÜ Kirjastus.

19. **Leino, M.** (2002b) Estonian school before and now. Young. Vol. 10, Issue 2, pp. 44-59.

20. **Leino, M., Lahelma, E.** (2002). Constructing and educating problem children: the case of post-communist Estonia. Journal of Inclusive Education. Vol. 6, Issue 1, pp. 79-90.

21. **Liljander, J.-P.** (1999) Pierre Bourdieu. Valikoiva erottautuminen koulutuksessa (Special differentiation in education). In Aittola, T. (ed) Kasvatussosiologian teoreetikoita (Classics of educational sociology), Gaudeamus, Yliopistopaino, Helsinki, pp. 105-128.

22. **Lindgren, H. C. & Suter, W. N.** (1994) Pedagoogiline psühholoogia koolipraktikas (Pedagogical psychology in school practice). – Tartu Ülikool.

23. **Livingstone, A., Spears, R., Manstead, A. S. R., Bruder, M.** (2009) Defining Common Goals without Speaking the Same Language: Social Identity and Social Action in Wales. In Wetherell, M. (Ed) Theorizing Identities and Social Action. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 238-255.

24. **Lorenz, W.** (1994) Social Work in a Changing Europe. Routledge, London New York.

25. **Payne, M.** (2005) Modern Social Work Theory, Palgrave Macmillan.

26. **Ratter, M.** (1987) Pomos'ts' trudnõm detjam (Helping difficult children). Moskva, Progress.

27. **Rondik, S.** (1999, January 08) TALO ja valitsuse kokkuleppest, pedagoogide ühistegevusest (The agreement of trade union and government about teachers joint activity). Õpetajate Leht (Teachers Magazine), p. 2.

28. **Rönkä, A.** (1995) Koulun ongelmaoppilas varhaisaikuisuudessa (The problem student in early adulthood), Kasvatus (Education) 2, pp. 142-150.

29. **Savolainen, H. & Lukkari, M.** (1994) Käyttäytymishäiriö: ilmiö vai häiriö tutkimuskäytännössä? (Behaviour problem: an evidence or

difficulty in research activity?) Kasvatus (Education) 3, pp. 274-280.

30. **Strauss, A.** (1994) Grundlagen qualitativer Sozialforschung (The main ideas of qualitative social research), München.
31. **Thorne, B.** (1997) Gender play. Rutgers University Press, USA.
32. **Tolonen, T.** (1999) Hiljainen poika ja äänekäs tyttö? (Calm boy and noisy girl?) In Tolonen, T. (ed) Suomalainen koulu ja kulttuuri (Finnish school and culture), Vastapaino, Tampere pp. 181-202.
33. **Tuunainen, K.** (1991) Suojelu- ja parantamiskasvatusopista erityiskasvatukseen. (From protective and improving education to special education.) Kasvatus (Education) 4, pp. 325-332.
34. **Willis, P.** (1984) Koulun penkiltä palkkatyöhön. (From school desk to labour market.) Miten työväenluokan nuoret saavat työväenluokan työt? (How working class youngster get the job of working class?) Tampere: Vastaapaino.

MARIIA VALIAVKO

HOW SOCIAL BENEFITS INFLUENCE POVERTY PERSISTENCE ACROSS COUNTRIES

Abstract

The paper analyzes the influence of social benefits on poverty persistence across countries using ECHP surveys from 1995 to 2000. Poverty exit hazard rates are estimated and used to calculate the distribution of time spent being poor over a six-year period. The results underline the importance of accounting for socio-demographic and labour market characteristics of individuals when measuring poverty persistence. Using the discrete-time hazard rate model, the paper then seeks to explain and forecast the observed chances of exiting poverty and the distribution of time spent in poverty for households with selected characteristics across different welfare regimes. The socio-economic correlates of observed poverty patterns are analyzed, accounting for the relative importance of both household and individual characteristics. The paper concludes that the social benefits system as a part of social policy has an impact on poverty duration.

Key words

poverty persistence, single spells, hazard rate model, welfare regime, social benefits, single-adult household.

Introduction

During the last 50 years, the life course has been subject to profound changes, for instance, the postponement of children, and the appearance of new family types such as single households etc. Concurrently, important changes have occurred in the labour market: we can see the active participation of women, higher rates of job changes and occupational mobility. In line with modern developments, restructuring of the welfare state and redistribution of market outcomes took place (Callens et al., 2009), and European governments performed political interventions into welfare state arrangements in order to decrease income inequality variations.

Industrialized countries developed sophisticated governmental programs during the last century to reduce various financial consequences of labour market and demographic events. In particular, they established minimum living standards for poor households; combining social insurance against specific labour market events such as retirement, disability, unemployment, with social assistance in order to distribute benefits to low-income households in accordance to their means, and with universal benefits like child allowances and tax reductions that have weak or no link to income (Duncan et al., 1993). In spite of a significant history of social programs, we have insufficient knowledge about their collective success in the reduction of risks to economic insecurity. Moreover, according to the Euro barometer report (2010), in the European Union nearly 80 million citizens, or 16 percent of its population, live below the poverty line, and many face serious obstacles in accessing employment, education, housing, social and financial services. Therefore, it is important to obtain a deeper understanding of the poverty phenomenon.

In spite of the availability of a large number of international comparative cross-sectional studies on poverty, which analyze various dimensions of the phenomenon, (Smeeding et al., 1993; Atkinson et al., 2002), there is a lack in the literature of a sophisticated description of the influence that social protection system has on poverty dynamics (McKernan and Ratcliffe, 2002). In line with previous accomplishments in the field, our main goal is to conduct a longitudinal analysis of poverty persistence and analyze its connection to the social benefits system across different welfare regimes. In particular, the welfare regime typology of Esping-Andersen (1990, 1999) is employed. Amongst all the European countries that represent these regimes, we chose to focus our study on the four countries which cover the most typical characteristics of each welfare regime: the Nordic regime is represented by Sweden, the Anglo-Saxon one – by the United Kingdom, and the Continental states – by Germany and France. It is also assumed that single people, as one of the poverty risk categories, are highly dependent on public transfers, so the social benefits system is studied from the perspective of single households (single adults and single parents).

There are several reasons why the focus of our study is interesting and important. First, the use of a dynamic perspective gives an opportunity to find causal relationships whereas a static perspective such as cross-sectional analysis often shows only symptoms of the problem. Secondly, the type of social benefits system is significant for understanding the poverty dynamics of a household and its members. Thirdly, the longitudinal analysis of such social indicators as poverty persistence is an essential ingredient in policy formulation, because, as most researchers indicate, the design of anti-poverty policy programs should depend on whether poverty is a short-term event which most people experience at one time or a long-term event concentrated amongst particular identifiable groups in the population (Bane and Ellwood, 1986). In the end, poverty is the

strongest determinant of various societal well-being indicators and in order to process social policy improvements in this field it is important to understand the following issues that our study examines: why poverty persistence is greater in some countries than others? Are social benefits significant determinants of poverty persistence? Does this phenomenon relate to the type of country's welfare regime or not?

The structure of the paper is as follows: in the next section, we review important perspectives on poverty and state our research hypotheses. In the Section Three we describe the methodology of the work (data used, the method of analysis and the model). The descriptive statistics are explained in Section Four. The Fifth Section presents the results of our analysis and discusses them. The final Section summarizes the results and provides social policy implications.

Literature review

Among classical determinants of poverty such as the labour market, family, welfare regime, we are aiming to discover the social benefits systems of welfare regimes, which control labour market and family characteristics. As the system of social benefits of different welfare regimes present the institutional context of countries within which poverty occurs, the primary goal of the paper is to assess whether social benefits reduce poverty persistence across countries. Research has shown that country welfare regimes strongly influence the probability of exiting poverty (Duncan et al., 1993; Goodin et al., 1999; Fouarge, 2002; Layte and Whelan, 2002). Nevertheless, scientists all over the world argue about the amount of impact social benefits have on poverty persistence.

According to Bane and Ellwood (1986), who were pioneers in examining the dynamics of poverty through methods based on spell durations and exit probabilities, in the US earnings changes

of all sorts account for about half of all spells of poverty; another 8 percent are accounted for by changes in unearned income, such as those who lost a variety of benefits and aid from others. In addition to this, increased transfer payments appeared to be important in ending spells of poverty: about 14 percent of all spells of poverty which were brought to an end were brought about by an increase in transfer payments.

Duncan et al. (1993) used the same approach as Bane and Ellwood and found out that some countries did much better than others in minimizing both short- and long-term poverty. For example social benefits play a significant role in poverty reduction in Canada, Ireland and the US, but not in such countries as Luxembourg, France and Germany. One of the possible explanations for such results, for example that of Luxembourg, could be that the Luxembourg panel data was not very useful in the poverty-transition analysis because very few families in Luxembourg met any of the definitions of poverty introduced by researchers. Nevertheless, scientists discovered that life-cycle events are common to nearly all the countries and without redistribution the potential economic risks and opportunities can be expected to create a great deal of economic turbulence for most families and persistent problems for some others.

Similar findings were obtained by Jenkins (1998) who studied income and poverty dynamics and their socioeconomic correlates in the United Kingdom. He has discovered that 11.5 percent of poverty exits in the UK are associated with dynamics in non-labour income. In addition to this, different pictures about persistence provide differing impressions about the concentration amongst the poor of receipt of social assistance and other benefits for poverty alleviation. A focus on the poverty stock indicated that the persistently poor receive most of the total resources devoted to poverty alleviation at any point in time. But a focus on flow, both out of and back into poverty, showed

that the number of people who are helped by poverty alleviation measures is many more than those currently poor. The other study of poverty in the UK focused on state dependence in low income individuals and found that 52 percent of "aggregate" state dependence was the difference between the conditional probability of being poor among those individuals who were poor and those who were non-poor (Cappellari and Jenkins, 2002).

The research into Nordic welfare regimes indicates that although unemployment benefits as well as other types of social assistance are comparatively high in Denmark, the welfare state does not entirely protect individuals from poverty in case of rising aggregate unemployment (Hussain, 2002). Moreover, the analysis of poverty persistence in Sweden suggests that the most vulnerable groups which have both low exit probabilities and high entry probabilities into poverty are households with children and immigrant households. Short-term income support programs - such as social assistance, and child- and housing allowances - might not be sufficient to permanently move these groups out of poverty. Instead, more emphasis should be placed on programs that are designed to improve long-term labour market outcomes for these groups (Hansen and Wahlberg, 2004).

As for Continental welfare regimes, Devicienti and Gualtieri (2007) have studied the dynamics and persistence of poverty during the nineties using the ECHP, 1994-2001. The results highlighted the role of demographic characteristics, the insufficiencies of the existing social security system and, above all, the weaknesses of the labour market in generating persistent poverty for certain subgroups of the population.

To conclude, previous studies show that countries with different welfare regimes have different level of poverty persistence, but it is important to understand the influence of such institutional

indicators as social benefits on this process. Studies which have analyzed the impact of welfare regimes on poverty dynamics illustrate that households in the Nordic welfare regimes have shorter poverty durations than in Anglo-Saxon and Continental welfare regimes and also that the experience is distributed more equally across the countries when examined from a longitudinal perspective (Fouarge and Layte, 2005). In addition, the UK is characterized by an uneven level of protection and a low level of compensation. Belgium, Germany, France and the Netherlands, which display somewhat lower poverty rates than Ireland and the UK are examples of an employment centered regime where the coverage of the unemployed is more widespread, the level of financial compensation is higher and active labour market policies play a prominent role. Finally Denmark has and provides a widespread coverage, a high level of benefits and a strong emphasis on active employment policies (Whelan et al., 2002).

Theoretical approach

Theoretical framework

To fight poverty in modern welfare states different anti-poverty policies have been implemented; but then, if poverty persists how effective have such policies been? This research seeks to investigate how much the different welfare states of Europe achieve in terms of decreasing the persistent income poverty through the social benefits system and what household and personal characteristics influence poverty persistence. The institutional context within which poverty occurs is introduced by country's welfare regimes. Esping-Andersen (1990, 1999) distinguishes three distinct regimes: Nordic, Anglo-Saxon, and Continental. Each of these welfare regimes displays unique characteristics in policy design. Nevertheless, amongst all the welfare regimes features we focus on the social benefits systems which provide important differences across countries.

47

The Nordic welfare regime (in our study represented by Denmark) is characterized by the active role of the state, which provides universal and not means-tested welfare benefits. In particular, this regime secures developed family policy encouraging gender egalitarianism and women's integration in the labour market; it has targeted social assistance and provides coverage for child and elderly care. The Anglo-Saxon model (in the paper this model is analyzed through the UK example) is known for ungenerous social benefits to the poor, means-tested assistance and poor family services. Moreover, targeting public transfers of the regime change type into tax type policies (Esping-Andersen and Myles, 2009) brings social insecurity, higher wage inequality and increased risk of poverty. As for the Continental regime (represented in the work by Germany and France), this is quite heterogeneous since it covers many European countries that have conservative origins. In addition, the regime has more generous welfare provision compared to the Anglo-Saxon system, but mostly underdeveloped family policies and assistance entitlements depend primarily on life-long employment. The differences in policy design are closely connected to variations in levels of income inequalities and poverty persistence.

According to Esping-Andersen and Myles (2009), welfare states hold distinct redistributive principles, some of which may endorse more equality of outcomes, while others may work in the opposite direction. Hence, in order to understand the effectiveness of redistributive functions of the welfare state, it is vital to distinguish persistent poverty and compare it across welfare regimes. Some researchers have studied the relationship between the welfare state and different dimensions of poverty and concluded that the welfare regime turns out to be highly significant for poverty entry (Callens et al., 2009), and welfare policies have a strong effect on poverty reduction (Kenworthy, 2004; Carneiro and Heckman, 2003; Esping-Andersen, 1999,

2007). Following Rowntree's (1901) classic study on poverty, individuals are not poor during their whole life, but only during specific periods of life, such as if they have dependent children or during retirement. Consequently, poverty is always related to increased household needs, reduced earnings or the inadequate social protection of definite groups of households. One type of such households is the single-adult household, which represents one fourth of the whole ECHP sample[1]. Previous research (Iceland, 2003; Fouarge and Layte, 2005; Cappellari and Jenkins, 2002) demonstrates that single households exit poverty more slowly than couples. It can be explained by the fact that individuals who cohabitate can possibly rely not only on social assistance but also on the income of their partner, whilst single people are highly dependent on public transfer systems. In order to obtain a better understanding of the impact of social benefit systems on the poverty duration of people in need, we focus our analysis on single-adult households. This has not been done in previous studies.

Research Questions

In the previous section we outlined the theoretical framework within which this paper is located and the importance of longitudinal analysis for understanding the social benefits system as a determinant of poverty persistence. In the coming sections we seek to answer three specific questions about the relationship between the welfare regime in the form of social benefits systems and poverty duration. These questions are as follows: Firstly, to what extent does the level of persistent poverty vary across countries? Secondly, are transition rates from poverty and average durations of poverty in different countries related to the welfare regime? And thirdly, to what

---

[1]   242 784 of single-adult households out of 1 112 327 households in the dataset.

extent is the probability of exiting poverty related to socio-economic and socio-demographic characteristics rather than social benefits system?

We test the following hypotheses in the sections to come:

Hypothesis 1: Following the theoretical framework outlined in the last section, we should find that Denmark, a country with the Nordic social benefits system, has shorter poverty persistence compared to the UK as a representative of the Anglo-Saxon regime, and Germany and France as Continental countries.

Hypothesis 2: In countries with a benefit system that offers universal income support at a relatively high replacement rate and with a wide entitlement in the population (e.g. Denmark), we should see shorter poverty spells and a quicker exit from poverty than in countries where social benefits are more difficult to access and are at a lower level (e.g. the UK).

Hypothesis 3: Disadvantaged groups, such as lone parents and people who are unable to participate in the labour market, should have higher risks of persistent poverty in all the analyzed countries.

This paper provides insight into the social efficiency of the various EU social benefits systems over the longer term. It also presents evidence on the extent to which the EU welfare regimes promotion of citizen's welfare influences poverty persistence within single-adult households.

Methodology

Dataset

As the research is aimed at a comparison across countries that represent three types of welfare regimes: Nordic (Denmark), Anglo-Saxon (the UK), and Continental (France and Germany), the analysis is based on individual and household panel data from the European Community Household Panel (ECHP) linked with a regional time series database. This is harmonized data

incorporating a high degree of comparability and contains accurate information on personal and household characteristics of respondents and their labour market experiences. The eight waves (1994 - 2001) of the dataset capture important business cycle effects: the 1990s were hard economic times whilst 2001 represents the tail end of this period. One main advantage of this survey in the context of the study is the range of questions covering social benefits systems. The ECHP includes set of questions detailing specific forms of social benefits at household level. This allows for a more accurate description of social benefit related issues.

Nevertheless, one of the important problems with the dataset is the problem of self-selection in the sample for some countries. For instance, there is a high level of attrition from the panel in the UK, which is mainly situated in the lower spectra of income ranges (Cappellari and Jenkins, 2002). In particular, this problem arises when low-income respondents choose not to participate. Accordingly, this leads to an over-estimation of poverty-transitions as individuals who are likely to have long poverty durations are the ones that are very likely to not participate in the survey. Moreover, there are different degrees of sample attrition in analyzed countries, which also affects the results. For instance, the sample in Denmark is twice as small compared to that of the UK, and, as we know, if estimation ignores attrition, poverty persistence and poverty exit rates are likely to become over-estimated. Unfortunately, those problems are not controlled in the study.

Sample

In this research six waves of the ECHP will be used, thus the study covers the years between 1995 and 2000 for four countries: Denmark, the UK, Germany and France. The ECHP is an unbalanced panel without weighting, but this is not a problem for our study as controls for censoring are used. The

first wave of the 8-wave dataset was lost after deleting the left-censored observations, and the last wave was also dropped during lagging manipulations of income variables. The sample includes everyone between the ages of 16 to 92. The unit of analysis in this study is the period of household poverty. In particular, to analyze long-term poverty, we set the poverty status at a household level and then continued analysis at an individual level. Therefore, the household level file was expanded to an individual level by merging the individual level identification variable and some other variables (gender, age, education, health, activity status) from the longitudinal file into the household file. The study includes 3747 periods of poverty.

As was described in the theoretical framework, in this study it is appropriate to conduct the analysis specifically focusing on single-adult households, i.e. single adults and single parents, which represent an important group of those at risk of poverty and who significantly rely on the social benefits system. We assume that this will help us to achieve a better understanding of the relationship between the social benefits system and poverty persistence, whilst controlling for the socio-demographic and labour market characteristics.

Poverty persistence

The dependent variable in this paper is the probability of exiting poverty. There are many ways to operationalize poverty. In this research the net household income measure is employed. Though this measure does not fully represent the nature of poverty, as non-income sources of wealth such as savings, food supplies from agricultural activity, borrowing money that can support a person in times of hardship, are not included. The principal accounting period for income employed in the ECHP is the previous calendar year which can create certain problems for longitudinal poverty analysis that seeks to use changing household and personal characteristics (Layte and Whelan,

2002). In order to solve this problem we lagged the income variables by one year. However, using lagged information also means that the last year of the data cannot be used and shortens an already short run of panel years.

The poverty persistence variable is constructed considering household composition differences, because a household consisting of a single adult does not require the same amount of income as a household formed by an adult with one or more children. Therefore, the income variable is divided by an equivalence scale accounting for the number of adults and children living in a household. The scale we employ is often termed the "modified OECD" equivalence scale where the adult in the household is given the value 1 and each child a value of 0.3. The equalized income of the household is then divided by the PPP (Purchasing Power Parity) index in order to account for countries' differences in national currency purchasing power.

As with all poverty research we have to define a yardstick upon which we will be able to measure the concept and a threshold at which it will start (Fouarge and Layte, 2005). There is no official poverty line but 60% of the median equalized household income per capita is the most commonly used cut-off and we set the poverty threshold at this median level. Thus in order to assess the poverty status of a household in a specific year, household equalized income is compared with a relative poverty threshold, below which a household is considered to be poor.

Explanatory variables

Social benefits variables. This study uses such continuous social benefits variables as unemployment benefits, old-age/survivors' benefits, family-related allowances, sickness/invalidity benefits, education-related allowances, housing allowances, social assistance, and any other benefits. In kind transfers or home food production are not included. In the

analysis we assess the impact of each kind of social protection benefits by evaluating the effect of such benefits on poverty persistence rates. Moreover, in the paper we control for the share of benefits in income: this variable was categorized as less than 25, 25 – 50, 50 – 75, and more than 75 percent. With the help of these variables we are able to measure the degree to which households depend on public aid. The social benefit variables are related to the second hypothesis of our study, where we discover the effect of particular public transfers in different welfare regimes on poverty exit probabilities.

Other variables. In order to answer the third research question about poverty exit probabilities of different disadvantaged social groups, we introduced the following controlling variables. Observed characteristics of a household's single adult are summarized by gender, age, highest educational level, health status, and activity status. Age refers to whether an individual is aged 16 – 92 years: we expect older people to be a disadvantaged group, and hence have longer poverty persistence. We distinguish three categories of educational qualification: low, medium, and high. Health status refers to whether the respondent stated that s/he had good, fair or bad health. Activity status is categorized as inactive, unemployed or employed. We also control for time periods of the business cycle that started in 1995 (period 1) and ended in 2000 (period 6). The characteristics of each respondent's household are summarized by household type: single adult or lone parent.

Model

The use of an event-history method to construct estimates of the duration of completed poverty periods is a simple and compact approach to understanding the dynamics of poverty. This paper follows the line of previous research, but extends it by allowing for the duration dependent exit probabilities of single-adult households.

The main goal of the study is to find durations of poverty and see if these differ according to social benefit systems across countries. Classically for such a research question, this study will use survival analysis. The survival analysis is appropriate here as it makes possible the investigation of how long a person is likely to remain in a certain state, while, for instance, normal OLS regression cannot find unbiased estimates. Moreover, a survival analysis allows inclusion of so-called right-censored cases, which is when the expected event does not occur (Allison, 1984).

An individual is said to have survived if the event between two different observations has not occurred. The duration of a poverty spell is indirectly modeled with the use of a hazard function, or in the case of discrete conditional probability of ending the spell. Because there are only six waves of data, exit rates of long durations cannot be estimated. According to Singer and Willet (1993), conditional probability denotes the probability that an individual (i) will experience an event in time point (j), given that the event has not occurred at a previous time point. The variable denoting the occurrence of the event for individual i in time point j is T. This is expressed by the formula:

$$h\,(t_{ij}) = \Pr\,[T_i = j \mid j \leq T_i] \qquad\qquad (1)$$

where the $h\,(t_{ij})$ stands for the hazard function for person i in spell j. The other concept of interest is the survival function that indicates the cumulative probability that an individual i will not experience the event in spell j, i.e. that the individual i will survive (Singer and Willet, 1993). According to this, the survival function of an individual is:

$$S\,(t_{ij}) = \Pr\,[j < T_i] \qquad\qquad (2)$$

The data used for the analysis are discrete in nature since both the dependent variable and the explanatory variables are yearly observations. The majority of models designed to handle event history analysis, for instance the Cox model and

other fully parametric models, are developed for continuous data where we can observe many time points and exits that are evenly dispersed. When dealing with discrete data the data points are grouped and that results in occurrence of many exits at each time point, thus introducing models for continuous data can give biased results (Singer and Willet, 1993). In addition to this, Jenkins (2005) indicates that the exact survival rate cannot be estimated, but only in what time periods exits occurred. As a result, for modeling discrete survival data we need specific models that take into account specific characteristics of discrete data. There are two types of such modeling, one is by introduction of a logistic model and the other is a complimentary log-log model. The advantage of a logistic model is that it accounts for intrinsically discrete data, and a log-log model – for data that is intrinsically continuous but measured only at discrete time points (Jenkins, 2005). Thus the complimentary logistic model will be used for the analysis and described in more details below.

The logistic model is a representation of a discrete hazard model. This means that the parameters are based on conditional probability accounting for the grouped nature of the survival function. We can fit a logit regression model of the form:

$$\text{logit}[h_j(t)] = \log\left[\frac{h_j(t)}{1 - h_j(t)}\right] = \alpha(t) + \beta x_j(t)$$

(3)

where the regression coefficient (β) summarizes the proportional effect of absolute change on the other covariates, covariates $x_j(t)$ can be constant over time or time-varying; α (t) is some function of time, called the logit of the baseline hazard function. In this study we make an assumption about the discrete time hazard model, in particular, we assume no unobserved heterogeneity in the research.

Therefore, a single spell hazard model will allow us to assess the importance of duration dependence in poverty as well as the impact of observable characteristics, such as social benefits, labour market conditions and socio-demographic characteristics of single-adult households, on poverty exits.

Left-censoring and multiple spells

One of the main advantages of using survival analysis is that right-censored cases remain included. Nevertheless, there is another form of censoring, which is left-censoring. The left-censoring occurs when we cannot observe the beginning of a spell in data, i.e. those spells that began before the observation started. Therefore every household that was poor at the beginning of the study, in 1994, has to be excluded as the full length of their poverty spell is impossible to determine (Singer and Willet, 1993).

The next issue with which we need to deal in the model is multiple spells. The household may not be limited to only one spell of poverty during the length of the study, moreover, according to research, multiple spells are an important factor in poverty persistence (Stevens, 2000). However, in this study due to limitations in the dataset the model will be restricted to the analysis of single poverty spells.

Descriptive Analysis

Table 1 shows the summary of means (and their standard deviations) of all the variables of interest in this study. The table has been divided between four countries: Denmark, the UK, Germany and France in order to show the variables distribution in relation to each. Following the theoretical framework of the study, the variables of interest are the variables concerning types of social benefits, their share in income, labour market status, household composition and individual characteristics such as gender, age, level of education and health status.

The important variables in this work are social benefits determinants, which are continuous variables measured in purchase power parity (PPP). From the table, we observe that on average old-age/survivors' benefits are the most represented in all the countries compared to other types of benefits. On average, the highest levels of pensions, sickness/invalidity and education-related benefits are in Denmark; the level of unemployment benefits is high in Germany, whereas the lowest level of this kind of benefits is in the UK; nevertheless, in the latter there is a large amount of housing allowance.

If the attention is then directed to the labour market characteristics, the following picture emerges. The average number of individuals in a poverty spell has an "inactive" activity status (0.62), moreover, in line with our theory; the highest average (0.71) of "inactive" individuals across countries is in the UK. As for the personal characteristics, on average, people in poverty have low levels of education (0.58). In particular, among low educated people we observe the largest proportion of them to be in the UK (0.72) and France (0.71), and a smaller proportion – in Germany (0.32) and Denmark (0.47). Further, there is a difference in household composition across countries. On average, the largest proportion of single parents in poverty is in Germany (0.23) and the UK (0.22), while in Denmark this proportion is much lower (0.10).

While describing poverty spell durations we can find evidence to support our first hypothesis. In particular, it can be seen that households in Denmark have shorter poverty spell durations (2.44 years) compared to other countries, whereas, as was expected, the UK has the longest poverty duration rate (2.92). However, the table already indicates some of the problems which arise in empirical implementation. The amount of information is relatively limited. Because there are only six waves of data, poverty spells of long duration cannot be estimated. In addition to this, the poverty spell durations are potentially underestimated

as the descriptive table does not account for censored cases. In order to receive a better understanding of poverty spell duration across countries and estimate the proportion of the respondents staying in poverty and leaving poverty, we introduced the hazard and survivor functions distribution below.

Table 2 presents a life table which tracks the poverty event histories of a sample of poverty spells from the beginning (1995) through to the end of data collection (2000). The hazard function shows the proportion of the individuals at the beginning of the year who exited a poverty spell during the year. Among 3747 poverty spells, in Denmark the proportion of people who left poverty by the end of their first year equals 0.47, in the UK - 0.37, in Germany - 0.50, and in France - 0.44. In Denmark and Germany all respondents who have been in poverty for five years do not show an exit from a poverty spell in the sixth time interval since there are only few cases of persistently poor households left in the sample.

The survivor function provides another way of describing the distribution of poverty event occurrence over a six-year period. In particular, it provides maximum likelihood estimates of the probability that an individual randomly selected from the population will not experience the event through each successive time period. The survivor function of a poverty spell varies across analyzed countries and drops by year 6 in Denmark to 0.20, in the UK to 0.24, in Germany to 0.09, and in France to 0.14.

Therefore, we can observe the differences in distribution of poverty persistence across countries, and in the following section we will try to analyze those differences.

Multivariate Analysis

In this section we estimate hazard rate models of exit from poverty conditional on a number of independent predictors, the most important of which in the context of this paper are country and social benefits. The final model[1] for each country is presented in the paper and includes three types of variables that are likely to be important factors characterizing different country profiles: 1) social benefits (types and share of benefits in income); 2) personal and household characteristics (age, sex, household composition); and 3) socio-economic characteristics (education level, labour market participation, health status).

Moving first to the Model for the UK (Table 3), as expected the time period spent in poverty is of importance with the rate of exit decreasing over time. The resulting parameter estimate for period 6 is 4.209. As for social benefits, variables are significant and, excepting unemployment benefits, have positive signs which indicate that, in each period, households that receive social benefits are more likely to exit poverty. In substantive terms, coefficients of social benefits variable magnitude represent a substantial, and potentially important, effect on exiting poverty in every time period. In particular, old-age, housing and other benefits have larger effects compared to other types of benefits, controlling for labour market and personal characteristics. For instance, a one unit increase in old-age benefits, similarly to housing and other benefits, leads to the increase in an odds ratio[2] of exiting poverty by 0.2 percent. Moreover, the share

---

[1] Explanatory variables were included gradually (not shown here) and tested in previous models, and at the end a final and improved model is presented. Coefficients in models for each country are comparable as they were tested through the test for equality of coefficients between equations (suest test - tests for intramodel and cross-model hypotheses).

[2] Odds ratios are calculated by exponentiation of the regression coefficient β presented in the table.

of benefits in income also has an effect on exiting poverty: compared to those whose share of benefits is less than 25 percent, people who have 25 – 50, 50 – 75, or more than a 75 percent share have a lower probability of exiting poverty. The level of education of household members is important with low and medium education being associated with a slower exit from poverty. Low educated households have a 70 percent lower probability of exiting poverty than high educated households. There is a negative effect on the exit from poverty associated with an adult being female and being a single parent. The estimated odds of exiting poverty for females are 58 percent lower compared to males; and the estimated odds of poverty exits for single parents are 75 percent lower compared to single adults. Lastly, the labour market status is also of importance for poverty persistence: unemployed households have a 70 percent lower odds ratio of exiting poverty than employed households. These findings are in line with expectations.

Looking at the Model for Denmark (Table 4), it can be seen that on average all types of analyzed benefits are significant for exiting poverty (keeping other variables constant). For example, a one unit increase in old-age or housing benefit leads to an increase in the odds ratio of exiting poverty of 0.1 percent. As expected in Denmark, a country with egalitarian welfare regime, there are no gender differences in exiting poverty. Moreover, due to an active family policy single-parent households do not differ significantly in rates of exiting poverty from single-adult households. As for individual characteristics, the level of education is essential with medium and low levels of education being related to a slower exit from poverty compared to a high level of education. The estimated odds of exiting poverty for low-educated and medium-educated households are 80 percent lower compared to high-educated households.

The Model for Germany (Table 5) shows that unemployment, old-age, family, sickness and housing benefits are of importance

in the rates of poverty exit. A one unit increase in family benefits leads to an increase in the odds ratio of exiting poverty by 0.08 percent; while one unit increase in sickness benefits leads to an increase in the odds of poverty exit by 0.06 percent. However, as in other countries, the increase of a share of benefits in income has a negative effect on the exit from poverty. On average females exit poverty slower than males, controlling for other variables, female-headed households have a 47 percent lower odds ratio of exiting poverty than male-headed households. There is also a negative effect on single-parent households on the dependent variable: the estimated odds ratio of poverty exit for single parent is 68 percent lower than for single adults. Moreover, the same pattern can be observed in education. The estimated odds of exiting poverty for low-educated households are 80 percent lower compared to high-educated households.

The analytical interpretation of the current findings cannot be done unambiguously, since many unobserved factors stand behind the presented picture. Taking this into consideration, basic results regarding the links between events and poverty exits are readily summarized. The exits related to social benefits play a significant role in all countries, nevertheless, there is a difference in the amount of effect each type of benefits has in countries with the different welfare regimes. Data and the poverty persistence suggest considerable diversity across households. The figures clearly show that some countries rely more on pension benefits to reduce poverty persistence, while other countries such as Denmark and the UK rely more on "other transfers". One of the possible reasons for such variations is the difference in the experience of some countries such as the UK, where, for instance, relatively less generous public pension provision and, therefore, relatively low public spending levels accompanied by a steady growth in the private pension system (which is not studied in the ECHP). Despite the overall variation in aggregate public spending across countries, there is a similarity in public expenditure on education, except

Germany, where education benefits do not show an impact on poverty exits. This insignificant spending on education in Germany can be explained by the free education system which lasted in the country until the beginning of the present century. Moreover, the variation in public spending on family benefits in the analyzed countries may be described according to the form of that assistance. As we know, in such countries as Denmark and France about a half of family support concerns childcare and kindergarten support that helps families to reconcile work and care commitments, whereas in Germany family support concerns mostly cash and tax transfers to households. In addition, the baseline hazard function steadily decreases over time in the UK and Denmark, which means that the exit from poverty is getting slower over time. In Germany and France the probability of exiting poverty in 1999 (period5) was higher compared to the previous year. This can possibly be explained by the fact that on average across all European countries public social spending-to-GDP ratios declined from the mid-1990s until 2000, only to increase thereafter. Nevertheless, in Germany and France this trend was less pronounced and it is likely that the social protection systems of those countries in 1999 helped poor people to exit poverty more successfully than was previously the case. Moreover, since the reunification of Germany in 1990, this country has seen an annual average real growth of only about 1.5 percent and a high rate of unemployment, however, the best performance since that time was registered at the end of 1999 and reached 3 percent of real growth. Such a fast development in the country obviously had an impact on all social indicators including the increased probability of exiting poverty for some persistently poor households. The share of benefits in income in all analyzed countries indicates that compared to a share which is less than 25 percent, an increased share of benefits has a negative effect on the dependent variable and slows down the exit from poverty. This indicator captures the size of the poverty gap and we can see that households which are

highly dependent on public assistance have lower probabilities of exiting poverty in all analyzed countries.

Thus, our second hypothesis is supported by the findings, and in countries with a benefit system that offers universal income support at a relatively high replacement rate and with a wide entitlement in the population such as Denmark, we see shorter poverty spells and a quicker exit from poverty than in countries such as the UK where social benefits are more difficult to access and are at a lower level.

An active labour market, good health and high education are also frequent causes of exit. In addition, only in France and Denmark do gender differences appear to be insignificant for poverty exits; and there is also no negative effect of being a single parent in the latter. Such findings can be explained by egalitarian social policies in Denmark and France, where women and men have equal opportunities to exit poverty. Moreover, due to an active family policy in Denmark, being a single parent is not necessarily associated with a lower poverty exit probability as in other countries. Therefore, our third hypothesis is proved only partly, because some disadvantaged groups, such as lone parents, have a higher risk of persistent poverty in all analyzed countries, except Denmark.

Conclusions

In this study, we used six waves of the ECHP – covering the years 1995 through to 2000 – to examine the persistence of poverty spells and their determinants. For this task, we employed discrete-time hazard modeling techniques. In the paper we have aimed to evaluate how well the different welfare states of Europe achieve in terms of decreasing the persistent income poverty through the social benefits system and what single-adult households and personal characteristics influence

poverty persistence. From a policy perspective, it is essential to know which households experience persistent poverty and to understand the process of exiting poverty. In the research we have looked in more details into institutional and single-adult household contexts.

We have argued that the institutional context within which poverty occurs matters and found evidence supporting this view. The social benefits system as part of a country's welfare regime has an impact on poverty duration. In particular, in line with our first hypothesis, Denmark as a country representing the Nordic welfare regime has an effective social benefits system and, consequently, shorter poverty persistence compared to other regimes. The Anglo-Saxon tradition represented by the UK has on average the longest poverty duration and this was explained by weaker social protection and the significant influence of labour market characteristics.

According to the second hypothesis, in Denmark as a country with a benefit system offering universal income support at a relatively high replacement rate and with a wide entitlement in the population, we observe higher poverty exit probability than in countries where social benefits are more difficult to access and are at a lower level.

As for our third hypothesis, looking at socio-demographic characteristics of the household, we found that single parents are more likely to be persistently poor and have lower probabilities of exiting poverty than single adults in all countries, except Denmark. Other things being equal, low educated and female-headed households increase the risk of poverty.

Previous researchers have already indicated some of important policy implications, and they may find additional supportive arguments in the results of this study. Among such implications we can name income supplement for non-working low-educated

households with children, early identification and intervention for the recurrently and persistently poor, as well as targeted measures aimed at increasing exit rates from poverty. As the persistence in poverty lengthens, it becomes more and more difficult to succeed in moving out of it through one's own means. Moreover, the occurrence of poverty persistence dependence in the exit rates means that timely policy interventions, if suitable in promoting an early escape above the threshold, can have long-term effects of poverty reduction. Recent tendencies of social sector reforms towards rationalization of public expenditure for social assistance, and more effective targeting of public policy interventions appear to be in the right direction for future improvements in social sphere.

The limitation of the present study is that the number of time periods for which data was available is rather limited, and it did not allow us to use more complicated techniques. In the next study it would be appropriate to focus narrowly on the working-age population, because our sample of people aged 16-92 is likely to be driven much more by the elderly who have low poverty exit probabilities. Another important issue which is not covered in this study is the selection problem, as the reasons for which retirees are brought into poverty are very different from those for single parents. This problem may be discovered in future studies through the 2-stage Heckman selection model. Consequently, more complicated approaches are more demanding to implement and constitute the agenda for future research.

References

1. **Allison, P.D.** (1984). *Event history analysis. Regression for longitudinal event data. Quantitative applications in the social sciences*. No. 46. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

2. **Atkinson, A.B.** (1985). *How should we measure poverty? ESRC Programme on taxation, incentives and the distribution of income*. Discussion paper 82.

3. **Atkinson, A.B.** (1987). *On the measurement of poverty*. Econometrica 44.

4. **Atkinson, A.B.** (1998). *Poverty in Europe*. Oxford, Blackwell Publishers.

5. **Atkinson, A., Cantillon, B., Marlier, E., & Nolan, B.** (2002). *Social indicators. The EU and social exclusion*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

6. **Bane, M., & Ellwood, D.** (1986). *Slipping Into and Out of Poverty: The Dynamics of Spells*. Journal of Human Resources, vol. 21, no. 1.

7. **Blanden, J., & Gibbons, S.** (2006). *The persistence of poverty across generations*. Joseph Rowntree Foundation, the UK.

8. **Callens, M., Croux, C., & Avramov, D.** (2009). *Poverty dynamics in Europe. A multilevel discrete-time recurrent hazard analysis*. Journal of International Sociology, 24.

9. **Cappellari, L., & Jenkins, S.** (2002). *Who stays poor? Who becomes poor? Evidence from the British Household Panel Survey.* The Economic Journal, Vol. 112.

10. **Carneiro, P., & Heckman, J.** (2003). *Human Capital Policy*. In Inequality in America: What Role for Human Capital Policies. MIT Press.

11. **Citro, C.F., & Michael, R.T.** (1995). *Measuring poverty: a new approach*. National Academy Press, Washington D.C., the USA.

12. **Danziger, S.H., & Haveman, R.H.** (1992). *Understanding poverty*. Russell Sage Foundation.

13. **Devicienti, F.** (2000). Poverty Persistence in Britain: A Multivariate Analysis Using the BHPS, 1991-1997. Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Essex.

14. **Devicienti, F., & Gualtieri, V.** (2007). The dynamics and persistence of poverty: evidence from Italy. Collegio Carlo Alberto. Working paper No. 63.

15. **Duncan, G.** (1983). The Implications of Changing Family Composition for the Dynamic Analysis of Family Economic Well-Being in "Panel Data on Incomes" by A.B. Atkinson. London School of Economics.

16. **Duncan, G., & Rodgers, W.** (1991). Has Children's Poverty Become More Persistent? American Sociological Review, vol.56, no. 4

17. **Duncan, G., Gustafsson, B., Hauser, R., Schmauss, G., Messinger, H., Muffels, R., Nolan, B., & Ray, J.** (1993). Poverty dynamics in eight countries. Journal of Population Economics, vol. 6.

18. **Esping-Andersen, G.** (1990). The three worlds of welfare capitalism. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

19. **Esping-Andersen, G.** (1996). Welfare states at the end of the century: the impact of labour markets, family and demography. London: Sage.

20. **Esping-Andersen, G.** (1999). Social Foundations of Post Industrial Economies. Oxford University Press.

21. **Esping-Andersen, G.** (2003). Towards the good society, once again? International Social Security Association, Geneva, Switzerland.

22. **Esping-Andersen, G.** (2007). Equal opportunities and the welfare state. Contexts, 6: 23-27.

23. **Esping-Andersen, G., & Myles, J.** (2009). Economic inequality and the welfare states. The Oxford Handbook on Economic Inequality. Oxford University Press.

24. **Esping-Andersen, G.** (2005). Social bases of changing income distributions. Working paper, Universitat Pompeu Fabra.

25. **Eurobarometer report 72.1** (2010). Poverty and social exclusion. Belgium.

26. **Fouarge, D.** (2002). Poverty subsidiarity in Europe. Tilburg University.

27. **Fouarge, D., & Layte, R.** (2005). Duration of poverty spells in Europe. Dublin: The economic and social research institute.

28. **Goodin, R.E., Headey, B., Muffels, R., & Dirven, H.-J.** (1999). The real worlds of welfare capitalism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

29. **Hansen, J., & Wahlberg, R.** (2004). Poverty persistence in Sweden. Bonn: IZA, Discussion paper No. 1209.

30. **Hemerijck, A.** (2002). The self-transformation of the European social models. Oxford University Press.

31. **Hussain, M.** (2002). Poverty duration in Denmark. The Danish national institute for social research, working paper No. 28.

32. **Iceland, J.** (2003). Poverty in America: a handbook. Berkeley: University of California Press.
33. **Jenkins, S.** (1998). Modelling household income dynamics. Essex: Institute for Social and Economic Research.
34. **Jenkins, S.** (2005). Survival Analysis: lecture notes. From <http://www.iser.essex.ac.uk/files/teaching/stephenj/ec968/pdfs/ec968lnotesv6.pdf>
35. **Kenworthy, L.** (2004). Rising Inequality Not a Surge at the Top. Challenge, M.E. Sharpe, Inc., vol. 47(5).
36. **Layte, R., & Whelan, C.** (2002). Moving in and out of poverty: the impact of welfare regimes on poverty dynamics in the EU. Essex: EPAG Working Paper No. 30.
37. **Lelkes, O., & Zolyomy, E.** (2008). Poverty across Europe: the latest evidence using the EU-SILC Survey. European Centre.
38. **Longford ,N.T., & Nicodemo, C.** (2009). A sensitivity analysis of poverty definitions. Working Paper 2009-15, CEPS/INSTEAD, Differdange, Luxembourg.
39. **McKernan, S.-M., & Ratcliffe, C.** (2002). Transition events in the dynamics of poverty. Washington: The Urban Institute.
40. **Moffitt, R., & Rendall, M.** (1995). Cohort Trends in the Lifetime Distribution of Family Headship in the US, 1968-1985. Demography, Vol. 32, No. 4
41. **Notten, G., & Neubourg, C.** (2007). Poverty in Europe and the USA: exchanging official measurement methods. MPRA Paper No. 4669, Maastricht University.
42. **Rodgers, J.R., & Rodgers, J.L.** (1993). Chronic poverty in the United States. Journal of Human Resources, Vol. 28, No. 1.
43. **Rowntree, B.S.** (1901). Poverty: a study of town life. London: MacMillan.
44. **Salverda, W., Nolan, B., & Smeeding, T.** (2009). The Oxford Handbook of Economic Inequality. Oxford University Press.
45. **Sen, A.** (1976). Poverty: An ordinal approach to measurement. Econometrica, No. 44.
46. **Singer, J., & Willett, J.** (1993). Using discrete-time survival analysis to study duration and the timing of events. Psychological Bulletin, 110.
47. **Smeeding, T.M.** (1993). Cross-National Patterns of Retirement and Poverty Among Men and Women in the 1980s: Full Stop or Gradual Withdrawal? In A.B. Atkinson, and M. Rein (eds.), Age,

Work, and Social Security. London: MacMillan Publishers: New York: St. Martin's Press.

48. **Stevens, A.H.** (1994). The Dynamics of Poverty Spells: Updating Bane and Ellwood. American Economic Review, Vol. 84, No. 2.

49. **Stevens, A.H.** (2000). Climbing out of poverty, falling back in: measuring the persistence of poverty over multiple spells. Journal of Human Resources.

50. **Whelan, C., Layte R., Maitre, B., & Nolan, B.** (2000). Poverty dynamics: an analysis of the 1994 and 1995 waves of the ECHP. European Societies, vol. 2, # 4.

51. **Whelan, C.T., Layte, R., Maitre, B., & Nolan, B.** (2001). Persistent Income Poverty and Deprivation in the European Union: An Analysis of the First Three Waves of the European Community Household Panel. Working Paper # 17, Economic and Social Research Institute, Dublin, Ireland.

52. **Whelan, C., Layte, R., & Maitre, B.** (2002). Multiple deprivation and persistent poverty in the European Union. Journal of European Social Policy.

Annex A: Variable Operationalisation

Variable	Operationalisation	Remark
Period	Dummy coded variable "Period 1"(1995) reference 1995 – 2000	This variable has been included to control for changing levels of benefits, personal and household characteristics through out the study
Share of Benefits in Income	Dummy coded variable Less than 25% (reference) 25 – 50% 50 – 75% More than 75%	
Unemployment related benefits	Continuous variable Measured in PPP (Purchase Power Parity)	
Old-age/Survivors' benefits	Continuous variable Measured in PPP (Purchase Power Parity)	
Family related benefits	Continuous variable Measured in PPP (Purchase Power Parity)	
Sickness/Invalidity benefits	Continuous variable Measured in PPP (Purchase Power Parity)	
Education related benefits	Continuous variable Measured in PPP (Purchase Power Parity)	
Any other benefits	Continuous variable Measured in PPP (Purchase Power Parity)	
Social assistance	Continuous variable Measured in PPP (Purchase Power Parity)	
Housing allowance	Continuous variables Measured in PPP (Purchase Power Parity)	
Female	Binary, dummy coded Male (reference)	
Age	Continuous variable 16 – 92 years	
Education	Dummy coded variable Low education (reference) – incomplete or complete primary education Medium education – complete secondary education High education – tertiary education	
Health	Dummy coded variable Good health (reference) – very good and good Fair health - fair Bad health – bad and very bad	
Activity status	Dummy coded variable Employed (reference) Unemployed Inactive	This variable has been included to control for labour market characteristics of an individual
Household composition	Dummy coded variable Single adult (reference) Single parent	

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Total n = 3747	Denmark n = 677	UK n = 1337	Germany n = 824	France n = 909
Periods (years)					
Period 1	.51 (.49)	.54 (.49)	.47 (.49)	.54 (.49)	.51 (.50)
Period 2	.27 (.44)	.27 (.44)	.27 (.44)	.27 (.44)	.27 (.44)
Period 3	.11 (.32)	.11 (.31)	.13 (.33)	.10 (.30)	.11 (.32)
Period 4	.05 (.23)	.04 (.20)	.07 (.25)	.04 (.21)	.05 (.23)
Period 5	.02 (.16)	.02 (.14)	.03 (.18)	.02 (.14)	.02 (.16)
Period 6	.007 (.08)	.001 (.038)	.012 (.112)	.003 (.06)	.008 (.093)
Share of Benefits in Income					
< 25%	.20 (.40)	.18 (.39)	.16 (.36)	.30 (.46)	.21 (.40)
25 – 50%	.07 (.26)	.08 (.28)	.06 (.24)	.07 (.26)	.08 (.28)
50 – 75%	.07 (.26)	.09 (.29)	.06 (.24)	.08 (.27)	.08 (.27)
>75%	.63 (.48)	.62 (.48)	.71 (.45)	.53 (.49)	.62 (.48)
Social Benefits (PPP)					
Unemployment related	468 (1544)	471 (1628)	74 (436)	1158 (2366)	419 (1359)
Old-age/Survivors'	3122 (3603)	3571 (3919)	3199 (3106)	2541 (3877)	3 2 0 0 (3718)
Family related	415 (1137)	250 (891)	602 (1416)	446 (987)	234 (898)
Sickness/Invalidity	429 (1593)	624 (2199)	452 (1326)	336 (1696)	333 (1274)
Education related	127 (709)	405 (1286)	55 (442)	125 (697)	28 (195)
Any other	104 (465)	84 (643)	234 (517)	-	21 (389)

Social assistance	107 (648)	154 (912)	-	179 (815)	694 (-)
Housing allowance	540 (972)	470 (886)	849 (1245)	122 (340)	514 (793)
Female	.68 (.46)	.59 (.49)	.75 (.42)	.66 (.47)	.66 (.47)
Age	55 (20)	56 (22)	58 (20)	47 (19)	56 (20)
Level of Education					
Low education	.58 (.49)	.47 (.49)	.72 (.44)	.32 (.46)	.71 (.45)
Medium education	.26 (.44)	.38 (.48)	.10 (.30)	.54 (.49)	.16 (.37)
High education	.14 (.35)	.14 (.34)	.17 (.38)	.12 (.33)	.12 (.33)
Health Status					
Good health	.49 (.49)	.60 (.49)	.54 (.49)	.40 (.49)	.41 (.49)
Fair health	.32 (.47)	.25 (.43)	.28 (.45)	.33 (.47)	.44 (.49)
Bad health	.17 (.38)	.14 (.35)	.17 (.38)	.26 (.43)	.13 (.33)
Activity Status					
Employed	.29 (.45)	.27 (.44)	.23 (.42)	.39 (.49)	.28 (.45)
Unemployed	.08 (.28)	.06 (.23)	.04 (.20)	.14 (.35)	.11 (.32)
Inactive	.62 (.48)	.66 (.47)	.71 (.45)	.45 (.49)	.59 (.49)
Household Composition					
Single adult	.39 (.48)	.41 (.49)	.28 (.45)	.52 (.49)	.40 (.49)
Single parent	.19 (.39)	.10 (.31)	.22 (.41)	.23 (.42)	.18 (.38)
Poverty spell duration (years)	2.68 (1.45)	2.44 (1.28)	2.92 (1.54)	2.47 (1.33)	2.68 (1.47)

*The Standard Error is indicated in parentheses.

Table 2. Hazard and Survivor Functions Distribution for the UK, Denmark, Germany, France

Year	Time interval	Proportion of the respondents at the beginning of the year who left poverty during the year (hazard function)				Proportion of respondents still staying in poverty at the end of the year (survivor function)			
		Denmark	UK	Germany	France	Denmark	UK	Germany	France
1	1. 2	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
2	2. 3	0.4706	0.3794	0.5088	0.4476	0.5294	0.6206	0.4912	0.5524
3	3. 4	0.4133	0.2825	0.3678	0.3084	0.3106	0.4453	0.3105	0.3820
4	4. 5	0.1667	0.1915	0.3659	0.2075	0.2588	0.3600	0.1969	0.3028
5	5. 6	0.2143	0.1800	0.5294	0.2308	0.2034	0.2952	0.0927	0.2329
6	6. 7	0.0000	0.1765	0.0000	0.3750	0.2034	0.2431	0.0927	0.1456

74

Table 3. Simultaneous results of Discrete-Time Hazard Rate Models of Exit from 60% Median Income Poverty for the UK

	Coefficient[1]	Robust Std. Err.	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
UK						
Period (period1 reference)						
period2	6.454423	.5374215	12.01	0.000	5.401096	7.50775
period3	6.393956	.5968549	10.71	0.000	5.224142	7.56377
period4	5.473067	.591593	9.25	0.000	4.313566	6.632568
period5	5.550918	.6854361	8.10	0.000	4.207487	6.894348
period6	4.209201	.8184444	5.14	0.000	2.60508	5.813323
Social Benefits						
Unemployment benef.	-.000978	.0004475	-2.19	0.029	-.0018552	-.0001008
Old age benef.	.0017129	.0002059	8.32	0.000	.0013093	.0021165
Family benef.	.001393	.0002318	6.01	0.000	.0009387	.0018472
Sickness benef.	.0014171	.0001809	7.83	0.000	.0010625	.0017717
Education benef.	.0016505	.000406	4.07	0.000	.0008548	.0024462
Other benef.	.0018854	.0002993	6.30	0.000	.0012988	.002472
House benef.	.0017673	.0002175	8.13	0.000	.001341	.0021936
Age	-.0930422	.0101177	-9.20	0.000	-.1128726	-.0732118
Gender (male reference)						
Female	-.8608095	.2862138	-3.01	0.003	-1.421778	-.2998407
Household Composition (single adult reference)						
Single parent	-1.406064	.5067885	-2.77	0.006	-2.399351	-.4127771
Education (high education reference)						
Low education	-1.189638	.3695503	-3.22	0.001	-1.913943	-.4653327
Medium education	-1.483832	.4804736	-3.09	0.002	-2.425543	-.5421207
Health (good health reference)						
Fair health	-.6320088	.2848155	-2.22	0.026	-1.190237	-.0737807
Bad health	-.4266159	.3371983	-1.27	0.206	-1.087512	.2342807
Activity Status (employed reference)						
Unemployed	-1.146399	.6968442	-1.65	0.100	-2.512188	.2193908
Inactive	.9447905	.4653817	2.03	0.042	.0326591	1.856922
Share of Benefits in Income (<25% reference)						
25 – 50 %	-4.743743	.816144	-5.81	0.000	-6.343356	-3.14413
50 – 75 %	-8.107277	1.234858	-6.57	0.000	-10.52755	-5.686999
> 75 %	-12.59576	1.628398	-7.74	0.000	-15.78736	-9.404154

Table 4. Simultaneous results of Discrete-Time Hazard Rate Models of Exit from 60% Median Income Poverty for Denmark

	Coefficient	Robust Std. Err.	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Denmark						
Period (period1 reference)						
period2	5.690698	.6173398	9.22	0.000	4.480734	6.900662
period3	5.844508	.6779722	8.62	0.000	4.515707	7.173309
period4	4.431603	.7871326	5.63	0.000	2.888852	5.974355
period5	4.500231	1.128139	3.99	0.000	2.28912	6.711343
Social Benefits						
Unemployment benef.	.000583	.0001587	3.67	0.000	.0002719	.000894
Old age benef.	.0010824	.0001484	7.30	0.000	.0007916	.0013732
Family benef.	.0006993	.0002518	2.78	0.005	.0002057	.0011929
Sickness benef.	.0008095	.0001336	6.06	0.000	.0005477	.0010714
Education benef.	.0003942	.0001694	2.33	0.020	.0000622	.0007262
Other benef.	.0004973	.0001375	3.62	0.000	.0002278	.0007667
Social assis. benef.	.000485	.0001934	2.51	0.012	.0001106	.0008639
House benef.	.001296	.000251	5.16	0.000	.0008042	.0017879
Age	-.0977648	.0129534	-7.50	0.000	-.122553	-.0717767
Gender (male reference)						
Female	-.5288902	.3591417	-1.47	0.141	-1.232795	.1750146
Household Composition (single adult reference)						
Single parent	-.3612965	.6387156	-0.57	0.572	-1.613156	.8905631
Education (high education reference)						
Low education	-1.578328	.6052834	-2.61	0.009	-2.764662	-.3919943
Medium education	-1.623252	.5618748	-2.89	0.004	-2.724507	-.5219982
Health (good health reference)						
Fair health	.2501148	.3850809	0.65	0.516	-.5046299	1.00486
Bad health	.495992	.5562417	0.89	0.373	-.5942217	1.586206
Activity Status (employed reference)						
Unemployed	-.4103891	.5543563	-0.74	0.459	-1.496907	.6761293
Inactive	-.5651889	.5945069	-0.95	0.342	-1.730401	.6000231
Share of Benefits in Income (<25% reference)						
25 – 50 %	-2.103897	.7876144	-2.67	0.008	-3.647593	-.5602011
50 – 75 %	-4.628787	.9879431	-4.69	0.000	-6.56512	-2.692454
>75 %	-6.471662	1.163603	-5.56	0.000	-8.752281	-4.191042

Table 5. Simultaneous results of Discrete-Time Hazard Rate Models of Exit from 60% Median Income Poverty for Germany

	Coefficient	Robust Std. Err.	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Germany						
Period (period1 reference)						
period 2	5.504758	.5146292	10.70	0.000	4.496103	6.513413
period 3	4.951547	.5583638	8.87	0.000	3.857175	6.04592
period 4	4.846191	.6251822	7.75	0.000	3.620857	6.071526
period 5	5.42199	.8888377	6.24	0.000	3.7191	7.124881
Social Benefits						
Unemployment benef.	.0004533	.0001415	3.20	0.001	.000176	.0007306
Old age benef.	.0007714	.0001769	4.36	0.000	.0004247	.0011182
Family benef.	.0008354	.0002133	3.92	0.000	.0004175	.0012534
Sickness benef.	.0006028	.000131	4.60	0.000	.0003459	.0008596
Education benef.	.0001203	.0002455	0.49	0.624	-.0003609	.0006014
Social assis. benef.	.0005892	.0001793	3.29	0.001	.0002377	.0009406
House benef.	-.0000977	.0004257	-0.23	0.819	-.0009321	.0007367
Age	-.0608249	.0097019	-6.27	0.000	-.0798402	-.0418096
Gender (male reference)						
Female	-.6345612	.3197864	-1.98	0.047	-1.261331	-.0077914
Household Composition (single adult reference)						
Single parent	-1.139221	.4357271	-2.61	0.009	-1.99323	-.2852115
Education (high education reference)						
Low education	-1.558624	.4653306	-3.35	0.001	-2.470655	-.6465927
Medium education	-1.735673	.3584311	-4.84	0.000	-2.438185	-1.033161
Health (good health reference)						
Fair health	-.0838533	.3036939	-0.28	0.782	-.6790824	.5113758
Bad health	.1883746	.3347448	0.56	0.574	-.4677131	.8444624
Activity Status (employed reference)						
Unemployed	-.067429	.3872399	-0.17	0.862	-.8264054	.6915473
Inactive	.4814509	.3788907	1.27	0.204	-.2611612	1.224063
Share of Benefits in Income (<25% reference)						
25 – 50 %	-3.01866	.6906355	-4.37	0.000	-4.37228	-1.665039
50 – 75 %	-3.77015	.7455569	-5.06	0.000	-5.231415	-2.308885
>75 %	-6.260102	1.21494	-5.15	0.000	-8.64134	-3.878864

77

Table 6. Simultaneous results of Discrete-Time Hazard Rate Models of Exit from 60% Median Income Poverty for France

	Coefficient	Robust Std. Err.	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
France						
Period (period1 reference)						
period 2	5.843175	.5991468	9.75	0.000	4.668869	7.017481
period 3	5.334205	.580153	9.19	0.000	4.197126	6.471284
period 4	5.206536	.6621402	7.86	0.000	3.908764	6.504307
period 5	5.395595	.7678124	7.03	0.000	3.89071	6.90048
period 6	5.02508	.8826389	5.69	0.000	3.295139	6.75502
Social Benefits						
Unemployment benef.	.000475	.0001467	3.24	0.001	.0001875	.0007626
Old age benef.	.0009082	.0002082	4.36	0.000	.0005001	.0013162
Family benef.	.0008842	.000292	3.03	0.002	.000312	.0014565
Sickness benef.	.0007055	.0001902	3.71	0.000	.0003327	.0010782
Education benef.	.0017357	.0006639	2.61	0.009	.0004345	.0030368
Social assis. benef.	.0004038	.0002383	1.69	0.090	-.0000632	.0008708
House benef.	.0007385	.0002333	3.17	0.002	.0002813	.0011958
Age	-.0830464	.0127764	-6.50	0.000	-.1080878	-.0580051
Gender (male reference)						
Female	-.2715454	.3013879	-0.90	0.368	-.8622549	.3191641
Household Composition (single adult reference)						
Single parent	-1.19265	.569332	-2.09	0.036	-2.30852	-.0767795
Education (high education reference)						
Low education	-.662274	.5172052	-1.28	0.200	-1.675977	.3514295
Medium education	-.9147982	.5570749	-1.64	0.101	-2.006645	.1770485
Health (good health reference)						
Fair health	.1976087	.2826687	0.70	0.485	-.3564119	.7516293
Bad health	-.1736964	.3861856	-0.45	0.653	-.9306062	.5832134
Activity Status (employed reference)						
Unemployed	-.6257871	.4743668	-1.32	0.187	-1.555529	.3039548
Inactive	-.3570164	.4440782	-0.80	0.421	-1.227394	.5133609
Share of Benefits in Income (< 25% reference)						
25 – 50 %	-2.883636	.7629048	-3.78	0.000	-4.378902	-1.38837
50 – 75 %	-3.822638	.8277934	-4.62	0.000	-5.445083	-2.200192
> 75 %	-6.144923	1.280309	-4.80	0.000	-8.654282	-3.635564

Table 6. Simultaneous results of Discrete-Time Hazard Rate Models of Exit from 60% Median Income Poverty for France

	Coefficient	Robust Std. Err.	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
France						
Period (period1 reference)						
period 2	5.843175	.5991468	9.75	0.000	4.668869	7.017481
period 3	5.334205	.580153	9.19	0.000	4.197126	6.471284
period 4	5.206536	.6621402	7.86	0.000	3.908764	6.504307
period 5	5.395595	.7678124	7.03	0.000	3.89071	6.90048
period 6	5.02508	.8826389	5.69	0.000	3.295139	6.75502
Social Benefits						
Unemployment benef.	.000475	.0001467	3.24	0.001	.0001875	.0007626
Old age benef.	.0009082	.0002082	4.36	0.000	.0005001	.0013162
Family benef.	.0008842	.000292	3.03	0.002	.000312	.0014565
Sickness benef.	.0007055	.0001902	3.71	0.000	.0003327	.0010782
Education benef.	.0017357	.0006639	2.61	0.009	.0004345	.0030368
Social assis. benef.	.0004038	.0002383	1.69	0.090	-.0000632	.0008708
House benef.	.0007385	.0002333	3.17	0.002	.0002813	.0011958
Age	-.0830464	.0127764	-6.50	0.000	-.1080878	-.0580051
Gender (male reference)						
Female	-.2715454	.3013879	-0.90	0.368	-.8622549	.3191641
Household Composition (single adult reference)						
Single parent	-1.19265	.569332	-2.09	0.036	-2.30852	-.0767795
Education (high education reference)						
Low education	-.662274	.5172052	-1.28	0.200	-1.675977	.3514295
Medium education	-.9147982	.5570749	-1.64	0.101	-2.006645	.1770485
Health (good health reference)						
Fair health	.1976087	.2826687	0.70	0.485	-.3564119	.7516293
Bad health	-.1736964	.3861856	-0.45	0.653	-.9306062	.5832134
Activity Status (employed reference)						
Unemployed	-.6257871	.4743668	-1.32	0.187	-1.555529	.3039548
Inactive	-.3570164	.4440782	-0.80	0.421	-1.227394	.5133609
Share of Benefits in Income (< 25% reference)						
25 – 50 %	-2.883636	.7629048	-3.78	0.000	-4.378902	-1.38837
50 – 75 %	-3.822638	.8277934	-4.62	0.000	-5.445083	-2.200192
> 75 %	-6.144923	1.280309	-4.80	0.000	-8.654282	-3.635564

(Footnotes)
1 Coefficients (β) are measured in logit hazards.

NATALYA DMYTRYSHYNA

DEVELOPMENT OF PALLIATIVE CARE IN UKRAINE

Abstract

According to experts, palliative care in Ukraine has a list of serious problems: the lack of funding for hospices and other palliative care institutions, insufficient regulation of existing legislation regarding the range of anesthetic medicine, the lack of reliable information about the specificity of palliative care, a large number of patients who need palliative care, the lack of personnel who are able to provide a qualitative palliative assistance and a high rotation of personnel that are involved in palliative care processes.

Palliative care in Ukraine has been developing extremely unevenly, with periods when the state and public organizations' activities set boundaries alongside government inactivity. Recently, the All-Ukrainian Association of Palliative Care, the League for Promoting Development of Palliative and Hospice Care, and the State Target Social Program of Hospice and Palliative Care Development were created in order to provide the main direction for this sphere of development.

The constructive solutions to the problems that influence palliative care development should be based on modern knowledge, and both qualitative and quantitative research. Modern research will define the actual problems, consider specific local conditions of palliative care development, respond to client and professional needs and provide different ways to overcome future difficulties.

Key words

palliative care, hospice care, development of palliative care, palliative patients' needs, personnel problems.

Introduction

Palliative care is a humane and essential way of helping people who suffer from incurable disease (17; 20). The development of a stable system of palliative care in a country is evidence of a humanitarian government policy, and demonstrates the social values and interests of the people.

The principles of modern palliative care are demonstrated in hospices. The word "hospice" has an English origin meaning "a home of pilgrims" or "a shelter". Such homes existed in the Middle Ages at monasteries where dying people could find their last resort. Hospices existed in Ukraine at monasteries during the time of the Kyiv princes rule, particularly, one at Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra where there were shelters for incurable patients. The Cossacks continued this tradition – almost every monastery provided care for ill, wounded and senile Cossacks. In 1967 in London St. Christopher's Hospice was opened and focused its main efforts on helping dying patients. Starting at the end of the 1940's, such hospices and shelters have been intensively collecting scientific medical knowledge and practical experience in the provision of qualified efficient help in terminal cases. These include cases of chronic pain, the use of psychotropic agents, use of palliative chemotherapy and radiation therapy in cases of the last stages of oncologic diseases as well as researching the psychological reaction of a family to stress and loss. Eventually with the development of palliative medicine the concept of an "agathanasia" re-emerged that unlike "euthanasia" was rather connected with the use of complex methods of palliative medical care, taking into account the activities available to the patients themself in order to limit their disease or pain. (8;12).

* * *

Today the term "incurable" describes a person suffering from oncologic or other chronic disease in the later stages and who cannot live a full life. At this stage further treatment does not benefit a patient, but on the contrary, proves inefficient and can even increase suffering. (9; 11)

Modern hospices are specialized hospitals for dying patients, but they have a specific philosophy of care that is aimed at the relief of pain – both physical and mental. While palliative medicine represents quite a broad range of services, its objectives are clearly determined: it represents a branch of medical and social activity that aims to improve the quality of life of incurable patients and their families through prevention and relief of their suffering and, thanks to early identification, the evaluation and treatment of pain and other symptoms – physical, psychological and mental (WHO, 2003).

The concept of palliative care combines the following principles:

- palliative care respects and accepts the mortality of people;
- palliative care respects the dignity of the patient and his independence;
- palliative care is provided to all patients who want it and who suffer from incurable, progressive diseases, regardless of their age;
- palliative care aims to provide the optimal control and reduction of symptoms, pain relief etc.;
- palliative care may include rehabilitation, diagnostic and therapeutic activities that increase the quality of a patient's life. (21)

Currently in Ukraine the sphere providing support for people suffering from incurable diseases is developing and improving. The basic notions and principles of palliative care have been

accepted and adapted. Specialists that work in this area use the following definitions:

Palliative medicine – is the area of scientific medicine and health care, whose main objective is to improve the quality of life of patients who have different nosologic forms of chronic incurable diseases, mostly in their terminal stages and under conditions when the treatment possibilities of the main disease are limited, or from the point of view of modern scientific knowledge have no prospects of success. (22)

Hospice medicine – is a branch of palliative medicine, whose main objective is to provide the best possible quality of life for palliative patients in the terminal stage of their disease through timely diagnosis of pain syndromes and vital dysfunctions; the prevention and relief of their suffering, and the provision of qualified medical care by specially trained professionals.

Primary palliative care – is palliative care that is provided at the primary stage of the provision of medical help to the patients at home or in outpatient settings.

Specialized palliative care – is a specialized in-patient medical social support that is provided to patients in the specialized health care facilities known as a "Hospice"; in hospitals or institutions of medical-social palliative care or in the departments and wards of the palliative care institutions..

Palliative care aims to increase the quality of life of the patient despite the predicted short duration of life. The main principle of palliative care is that no matter what kind of disease a person has, no matter how serious it is, no matter what treatment methods are used there is always a way to improve the quality of the patient's life (15; 19; 22).

The definitions above basically reflect the same approach to care but in different places where services are provided and in differing spheres of action – medical or socio-medical.

Taking into account the great socio-medical significance of this problem during the last ten years, specialists have observed the trend towards the integration of palliative care into the health care and social welfare systems of Ukraine.

The need for quality palliative care in Ukraine, according to specialists, is exceedingly great, especially compared to neighboring European countries. Specialists believe that the minimal need for hospice beds in the country is about 100-120 per 1.5 million people. (…), this makes up to 500,000 people needing palliative care. In particular these are adults and children experiencing the terminal stages of oncologic and cardiovascular diseases, AIDS and tuberculosis, patients with serious traumas and degenerative injuries of the brain or spinal cord, peripheral nervous and locomotor systems, and those who are disabled or senile, etc. In addition, members of the families of palliative patients also need professional help (6; 18; 19). Currently however, there are no grounded studies in Ukraine on family care for palliative patients.

For the population of Ukraine suffering from incurable diseases it is very difficult to achieve their right for a decent death: the development of palliative and hospice care is constrained by numerous issues of legislative, organizational, technical, personnel, moral and ethical character (9; 14).

Today Ukrainian oncological medical and preventive treatment facilities have registered over 910,000 patients with malignant neoplasms; every year not less than 160,000 new cases are being diagnosed. The pace of growth of new oncologic cases is one of the highest in Europe. If the existing rate of increase of people with cancerous diseases remains at the same level,

the number of new cases in 2011 is expected to reach 170,000. According to the National Cancer Register of Ukraine, during the first year following diagnosis over 40% of patients die; 35% of those patients dying from cancer are people of active working age. The share of patients having a III-IV stage of oncologic disease is about 40%, which is much more than in European countries and the USA. At the same time, the survival rate in the case of established diagnosis and provided treatment is 42% in the third stage and only 13-14% in the fourth – such patients demand special palliative care (14; 15; 22).

Senile people in the final period of their lives often have several opportunistic diseases, psycho-emotional disorders and social problems that need qualified complex multidisciplinary care. This requires the coordination of roles and approaches by the different agencies concerned. Due to the lack of a formal approach to care in Ukraine, very often seriously sick patients are left on their own to face their problems: pain, suffering caused by their organs and vital system disorders, the lack of necessary care and psychological support, loneliness and social isolation. (18).

In 2006, with the support of the Institute of Open Society (USA) and jointly with the experts of the All-Ukrainian Council of Patients Safety and Rights Protection, research was conducted that demonstrated that modern palliative care in the Ukraine is unavailable for most of the citizens that need it. The possibility of receiving effective pain relief, quality legal, psychological and social assistance in most cases depends on the patient's own wealth (14). Despite the great need, only 5000 incurable patients can benefit from the country's treatment institutions, the rest of them are dying at home without proper pain relief medication (6; 9; 18).

Describing the problems of the palliative sphere in Ukraine the researchers (6; 18) state that most of the incurable patients

suffer from pain due to the lack of proper access to analgesics, helplessness (because their families have to work to be able to pay for their treatment) and fear.

The President of the All-Ukrainian Association of Palliative Care S. Martynyuk-Hres (2010) mentions that challenges in the sphere of palliative care are connected with the general crises in medical care. Thus, as medical services in general became less available, earlier achievements in the area of early diagnostics of oncological diseases and their treatment are lost. This in particular pertains to the rural population who must either self-medicate or go to the big cities in order to receive medical assistance. Village and town district doctors serving the rural population and who conduct pain relief and other symptom therapy for palliative patients lack experience in this sphere of medicine. Medication is often prescribed unsystematically, without taking into account modern principles of chronic pain treatment or applies an individualistic approach to a bad case. (18). Patients from   rural districts often have no possibility to purchase narcotic substances in pharmacies or receive them at home. The growth in the number of patients who approach oncological institutions with neglected symptoms creates new situations for oncologists and the rest of the specialists and demands a broadening of the sphere of palliative care in both organizational and methodical directions. (8; 18.)

The needs and challenges of patients who have incurable diseases are common across many countries yet at the same time have extremely individualistic characteristics in each new case. For some people the main factors are physical pain, feeling ill, suffering, and irritation because of weakness. For others issues include worrying about family, or forced dependency on the care and support of the other people. For some of the patients the biggest challenge is the helplessness connected with the serious disease and fear of being alone with the suffering and death. It is necessary to remember that in palliative care the first priority for the patient is not duration

of life, but its quality. Researchers note that the majority of the patients consider one of the main factors in "quality of life" to be the attentive attitude of the family –with medical workers looking after them as well as resolving any problems connected with feelings of worry and depression. According to the philosophy and principles of palliative care, each person has the right to receive quality care during their treatment ensuring dignity at the time of approaching death (3; 4; 21).

 Modern research demonstrates that patients of palliative care facilities where different care is provided have different attitudes to the process of their stay in hospices or special departments. There is a significant difference in the patients' willingness to talk about their diagnosis; they are ready to discuss their condition, problems and plans and also a difference in how much they are willing to respond to information about the stage of the disease and their prospects. Attentions to these matters, taking into account individual needs, are the integral components of quality palliative care. Specialists believe that during the planning of quality care it is important to take into consideration such characteristic as the patients' age – the psychological and emotional experience of senile people and adolescents - as well as their needs. For those cases where the patients of the palliative departments or hospices are children or adolescents the World Health Organization has developed separate standards for palliative services as in such cases the disease and death affects the whole family for a long time and its affect is worse than in the cases of other age groups. All the aspects of palliative care functioning are closely allied with respect for human rights, the right to choose the type and place of care, the clients' potential to evaluate the quality of services and also to influence the process (7; 10; 21).

Among the challenges that constrain the broad and full-scale development of the palliative sphere in Ukraine is also the lack of awareness in society of the philosophy and principles of

hospice care. Most citizens associate hospices with houses of death, and therefore their attitudes are biased. Public servants are convinced that palliative care is expensive care. The development of the palliative sphere has numerous problems and challenges. Palliative departments and hospices working in the country are often stigmatized and associated with "death rows" (14; 22). Research conducted by All-Ukrainian Council of Patients Safety and Rights Protection demonstrated the lack of information among the population about the fundamentals of palliative care. The lack of positive examples of hospice work influences the slow communication of reliable information about these facilities. (15; 22).

The lack of state policy and national programs on palliative care significantly constrains its development in Ukraine: there are no institutional or human resources for the development of the network of palliative care facilities and services, a methodical base, standards and medical protocols. There is no system of education and advanced training for medical and social workers who provide palliative care. The subordination of health care and social protection institutions complicates the development of the necessarily complex medical and social activities required in the provision of a framework of palliative care in general. (14; 20)

The problem of staff who are involved in the provision of services is a typical characteristic of modern palliative facilities. Due to the lack of qualifications, staff of the hospices and palliative departments are not always prepared to provide the necessary care at the relevant professional level. They cannot give authentic and detailed information about the health and condition of the patient to his family. The lack of knowledge of basic psychology does not allow personnel to properly consult with clients, answer their questions or encourage taking part in decision making about choice for further treatment and care. (6; 8; 9)

The problem of human resources in the hospices has another dimension: the intensive personnel rotation and the high level of burn out. Working in the sphere of palliative care is connected with a range of detrimental effects. About 60% of patients staying in hospices have psychic disorders at the time of death (due to intoxication, agony, consciousness disorders) or in the pre-agony period (metastases in the brain, intoxication). This includes those patients requiring specific care due to archoptosia, retention of urine, carcinolysis, vomiting, etc. Finally, the process of dying and being a part of it in order to relieve suffering impacts on people who are involved in the provision of care. The majority of work undertaken in the provision of care is done by nursing staff whose salary level is very low. The professional motivation of hospice staff – according to the Russian researchers' observations is in many cases financial and religious (a mission to help those who suffer, service). Resources provided by this kind of motivation do not last long, especially with the lack of professional assistance and supervisory support to prevent emotional burn out. (5; 12; 16; 23)

Special attention must be paid to methods of personnel training. On the one hand, in Ukraine today a range of staff training programs and projects is being developed. On the other hand, there is a lack of systematic training, qualified specialists, and the qualification level is irrelevant (2;21). Training of hospital staff is being taken in several directions. As a rule, medical staff do not obtain any specific training on dealing with terminally ill people. Most of them receive general knowledge focused on treatment and not on care, whereas a lot of the functions they have in palliative care facilities belong to a carers' sphere of competence. At present there are existing opportunities for healthcare personnel to undertake special training but this does not occur on a regular basis and it is not considered to be obligatory. Experts believe that traditional education is not

enough for effective work in a hospice. Researchers claim that in order to have a positive impact on carers' and medical staff's work in palliative care facilities it is important to include in their training the philosophy of palliative care, basic principles, as well as ensuring practice matches the theory delivered in the training. It was noted that when doctors were present who were trained specifically on these issues, communication was better and stress easier to overcome (2; 3; 16).

The challenges that constrain the development of palliative care are complicated by the general crisis of the health care system. Medical services are becoming less available; the achievements of the past years in the area of early diagnosis of oncological diseases and their multicomponent treatment are being wasted, in particular for the rural population.

In the framework of projects implemented by non-governmental organizations, statutory documents that might regulate the provision of the palliative care were created and standards for hospice care were developed. At state level these achievements are mostly not recognized (9; 14). In the last several years the numbers of newly created palliative facilities were reduced. Thus, according to the director of the institute of hospice medicine Yu. Hubsky, today only nine hospices operate in Ukraine, whilst two years ago there were twice as many.

Based on research conducted by the All-Ukrainian Council of Patients Safety and Rights Protection and the Association of Palliative Care, the following main challenges impede the progress of palliative care in Ukraine:

- The lack of understanding among politicians, representatives of the executive power agencies and heads of health-care facilities of the socio-economic and humanitarian importance of palliative and hospice care;

- The limited range of medicine and medical care goods and the unavailability of these goods for most palliative patients. Special attention must be paid to access to opioids, particularly in cases when palliative care is provided at home;
- The prohibitive paradigm among law-enforcement agencies towards opioids and the fear of using morphine not only among the population, but among specialists as well;
- The lack of a system of in-patient palliative (and hospice) care and the total absence of a system of provision for such care at home;
- The shortage and low professional level of specialists providing palliative care in the health-care system, as well as in the systems of social policy;
- The lack of a system of professional higher education and post-graduate study for specialists in the sphere of palliative and hospice care;
- The lack of systematic scientific research of the needs, modern approaches and methods of palliative and hospice care;
- The lack of reliable and available information for the population about the possibilities of medico-social care at the end of life;
- The lack of governmental support for charity and an insufficient level of benevolence amongst well-off people (14;15;22).

Palliative care in Ukraine has been developing unevenly, and the poor relationship between state, public and private agencies has contributed to inactivity. Despite the numerous challenges and problems, there are positive trends as well. In 2008, a Coordination Council on Palliative Care Issues was

created at the Ministry of Health of Ukraine. The Institute of Palliative and Hospice Medicine of the Ministry of Health in Ukraine has begun operation. They have developed a model of palliative care provision that is considered as one that is most adapted to Ukrainian reality. Corresponding legislative acts have been developed. In addition, a draft law from the Ministry of Health of Ukraine was developed "About the organization of the activity and functioning of specialized health care facilities of the "hospice" type, the department/ wards of palliative and hospice medicine and a specialized multidisciplinary mobile unit "Hospice at home".

A range of studies conducted before 2010 identified the principles of palliative care, identified patients' needs, as well as developing recommendations on addressing the challenges in palliative sphere development. A newly founded Association of Palliative Care launched the preparation of programmes of professional training for the specialists involved in hospice care. The International Research Center of Palliative Care started to work based in the Uzhgorod National University. (14)

A Draft Concept of the Activities of the State Target Social Program of Hospice and Palliative Care Development in Ukraine was created until 2014 (hereafter – The State Program). Within the framework of preparation and development of the State Program, a study was conducted to explore the situation of palliative care development in Ukraine. One of its objectives was to provide cost-benefit analysis of the budget to ensure implementation of the State Program (15). In addition, there have been draft standards and norms developed for palliative care, as well as the models of hospices described above.

Palliative care must be institutionalized as a new form of medical-social service and included into the system of health care and social welfare for the population. It is necessary to establish a system of staff education and advanced training on

the issues of evaluation, monitoring and reduction of the pain syndrome and other serious symptoms of disease as well as on the improvement of the skills of communication with a patient and his family. A specialized course of palliative medicine must be included in the curricula of students and post graduate students in correspondent educational institutions. Awareness of the population about palliative and hospice care must be increased together with tolerance and understanding of the social importance of the problem among representatives of the legislative and executive power agencies.

The development of palliative care in Ukraine is impossible without the introduction of international experience through the participation of Ukrainian specialists in training sessions, practical workshops and seminars, congresses and conferences, and the exchange of information.

References

1. **Brennan F., Gwyther L., Harding R.,**(2008, p.) Palliative care as Human Right. accessed at http://assembly.coe.int/main. asp?Link=/documents/adoptedtext/ta09/

2. **Dr. Oneshcuk D.** (2011), Review of Education in Palliative Care in North America.
    Edmonton Regional Palliative Care Program.
    http://www.palliative.org/PC/ClinicalInfo/Editorials/ReviewOfEducation.html

3. **Lesley M Wilkes , Barbara Beale** (2008) «Palliative care at home: Stress for nurses in urban and rural New South Wales, Australia», International Journal of Nursing Practice, 7 JUL

4. **Peter Hudson and Sheila Payne.** Family Carers in Palliative Care. A guide for health and social care professionals . Paperback, Dec 2008.- 336 pages.

5. **Research:** Toward the identification and minimisation of depression and psychological distress in family caregivers of people receiving palliative care. Victorian Centre of Excellence. Prof Peter Hudson, Dr Cheryl Remedios, Dr Di Clifton. 2010

6. **Tsarenko A, Wolf A., Serdiuk V, Gubsky Yu.** Improving the patient safety in palliative care in Ukraine. //Patient Safety Research: shaping the European agenda. International Conference Abstract. Porto, 2007, p. 142.

7. **Wilkes L.M, Beale B,** (2008) «Palliative care at home: Stress for nurses in urban and rural New South Wales, Australia»// International Journal of Nursing Practice.

8. **Андріїшин Л.І.** (2011 р.) «Паліативна та хоспісна допомога». accessed at http://palliative.if.ua/index.php?newsid=34

9. **Андріїшин Л.І., Дацун Н.Б., Кулікова І.І.** Івано-Франківський Хоспіс – досвід роботи, проблеми та перспективи. //Тези доповід. Науково-практ. Конференції «Онкологія – XXI». – К.: Купріянов О., 2003. – с. 139-140.

10. **Введенская Е.С.** Европейская ассоциация паллиативной помощи Нижегородский областной центр по профилактике и борьбе со СПИД и инфекционными заболеваниями. Нижегородская государственная медицинская академия Москва, 21-23 апреля 2008 г.

11. **Дячук Д.Д.** Організаційні підходи до надання паліативної медичної допомоги інкурабельним онкологічним хворим // Вісник соціальної гігієни та організації охорони здоров'я України.- 2003. - №2.- С.48-54. Иванюшкин А.Я., Белашова В.Г. (2006) Хоспис: помощь умирающим, доступно с: http://www.medichrist.ru/xocnuc.html

12. **Китаев-Смык Л.А. Психология стресса.** Психологическая антропология стресса.- Технологии психологии: Академический проект, 2009. - 944 с.

13. **Князевич. В., Губський Ю., Полуніна С., Царенко А.,** (2008). «Проблеми розвитку паліативної допомоги в Україні. Пропозиції щодо їх подолання.», accessed at http://www.apteka.ua/article/6348

14. **Концепція.** Державної програми розвитку паліативної та хоспісної допомоги в Україні на 2010-2014 рр. Проект.

15. **Котельникова А.** (2008) «Работа хосписа», ЭСКУЛАП,10, 2008 г.

16. **Крюков С.А. Державне управління в сфері медико-соціальної допомоги безнадійно хворим:** Дис. канд. наук з держ. управління: 25.00.05 / Дніпропетровський регіональний ін-т держ. управління Української академії держ. управління

при Президентові України. - Д., 2002. - 225арк. - Бібліогр.: арк. 192-213.

17. **Мартинюк-Гресь С.** «Проблеми та перспективи паліативної допомоги в Україні», accessed at http://svitgres.com.ua/ineu/ua/index11.html

18. **Москвяк Євген Йосифович.** Медико-соціальне обгрунтування створення закладів паліативної медицини : дис... канд. мед. наук: 14.02.03 / Львівський національний медичний ун- т ім. Данила Галицького. – Л., 2007. – 163арк. – Бібліогр.: арк. 118-138.

19. **«Работа в Хосписе:** что это и кому она нужна?», accessed at http://www.superjob.ru/contests/3786/

20. **Убедительные факты.** Паллиативная помощь. Под редакций E.Devise Irene J. Higgison. всемирная организация здравоохранения 2005 , 32с.

NINA MEŠL

RESEARCH INTO THE USE OF IMPLICIT THEORIES OF ACTION IN SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE (THE CASE OF FAMILY SOCIAL WORK IN SLOVENIA)

Abstract

The article presents research into the use of implicit theories of action in family social work. The aim is to contribute to greater transparency in the use of theory in practice. The results reveal a big gap between social workers' espoused theories and theories-in-use and the lack of capability to verbalise and reflect on practice actions. The article discusses ways for social workers to more explicitly use their knowledge as this is crucial for establishing and maintaining the co-creation of desired outcomes with a family in an individual working project to provide help.

Key words

espoused theories; theories-in-use; reflexive approach; working relationship; families.

Introduction

The question of the connection between the practice and theory of social work is not new, and discussions continue (e.g. Fook, 2002; Healy, 2000, 2005; Lüssi, 1991; Osmond, 2006; Payne, 2005; Rosen et.al. 1999, 2003; Turner, 1996, etc.). These discussions about the usefulness (and uselessness) of theoretical knowledge in social work practice have encouraged research into what happens in concrete practical situations with the theoretical knowledge social workers acquire at university and in their further education. In doing both practical social work and in my work with students at the Faculty for Social Work the often heard opinion "theory is one thing and practice is something else" could not be accepted. The thesis is that the use of theoretical knowledge creates an important difference in social work practice.

Family social work is a specific field where social workers operate in the midst of complex interactions between individuals, families and the community. Therefore, the explicit use of theoretical concepts when social workers seek answers about how to act in complex processes of providing help to families is necessary. Although the development of knowledge in social work with families in Slovenia is trying to respond to social workers' needs in practice, past research (Čačinovič Vogrinčič and Šugman Bohinc, 2000; Sunko, 2001) has shown that social workers' use of theoretical knowledge is not explicit enough – with theoretical concepts often being used in a partial and unreflected way, and complemented with commonsense approaches. This led to further analyses - to see what is happening with the application of knowledge in practice.

The paper connects two topics: it researches the use of theoretical knowledge in practice and focuses on family social work. First, Slovenian family social work is introduced and placed in an international context. Then the presentation of one possible

perspective on theory and practice integration processes (Argyris and Schön, 1974) is theoretically summarised. The presented approach guided plans for the research methodology and the discussion of the results is closely connected with this understanding. At the end, the main findings about the (non) use of theory in practice and the identified way of working with families are presented and discussed in order to contribute to a greater transparency of practice in Slovenia. The aim is to support the more consistent and explicit use of theory that has already been developed with which social workers are familiar but are not using explicitly in concrete practice situations.

Although the research is placed in the Slovenian context the results could be interesting for international use. The article tries to offer some answers to dilemmas such as the integration of theory and practice in family social work.

Social Work with Families: The Slovenian Context

Social work with families requires specific skills and knowledge for action in complex individual working projects of help for families (Čačinovič Vogrinčič, 2006). A large body of knowledge has developed (see Čačinovič Vogrinčič, 2005, 2006) on this specific work field in Slovenia that can be tapped to provide useful support in practice.

The Faculty of Social work at the University of Ljubljana is the only Slovenian faculty providing a graduate and postgraduate degree programme in the field. In the students' third year of study, the training course 'Social Work with Families', which includes both theoretical and practical social work with families, is a required course. This academic course includes different sub-fields of work with families *(*such as foster care, divorce, domestic violence, etc.) and presents two specific concepts:

the concept of a working relationship and the individual working project of help developed by Čačinovič Vogrinčič (2006)*.*

The *working relationship* describes the relationship between service users and the social worker as co-creators of help in a common project where everyone involved has the task to co-create their share of the solution. It defines relationships and conversations that make changes possible. It is about the "how" component of social work. Establishing a working relationship with the family is the first, highly professional task of a social worker. The working relationship mobilises and empowers (ibid.).

The basic elements of the working relationship concept, which enable the co-creation of solutions in an *individual working project of help*, are: an agreement to co-operate, instrumental definition of the problem (Lussi, 1991) and co-creating solutions, and personal leading (Bouwkamp and Vries, 1995). These three basic elements are embedded in the context of contemporary concepts in social work: the strength perspective (Saleebey, 1997), the ethics of participation (Hoffman, 1994), co-presence (Anderson, 1994), and actionable knowledge (Rosenfeld, 1993).

Making the respectful participation of people possible is crucial. In the working relationship social workers and users create *individual working projects of help* for and with people. Working projects are outlines of steps that bring co-created solutions into action (Čačinovič Vogrinčič, 2006)*.* Every family in need of support and help with solving complex psychosocial problems needs a co-created individual working project of help.

A comparison to other countries in Europe offering the same course (i.e. Croatia), shows a similarity in the themes in the sociological and psychological knowledge about families (family definitions, types of families, current family changes, etc.), and

in the fields of family social work. However, there is no content about the methods of work, which is a very important theme in Slovenia. Some countries do not have a specific training course about family social work in which similar themes could be covered in other courses, e.g. on children in need or human growth and development throughout the life course, disability and mental health (e.g. UK – London Metropolitan University; Durham University), but there also is no specific content about the *"social work how"* included in the course. How to work with children and families is certainly an important topic for all social work students in Europe and beyond. Themes about this are included in different courses on the theories and methods of social work, but the Social Work with Families course in Slovenia is specific by offering content which connects both knowledge about families and the problems families are dealing with, and knowledge of how to support family members in solving these complex problems. It offers answers to the question *how* to work in a specific social work way (see Čačinovič Vogrinčič, 2005) by co-creating help and support in a social work working relationship.

Social workers in Slovenia can practice social work with families in different institutional contexts of social welfare. The main institutions providing help to families are social work centres (covering the welfare of children and family, financial social assistance, parental protection and family benefits, etc.). There are 62 of these centres in Slovenia that are established and funded by the state, and respond to the needs of two million Slovenian residents. Other institutions are homes for the elderly, schools, youth crisis centres, various non-governmental organisations, etc. Although the terms of reference for the provision of social work are provided by the different institutional contexts of practice (Healy, 2005), the core subject of social work with families stays the same:

"The subject of social work with families is help to the family in solving complex psychosocial problems. The working relationship provides instrumental definition of the problem and a co-creation of solutions in which the process of co-operation mobilises the family's strengths. Social work with families can be described as an individual working project of co-operation which is co-created on the basis of understanding, agreement, and joint formation of solutions in order for the participants in the problem to become the participants in the solution" (Čačinovič Vogrinčič 2006, p. 27).

Social work with families needs to be clearly defined as social work at the very beginning of co-operation with the family. According to Čačinovič Vogrinčič (2006, p. 21), the complexity of work requires the social worker to work simultaneously at both levels: "The first level is the level of work on and formation of solutions within the concept of the problem's instrumental definition. At the second level family dynamics are addressed, meaning that the social worker responds to ways in which family members treat each other."

Reading about the specificity of Slovenian family social work could raise questions concerning how this way of working with families is connected to the family group conferencing movement and practice, which is actual throughout Europe and beyond. The implementation of Family Group Conferences is happening also in former Yugoslav countries (e.g. Bosnia and Herzegovina), of which Slovenia formed a part. The case of Bosnia and Herzegovina is interesting because centres of social work from Sarajevo and Banja Luka decided to work with Family Group Conferences (Stam and Räkers, 2011, p. 147) and the research presented in this paper focuses on family social work in Slovenian social work centres. Certainly there are some similarities with the Slovenian model (all members of the family are present, all are included in decision-making, the process leads to better and more responsible social networks,

the model gives concrete principles and practice guidelines (Lawrence and Wiffin, 2002), but there are also differences. A family group conference gathers when a particular problem appears about which a decision has to be made. The role of the social worker is to support and empower families in realising their own plans about this decision (Stam and Räkers, 2011, p. 147). The difference in the Slovenian model is that family social work is happening in an individual working project of help over a longer period of time for various complex psychosocial problems. The role of the social worker is similar – he/she supports and empowers the family, which is clearly an important role, but he/she also supports the process in a personal way to *co-create* solutions and plans together with families. Social workers operate in the midst of the complex interactions between individuals in families, and with social institutions when this can help families carry out their relational tasks (Constable and Lee, 2004, pp. 8-9). According to Constable and Lee (op.cit., p. 2), social workers help families solve relationship problems, problems with connection and belonging, and problems in situations of external and internal tension. "External" problems demand the co-creation of solutions, mobilisation to find a solution, while "internal" problems should be resolved to an extent which enables the family to co-operate in the helping process.

This research draws on works by Argyris and Schön (1974) and Schön (1987, 1991) to find a possible contribution to the better understanding of theory and practice integration processes in social work. The decision to choose these older references was made after studying current literature in this field (e.g. Healy, 2005; Taylor and White, 2000) where the authors are also influenced by them. Studying basic references helped understand theory integration processes better. Argyris and Schön's work is a thorough study of the use of theory in a wide variety of practical settings (e.g. architecture, psychotherapy, social work); their theory opens up questions about the gap

between theoretical knowledge acquired at university and the practical work of professionals, while it also offers some possible answers on how to narrow this gap. Current social work-specific theories were, of course, important to help understand their work in a social work context and select important topics *for* social work.

Schön (1987, 1991) establishes the premise that competent practitioners usually know more than they can tell. This premise can also be transferred to social work: competent social workers usually know more about how to undertake good practice in social work than they can tell. Yet in social work one further step needs to be taken. Knowledge and the ability to name our work is needed, to be able to verbally communicate to users what is being done, what social workers' intentions are, then to be able to verify and research possible further steps together with them. This is the only way in which co-participation in the work process can be provided –which leads to good outcomes created together with users - experts from experience. That is why different directions in social work should be researched in order for practitioners to be able to move closer to the explicitness of their actions and provide words to name theoretical concepts.

The Implicit Theories of Action in Social Work Practice

This research draws on works by Argyris and Schön (1974) and Schön (1987, 1991) to find a possible contribution to the better understanding of theory and practice integration processes in social work. The decision to choose these older references was made after studying current literature in this field (e.g. Healy, 2005; Taylor and White, 2000) where the authors are also influenced by them. Studying basic references helped understand theory integration processes better. Argyris and Schön's work is a thorough study of the use of theory in a wide variety of practical settings (e.g. architecture, psychotherapy,

social work); their theory opens up questions about the gap between theoretical knowledge acquired at university and the practical work of professionals, while it also offers some possible answers on how to narrow this gap. Current social work-specific theories were, of course, important to help understand their work in a social work context and select important topics *for* social work.

Schön (1987, 1991) establishes the premise that competent practitioners usually know more than they can tell. This premise can also be transferred to social work: competent social workers usually know more about how to undertake good practice in social work than they can tell. Yet in social work one further step needs to be taken. Knowledge and the ability to name our work is needed, to be able to verbally communicate to users what is being done, what social workers' intentions are, then to be able to verify and research possible further steps together with them. This is the only way in which co-participation in the work process can be provided –which leads to good outcomes created together with users - experts from experience. That is why different directions in social work should be researched in order for practitioners to be able to move closer to the explicitness of their actions and provide words to name theoretical concepts.

Theories of professional practice can best be understood as a special case of theories of action which determine all deliberate behaviour. An individual's behaviour can be observed and understood as a result of the theories of action present among people. A theory of action is a theory of reflexive behaviour which, for its performer, is a control theory serving at the same time as an explanation or a prediction of their behaviour (Argyris and Schön, 1974, p. 6).

To understand theories of action in more detail two concepts need further examination: 'espoused theory' and 'theory-in-use.'

When an individual is asked how they would behave in certain circumstances, the answer they usually give is their *espoused theory of action*. This is the theory of action to which they give allegiance and which, upon request, they communicate to others. However, Argyris and Schön (1974, p. 7) also spoke of another theory which they believed actually governs an individual's actions – that is, theory-in-use. Theory-in-use may or may not be congruent with an individual's espoused theory, and the individual may – or may not – be aware of the incongruence of the two.

When individuals attempt to construct their own theory-in-use they draw on their own behaviour, their 'tacit' knowledge and ability to construct resourceful experiments which point to what they would do in various circumstances. Also, an external observer can find ways to recognise theories-in-use, although they should take care not to confuse them with espoused theories, as this often happens (op.cit, p. 12).

If social work practitioners know their theories-in-use implicitly they also exist when they are unable to express them and also when they are impaired in some way from behaving accordingly. When theories-in-use are formulated, practitioners explicitly do what is already silently known; they can test their explicit knowledge in relation to their 'silent' knowledge. When practitioners learn how to put their espoused theory of action into practice a contrary process is applied. Instead of making a conclusion about the explicit theory from the implicit knowledge – which is shown through their behaviour – they make an explicit theory implicit, namely, it is internalised. The relationship between theories-in-use and explicit theories can best be illustrated by the analogy between grammar and speech: i.e. it can be as difficult to explain the grammatical rules which determine our way of speaking as it is to describe or even recognise our theories-in-use (op.cit, p. 11).

According to Argyris and Schön (1974, p. 35), theories-in-use create the behavioural world in which people act in accordance with the requirements of the leading variables of our theories-in-use.

Research into Implicit Theories of Action in Slovenian Family Social Work

Aims and thesis of the research

Based on the premise that competent social workers usually know more about carrying out good quality social work practice than they can articulate (Schön, 1987; 1991), the research focused on what is used in family social work practice. It focused on what Argyris and Schön (1974) call espoused theories and theories-in-use – the implicit knowledge that forms social workers' behavioural world.

The aims of the research can be divided into three groups, which are connected with each other:

1. Social Work with Families: The research sought to identify ways of action in social work with families in Slovenia, to move towards greater transparency of practice, which is needed for various reasons, e.g. to evaluate the processes of work, to improve practical actions, to develop new knowledge, to have words to name the actions so that service users can participate in them, etc.

2. The Use of Theoretical Knowledge in Practice: The research focused on social work theories of action that are in the functional application of social workers' existing knowledge in practice. The issue was not the use of knowledge in general or the function of knowledge and its actual transfer to direct practice (for more, see Rosen et al., 1999; 2003: Osmond,

2006), but the aim was to move closer to understanding how practitioners can and do rely on 'control-capable knowledge' to choose a certain type of intervention and implementation. Another aim was to find out which theories of action are used by social workers in helping processes and how this is reflected in direct practice.

3. Developing Methodological Tools: The aim was to start developing possible research instruments to come closer to theories-in-use (Argyris and Schön, 1974).

No classical hypotheses were formulated regarding the type of research. In this part of the research process, two theses - based on the author's theoretical understanding (Mešl, 2007, 2010) and knowing Slovenian social work practice - framed the research:

- Social workers use implicit theories of action in their practice;
- Implicit theories of action can be classified in roughly three categories:
- the concept of the working relationship (Čačinovič Vogrinčič, 2006[1]);
- the concept of work according to administrative procedure[2] (General Administrative Procedure Act, Official Journal of the Republic of Slovenia, Nos. 80/1999, 70/2000, 52/2002, 73/2004, 119/2005, 24/2006-consolidated text, 105/2006-ZUS-1, 126/2007, 65/2008, 47/2009-OdIUS, 48/2009-corrigendum, 8/2010.); and - other concepts such as reality theory (Glasser, 1998) and systemic-cybernetic theory (Šugman Bohinc, 2002)[3].

Method and Research Process

Qualitative and quantitative methods of data collecting were employed in the research, and data was processed using both quantitative and qualitative analyses. For the purposes of this

paper, the following sections are limited to presenting part of both types of analyses that are mostly connected to the topic of researching the use of implicit theories of action in practice.

Moving closer to theories-in-use presented a methodological challenge, as the individual's theories-in-use cannot be recognised by simply asking about them. Their theories-in-use can be constructed in most detail by observing their behaviour. During the process of researching there was no opportunity to observe the entire process of working with families, so we tried to recognise theories-in-use by collecting different data, using different research instruments (see the following sections).

Population and Sampling

The research population was drawn from social workers employed at social work centres doing family social work. Social work centres were chosen as they are the main institutions providing help to families.

There were two levels of sample selection. On the first level five social workers employed at five different social work centres were chosen. A convenience sample was made considering the purpose of the research. The aim was not to obtain data which could be generalised to the overall population of social workers in Slovenia, but to make an in-depth analysis of some social work processes involving families which would provide more thorough insight into the different kinds of action and their explanations. The criteria for selection were: social workers in different areas of social work with families; in different towns across Slovenia; they are taking part in further education; and they have at least 15 years practical experience in social work.

The social workers included in the sample were all female, which could represent a limitation of the research, although it is fact that social workers working in the field of family social

work are mostly female. They work in the areas of divorce (two of them), foster care (two of them) and children protection. Two came from the capital city of Slovenia while the others came from different parts of the country (Maribor, Celje, Piran). They all had more than 25 years of practical experience. The sample did not include categories of ethnicity or nationality, even though that is an important issue in the views and attitudes of social workers. Because the employment policy of social work centres in Slovenia does not recognise the need to employ workers with a pluralist ethnic background, it was impossible to break the sample down by cultural variables.

On the second level 25 working cases were chosen. Five social workers, chosen on the first level, gave 25 dossiers on work with families. The choice was based on criteria of satisfaction with the results – at least two cases in which they were satisfied with the results and at least two in which they were not. The aim was to see the difference in work process regarding the social workers' satisfaction. Some gave more than four cases so they offered a total of 25 dossiers from which the working process could be seen.

Collection of the Data

Research data was collected in three phases:

-   the first contact with the social workers included in the research; the interview in the field of their work, their theoretical starting points, etc. (the purpose was to hear about the social workers' espoused theories (Argyris and Schön, 1974); the collection of written documentation for the analysis (each social worker submitted dossiers about family social work cases after the first interview that were chosen based on the criterion of satisfaction with the process of work (see the Population and

Sampling section); the purpose was to gain insights into the working process and move closer to theories-in-use);

- <u>the second contact</u> with the same social workers: an in-depth interview on the working process of the chosen case (the aim was to gain an insight into the working process and move closer to the theories-in-use (ibid.) by asking social workers to disclose step by step and chronologically what happened in the case, what they did and why they did it), the filling in of the evaluation scale, where all espoused theories defined by the social worker at the first interview were operationalised (see Measuring Instruments), for all cases chosen by the social workers for the research (the purpose was to find out whether the individual social worker's espoused theory is congruent or incongruent with the theory-in-use (ibid.)); and

- <u>the third contact</u> with the same social workers – the group interview (the aim was to reflect on the research results together with social workers, to gain feedback on the results, to continue a dialogue, to co-create new understandings about the use of knowledge in practice).

Measuring Instruments, Variables, Data Sources

First, a semi-structured in-depth interview was conducted with each social worker about the knowledge they use in their work, what their theoretical starting points are, etc.

For the purposes of dossier analysis, where qualitative and quantitative methods of analysing were combined, four concepts of work were operationalised in the evaluation scale, which social workers in the first research phase defined as espoused theories. These are: the working relationship, the administrative procedure, the reality therapy, and the systemic-cybernetic approach. Each working concept was defined with 11 variables (see Table 2). Each variable had three values: "I did not act according to the given statement"; "I acted according

to the given statement, although inconsistently"; "I consistently acted according to the given statement."

Each social worker filled in the scale for all the cases she had offered for the research. This allowed the researcher to gain insight into the theoretical concepts which the social workers, in their own opinion, used in individual work cases. The evaluation scale was also used for the analysis of the 25 dossiers which had been offered for research by the social workers.

Additional research data was obtained through an in-depth interview with each social worker on the working process of the chosen case. Three main questions framed the interview: "What happened in the case?", "What did you do?", and "Why did you do that?" Here the whole process of family social work was in focus, and we could not determine limited variables. The focus was on three areas: the event, the action of a social worker, and the purpose of the action.

Data Processing and Analysis

The evaluation scales filled out by the social workers for all 25 cases (each social worker filled them out for her chosen cases) were processed with the SPSS Programme Package.   The frequency distribution for each variable was designed. First the indexes for each concept of work were designed (the sum total of points in all variables which belonged to a given working concept), in which the lowest possible value was 0 (a social worker used none of the elements of the chosen concept), while the highest value was 22 (a social worker consistently used all elements of the concept). Then the average values for the indexes were calculated. Also the researcher analysed all 25 cases by inserting parts of the texts in the dossiers into the evaluation scale (for each case separately) under the definitions to which it could belong. Thus, the statements about a way of

working, from which the measuring instrument consisted, served as codes for the qualitative analysis of the overall material. Also, estimates of the degree of consistency of individual actions were recorded. This material was processed in a similar way as the social workers' estimates – with the SPSS Programme Package. An additional comparison with a t-test between the social workers' estimates and my researcher's was undertaken.

The material gained in interviews was analysed with the computer programme WINRELAN-GABEK for the qualitative analysis of linguistic data (Zelger, 2002).

Methodological Limitations of the Study

The nature of the research method is explorative; the aim was to start developing possible research instruments to come closer to theories-in-use. Many improvements are needed in the future:
-sampling: the small, convenience sample of the study cannot give the results to be generalised and so the assumptions of the statistical tests (e.g., t-tests) are therefore in question;
- the validity of the evaluation scale: the operational definitions and coding procedure were developed by researchers, based on the theoretical understandings of four concepts of work defined by social workers; then three phases of content validity were made[4] before using it. The reliability of the results is in question because estimates came from five different social workers for one part of the cases – social workers' understanding of variables and values can be very different from the researcher's. The researcher filled in the scale for all of the cases, and so an equal guiding principle could be expected. To improve reliability, at least a third person should estimate the scale for all of the cases. Another round of assessment of each case from all participants after some time and then the comparison of results would give a clearer reliability picture.

-data processing and analysing: analysing case file material cannot be compared with observing social workers' behaviour in the work process, which could give us a better picture of their implicit theories. The chosen method is a possible way to move closer to researching espoused theories of social workers and their theories-in-use, but one can object that the study is not more than a comparison between questionnaire reporting and case file reporting.

Despite quite some limitations, some interesting trends that are confirmed in different data sources and method analysis are seen and are worth further researching and developing for improving family social work practice.

Results

Table 1: *Comparison of the Means of the Indexes of Individual Working Concepts*

Paired Samples Statistics

		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1	delind	18,6800	25	3,14537	,62907
	delindn	13,2000	25	6,51920	1,30384
Pair 2	uprind	5,8800	25	9,02921	1,80584
	uprindn	7,0000	25	8,21077	1,64215
Pair 3	realinde	16,3600	25	2,84136	,56827
	realindn	4,4800	25	6,19892	1,23978
Pair 4	sisindek	13,6000	25	3,02765	,60553
	sisindn	10,1600	25	6,26950	1,25390

Table 1 shows a comparison of the social workers' and researcher's estimates in the evaluation scales of all 25 cases (the number is shown in the third column). In the first column four working approaches are marked which the social

workers used in their work with the chosen cases: the working relationship (*delind*); the administrative procedure (*uprind*); the reality therapy (*realind*); and the systemic-cybernetic approach (*sisindek*). The ending '*n*' in each pair indicates which estimates refer to the researcher's evaluation.

The second column shows the mean values of the estimates (the maximum is 22) in each approach; first the social workers' estimates then researcher's are presented in each approach. This column shows that the social workers used all four working concepts[5]. They defined the working relationship concept as the one they used the most consistently (18.68), followed by reality therapy (16.36), the systemic-cybernetic approach (13.6), and then the administrative procedure (5.88).

However, the researcher's estimates for all four groups differ significantly from those of the social workers. In three cases (working relationship (13.2), reality therapy (4.48), and systemic-cybernetic approach (10.16)) the evaluations are lower, while in the administrative procedure (7.00) they are higher than the social workers'. The *t*-test showed that in all comparisons of the social workers' estimations with the researcher's, the statistical differences are significant.

The low mean value in the administrative procedure means that social workers did not use this approach in all cases because it was unnecessary. A further analysis of the data showed that when they did act according to the administrative procedure they consistently applied all of its elements. The low mean value in reality therapy (in researcher's evaluation) is the result of the methodological decision to analyse the dossiers describing this working approach only with regard to those social workers who were specifically educated for this approach.

Table 2: Frequencies According to Individual Statements Regarding the Use of a Certain Working Concept

Statement (elements of the working concept)	Social workers' estimates (mean[6])	Researcher's estimates (mean)
WORKING RELATIONSHIP		
I invited all participants involved in the problem to a joint conversation at least once during the working process.	1.56	1.12
I made the working agreement at the beginning of work with all who were present.	*1.12*	*0.56*
I took care during the working process that all involved also participated in the solution.	1.76	1.32
I acted with personal engagement, concrete action, here and now.	**1.96**	**1.52**
I managed and guided participants involved in the problem towards the goals commonly agreed upon.	**1.84**	**1.56**
I personally responded to descriptions of problems and to participants' actions, thus allowing them to gain experience of being taken into consideration.	**1.92**	1.36
I acted so that the users could gain experience of making their own decisions about their lives – without me having the final word.	1.80	**1.60**
I acted in a way to help find out, investigate and employ the users strength and resources.	*1.68*	*1.04*
We really agreed upon the most important solutions within our joint conversations – and not outside of them.	1.80	1.28
I ensured that we understood each other and agreed upon things and only then agreed upon the solution.	1.80	1.40
I shared my expert knowledge with the users, expressing it in their own language and then translated their understanding back into the expert language.	*1.44*	*0.44*
ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURE		
I carried out a special declaratory proceeding before issuing the official decision, in which I found out facts and circumstances important for the decision.	0.64	0.72

I enabled the client to make statements about facts and circumstances which were important for the official decision.	0.64	0.72
I obtained the opinion of the expert commission and called for an oral hearing.	0.48	0.48
The expert commission formed their opinion about the case being considered before the oral hearing.	0.48	0.48
I personally and in writing invited clients (including witnesses) to the oral hearing.	0.48	0.48
Those invited to the oral hearing had 8 days' time from receipt of the invitation in order to prepare themselves, and so they could appear on time and with no big expenses being incurred.	0.48	0.48
I wrote the minutes of all important actions in the procedure.	0.68	**1.32**
I (or another official) as the leader of the oral hearing instructed clients in the procedure that they had the right to state their opinion on circumstances, facts, evidence important for the issuing of the decision, and to make remarks and raise questions.	0.48	0.48
I issued the official decision no longer than two months from the start of the procedure.	0.40	0.64
I carried out a conversation with an underage person in compliance with Article 12 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child because they have the right to state their opinions in all procedures related to them.	0.56	0.48
I instructed the client about the legal instruction in the decision that they could file a complaint against the decision.	0.56	0.72
REALITY THERAPY		
I respected the individual's free choice of their goals set to meet their needs, as well as their own ways of achieving them.	**1.96**	0.64
I took into consideration that the problem always lies in the present, and there is no need for a prolonged intense investigation of the client's past.	**1.96**	0.56
I took into consideration that each person takes their own responsibility for their lives, and I helped the client find out whether or not they are ready for a change.	**1.88**	0.44
I took into consideration that I am the only person whose behaviour I can control, and I did not attempt to control the client.	**1.96**	0.72
I took into consideration that I can only give people information while they make their own decisions about what they are going to do with it.	**1.88**	0.80

Statement		
I researched which needs (love and belonging, power, freedom, fun) are important for the users and how they meet them.	*1.00*	*0.08*
I researched together with the client which images they decided to keep in their world of quality.	*0.96*	*0.00*
I took into consideration that I am responsible for the establishment of a good relationship with the client through which I can then try to influence them.	*1.96*	*0.52*
I researched together with the client all constituent parts of their total behaviour (acting, thinking, emotions, feelings and physiology).	*0.88*	*0.16*
I encouraged the client to make a self-evaluation of their actions in solving their problem.	1.28	*0.32*
I instructed the client about choice theory.	*0.64*	*0.24*
SYSTEMIC-CYBERNETIC APPROACH		
I paid attention to the different systems in which the user was included, as well as the interactions of these systems.	1.60	1.48
I took into consideration that a change to part of the system influences all other systems.	**1.80**	1.36
I considered that the problem expressed in/by a family member is not their personal characteristic, but a way of expressing tensions in family relations.	**1.80**	1.48
I oriented my work to the relations between family members and not to their personal characteristics.	**1.84**	1.44
Throughout the process of help I was checking my understanding of the user's understanding and *vice versa*.	**1.80**	*0.76*
I also made contact with the user by mirroring their body movements, voice, facial expressions, movements of hands, breathing.	*0.44*	*0.00*
I researched the interactions and relations between family members by posing circular questions.	*0.28*	*0.00*
I reframed the user's ineffective patterns of thinking and problem-solving.	*0.76*	*0.56*
I co-created and encouraged the creation of the context for the development of changes of a superior order if it was necessary.	*0.24*	*0.60*
Together with the users we took small steps to induce changes.	1.72	1.32
I contributed to stabilisation of the changes as they were occurring by supporting the whole system's adaptation to the changes.	1.32	1.16

Table 2 shows frequencies according to individual statements for all four working concepts. Elements whose estimates are written in italics were estimated by the social workers and researcher to have been used the least consistently. Elements whose estimates are underlined and in bold were estimated to have been used the most consistently. These are stressed in the discussion.

Important results were obtained from interview material. Our analysis reflects that social workers often do not have words to name their work or to explain their actions.

Figure 1: *The Association Graph for "purpose of action" in the Context of All Interviews*

The graph shows the most often used associations for concept "purpose of action" in common material of five, in-depth interviews. When social workers were asked about the purpose of their action, which they described as a reaction to events, we expected to determine their implicit theories of actions.

The next table shows the number of all prescribed codes in the causal analysis of the same interview-gathered material. Each code was marked with colour depending on content (was the social worker speaking about the event or the action or the purpose of the action). The distribution of codes could be seen by counting all codes with same colour.

Table 3 – *The Number of Used Codes in Causal Analyses of All Interviews*

code	event	action	purpose of action
number	70	105	30

Numbers show that codes are not equally distributed. The highest number in the action field shows that social workers spoke mostly about their action when talking about a concrete case. There are the fewest number of codes describing the purpose of action, the fewest parts of text from interviews where social workers defined the purpose of their actions, what led them, and what their theoretical starting points were.

Discussion

There could be various reasons for the differences between the researcher's evaluation and those of the social workers in the mean estimates of the use of the different working approaches, which can be seen in Table 1.

Undoubtedly, the leading reason is that the researcher's evaluations were based on the analysis of written documentation, that is what the social workers had written down and not the working process itself. However, when estimating different cases, the social workers could have had the integral picture of the process in which they had participated in mind.

Another possible substantiation of the differences lies in the gap between the espoused theories and the theories-in-use which define the social workers' behavioural world in practice. When the researcher asked the social workers (in the first interview) what their theoretical starting points in their work were, they stated their espoused theories of action in their answers. These are theories of action to which they pay allegiance and which, upon request, they communicate to others (Argyris and Schön, 1974).

The above interpretations were confirmed by the social workers at the third meeting, where a group interview was organised in which the obtained research results were presented and social workers were invited to reflect. First, they looked for the reasons of the results obtained, due to the fact that the researcher's analysis only referred to written material. However, they also said that the results made them reflect on the degree to which they actually use the presented concepts in practice. What surprised them most was the large deviation in the working relationship item, as they thought this was their basic theory of action which they drew from in practice. The social workers agreed with the interpretation that the concept of the working relationship was their espoused theory which they knew and felt close to, and drew from, but which they had not actually fully espoused to become their consistent theory-in-use in each of its elements.

The association graph (Figure 1) confirms the previous discussion about the gap between espoused theories and

theories-in-use. According to the explanations of actions it could be concluded that social workers have not espoused concepts of work, even though they described them in a first interview as a starting point of their work to become their theory-in-use, and about which they could explicitly talk. In a case when they would do so, concepts connected to "purpose of action" would be more theoretically defined (e.g. to make an agreement for cooperation, to research images of quality world, etc.). The low number of codes of purpose of action (Table 3) confirms that practitioners, included in research, do not have words to name their practice, especially to explicitly connect the actions with suitable theoretical concepts, which led their actions.

When we focus on a certain working concepts and frequencies according to individual statements (Table 2), we also see a similar trend.

The highest estimates for most elements of *the working relationship* can be understood as confirmation that the social workers included in the research basically draw on this concept as a whole in their social work with families. The element of an agreement for cooperation is considered as the basic element of establishing the working relationship, which makes the inconsistent use of this element one possible reason for the low mean estimates in the consistency of its use in the researcher's estimations. In the third research phase one participant commented that she just starts work, "falls into it" – without any agreement on cooperation – which she sees as an area which she needs to improve. In her opinion, even recognition of not using a cooperation agreement – as well as the importance of its use – can lead one to prepare for the conversation differently. This statement confirms the viability of researching implicit theories of actions and contributing to the greater transparency of practice to help social workers become aware of their behaviour, which offers an opportunity to improve practical actions. In social work a strengths perspective (Saleebey, 1997) is considered

as the basic professional attitude, so it is surprising that in the researcher's analysis of the written documents there is not more of it. According to the researcher's estimations, in 60% of the cases social workers did not use actionable knowledge in their work. This percentage is quite high, and improving the use of this element is a future challenge for social workers. Social work encompasses knowledge which can be shared with users, and the decision about such an action is a necessary professional decision. It is encouraging though that the most consistently used element was the element of personal leading (Bouwkamp and Vries,1995), which reflects the social worker's necessary active, professional action.

Elements of the *administrative procedure* were most consistently used when the social workers carried out the administrative procedure in their work with a family; on average, the estimates were lower because in some cases it was not necessary to use this procedure. The estimate which stands out is the result of the fact that also where the whole administrative procedure was not carried out and the social worker wrote minutes about an occurrence in her work with the family, the researcher consistently attributed it to this concept of work. When findings were presented to the social workers in the group interview their comment was that most complaints refer to the administrative procedure. This is why they try to apply the law very consistently, as well as write down actions carried out within the procedure.

Elements which stand out as being the least consistently used in *the systemic-cybernetic approach* and in *reality therapy* are those which require a specific social worker's action (e.g. research into needs important to the user, research into images in their quality world, mirroring, posing circular questions, reframing, etc.) which is defined in detail and clearly by that approach.

Conclusions

The premise that intervention should be based on relevant and valid knowledge is at the core of professional practice (Rosen et al., 1999, p. 2). The research results show an inconsistency in the use of theoretical knowledge in the practice of Slovenian family social work, and a gap between social workers' espoused theories and their theories-in-use, together with an inability to reflect on their knowledge use. Social workers know the different theories of action explicitly when talking about the way they work in general; they can name it and talk about it as their espoused theories, but their concrete practise with families does not show their consistent use. In addition, social workers do not have words to describe their actions with the defined espoused theories when talking about concrete cases. There were a lot of actions that could not be placed in formal knowledge; social workers also could not name them. Here at least two questions arise for which there are no clear-cut answers: is this problem connected to theory which is not responding to the needs of practice, or is it connected to social workers who do not respectfully treat the knowledge that has been developed or perhaps do not know how to?

Rosen et al. (1999) say that to bring a practice episode to a successful conclusion, practitioners must have, and apply, valid knowledge capable of guiding both passive and active predictions. Their thesis is that in contemporary social work we do have knowledge we can use, but the question is how to use it. The thesis for Slovenian family social work is similar: knowledge has been developed and it can be used. Knowledge is based on the contemporary concepts of social work and concrete practical experiences in the field, which makes knowledge useful for practical actions, but the gap between the knowledge and its use is still big.

123

The fundamental finding of the research is that the social workers fulfilled those tasks which are imposed by law. The specific nature of family social work is reflected in the way individual cases are treated, although this is often not supported by social work concepts which creates problems for this complex and demanding work, repeatedly confronting social workers with the dilemma of whether they should continue to co-operate with users, make agreements and proceed with the common work on their plans or whether they should withdraw and comply with the administrative procedures. The main questions here are: What are the obstacles in practice to doing family social work? What makes agreements or co-operation stop? The analysis indicates the lack of consistent use of those social work concepts which would strengthen social workers in their individual working project of help, that is, in establishing and maintaining processes of making agreements with users in the co-creation of solutions.

Social workers in the third (group) interview confirmed that this is something that really does happen to them in practice. In common researching of the desired steps towards improving actions in family social work they suggested: reading professional literature, refreshing knowledge about theoretical concepts, relying on theoretical concepts, supervision for the specific working field, more professional meetings, educational seminars, working in pairs, and reflecting on the work with a co-worker. All of these are descriptions of the more consistent and reflexive use of theory in practice.

Through an understanding of the processes of developing and using knowledge we can also find some answers as to why the use of concepts in family social work practice is only partial, unreflected, and complemented with non-professional approaches. Through this understanding, we can look for answers regarding social workers' more explicit use of

knowledge in practice (see Healy, 2005; Schön, 1987, 1991; Taylor and White, 2000). Technical rationality, reflection-in-action, and reflexive approach are not an "either-or" choice; each of them adds an important perspective to the formation of the frameworks for practical action. The technical rationality provides the framework for disciplined, scientific reflection. Undoubtedly, reflection-in-practice is a skill which we need in social work for the effective integration of thought and action. The reflexive approach adds an important and necessary emphasis – while in social work we create theory in practice, it is equally important that a formal theory is used as a basis for the formation of knowledge in practice (Heally, 2005).

The reflexive approach in family social work can bring us closer to reflect on espoused theories and theories-in-use and enable us to verbalise good practices for the development of the theory of social work in order to find necessary support in existing concepts. Being able to verbalise our knowledge, our actions and their purpose is crucial for family social work to also be able to provide the necessary participation of users in individual working projects of the co-creation of good outcomes with a family. If we do not have words to describe our actions, how can we invite people to co-operate with us?

Rosen et al., (1999, p.3) stress important findings about social work research when saying that there is a substantial body of social and behavioural research about many of the underlying causes of problems social workers address. But there are many gaps in our knowledge about "what works" – that is, about the most effective means of helping. We need research regarding the "how" in social work. It is important to develop a methodology for researching the use of knowledge, regarding theories of action in practice to discuss our work, to make it more transparent and easier to develop. This is also a possible way to bring espoused theories closer to become theories-in-

use. It is not only about simply applying a formal theory, but also using it as the basis for the formation of new knowledge in practice (Healy, 2005, p. 94). Coming closer to researching these processes and making them more transparent is a future challenge for competent family social work.

Notes

[1]As presented in the section about the Slovenian context of family social work, Slovenian social workers know the concept of the working relationship (Čačinovič Vogrinčič, 2006) which presents the basics of (post)modern social work knowledge and they are increasingly using it.

[2] Considering the institutional context of the research (i.e. centres of social work) and knowing the Slovenian family social work practice in centres of social work, the administrative procedure which is defined by law and is not a theory of action is also included.

[3] Reality theory and systemic-cybernetic theory are partly defined through statements in Table 2.

[4]1. Common agreement with two professors at the Faculty for Social Work (their respective fields of interest being social work with the family and research methodology); 2. individual conversations with three social workers working in practice (not include in the research); and 3. individual conversations with the before mentioned professors.

[5]Several interpretations are possible here: 1. the reason lies in the methodological approach, namely different approaches are not operationalised and specifically defined well enough in the evaluation scale; 2. the theories resemble one another (the same goal, a different expression – also the social workers pointed this out in the group interview – above all, they see similar elements in the working relationship concept and in reality therapy); and 3. in reality, the social workers draw from various theories (eclecticism).

[6] Mean estimates for an individual statement; the options were: 0, 1, 2.

References

1. **Andersen, T.** (1994) "Reflection on Reflecting with Families". In: McNamee Sh. and Gergen, K.J. (eds.) Therapy as Social Construction, London, Sage, pp. 54-67.
2. **Argyris C. and Schön, D.** (1974) Theory in Practice: Increasing Professional Effectiveness, San Francisco, Jossey-Bass.
3. **Constable, R. and Lee, D. B.** (2004) Social Work with Families: content and process, Chicago, Illinois, Lyceum Books, Inc.

4. **Čačinovič Vogrinčič, G. and Šugman Bohinc, L.** (2000) "Effectivness (Efficiency) of Conversation in Social Work with Families" [Učinkovitost (uspešnost) razgovora v socialnem delu z družino], Socialno delo Journal, 39 (3), 175-189.
5. **Čačinovič Vogrinčič, G.** (2005) "Teaching Concepts of Help in Social Work: the Working Relationship", European Journal of Social Work, 8 (3), 335-341.
6. *Čačinovič Vogrinčič, G.* (2006) Social Work with Family [Socialno delo z družino], Ljubljana, Faculty for Social Work of the University of Ljubljana.
7. **Fook, J.** (2002) Social Work: Critical Theory and Practice, London, Sage.
8. **Glasser, W. (1998)** Choice Theory: A New Psychology of Personal Freedom [Teorija izbire – nova psihologija osebne svobode], Radovljica, TOP, Regionalni izobraževalni center.
9. **Healy, K.** (2000) Social Work Practices: Contemporary Perspectives on Change, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, SAGE Publications.
10. **Healy, K.** (2005) Social Work Theories in Context: Creating Frameworks for Practice, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York, Palgrave Macmillan.
11. **Hoffman, L.** (1994) "A Reflexive Stance for Family Therapy". In: McNamee, Sh. and Gergen, K.J. (eds.) Therapy as Social Construction, London, Sage, pp. 7-24.
12. **Lawrence, P. And Wiffin, J.** (2002) "Family Group Conferences; Principles and practice guidance, Essex, Barnardo's , accessed at http: // www.frg.org.uk/pdfs/FGC%20Principles%20and%20 Practice%20Guidance.pdf on June 24, 2011.
13. **Lüssi, P.** (1991), Systemische Sozialarbeit, Bern, Haupt.

14. **Mešl, N.** (2010), "The Use of Theories of Action in the Practice of Social Work with Families: the Co-creation of Knowledge in Practice" Ljetopis socijalnog rada, 17 (1), 5-25.

15. **Mešl, N.** (2007), Theories of Action and Successfulness of the Helping Processes in Social Work with Families [Teorije ravnanja in uspešnost procesov pomoči v socialnem delu z družinami]. PhD Thesis. Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Work.

16. **Osmond, J.** (2006) "Knowledge Use in Social Work Practice: Examining its Functional Possibilities" Journal of Social Work, 221 (6), 221-237.

17. **Payne, M.** (2005) Modern Social Work Theory, Basingstoke, Palgrave.

18. **Rosen, A., Proctor, E.K. and Staudt, M.** (1999) "Social Work Research and the Guest for Effective Practice", Social Work Research, 23 (1), 4-13.

19. **Rosen, A., Proctor, E.K. and Staudt, M.** (2003) "Targets of Change and Interventions in Social Work: An Empirically Based Prototype for Developing Practice Guidelines", Research on Social Work Practice, 208 (13), 208-233.

20. **Rosenfeld, I.** (1993) Abstracts. EASSW Conference, Torino.

23. **Saleebey, D. (ed.).** (1997) The Strength Perspective in Social Work Practice, New York, Longman.

24. **Schön, D.** (1987), Educating the Reflective Practitioner: Toward a New Design for Teaching and Learning in the Professions, San Francisco, Jossey-Bass Publishers.

25. **Schön, D.** (1991) The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action, Aldershot etc., Ashgate-Arena.

26. **Stam, M. and Räkers, M.** (2011) "Implementation of Family Group Conferences in Bosnia Herzegovina", paper presented at ENSACT conference Social Action in Europe: Sustainable Social Development and Economic Challenges, Brussels, April 10-13, 2011.

27. **Sunko, B., Bole Finžgar, M., Dobnikar, M., Pudgar, I., Grča Špolad, A., Štoka, J. (et al.)** (2001) Evaluation of the "Help to Family for Home" Social Protection Service and Programmes of Psychosocial Help to Family in Social Work Centres [Evalvacija socialnovarstvene storitve "Pomoč družini" in programov psihosocialne pomoči družini v centrih za socialno delo], Ljubljana, Community of Social Work Centres.

28. **Šugman Bohinc, L.,** (2000) "Cybernetics of Change and Stability" [Kibernetika spremembe in stabilnosti]; Socialno delo Journal, 39 (2), 93-108.

29. **Taylor, C. and White S.** (2000) Practising Reflexivity in Health and Welfare: MakinKnowledge, Buckingham, Open University Press.

30. **Turner, F.J. (ed.)** (1996) Social Work Treatment: Interlocking Theoretical Approaches, New York, The Free Press.

31. **Vries de S. and Bouwkamp, R.** (1995) Psychosocial Family Therapy [Psihosocialna družinska terapija], Logatec, Firis.

32. **General Administrative Procedure Act** [Zakon o splošnem upravnem postopku – ZUP], Official Journal of the Republic of Slovenia, Nos. 80/1999, 70/2000, 52/2002, 73/2004, 119/2005, 24/2006-consolidated text, 105/2006-ZUS-1, 126/2007, 65/2008, 47/2009-OdlUS, 48/2009-corrigendum, 8/2010.

33. **Zelger, J.** (2002) GABEK – WinRelan (Short Manual), Innsbruck, University of Innsbruck – Department of Philosophy.

RACHEL ROBBINS

WE ASSESS THE STORIES OUR SERVICE USERS TELL US – BUT WHAT ABOUT THE STORIES WE TELL ABOUT OURSELVES? THE WRITING STORIES PROJECT: ATTEMPTING TO ENGAGE SOCIAL WORK STUDENTS IN SOCIAL POLICY LEARNING

Abstract

Social work can be described as "applied social policy" (Lorenz, 2005: 97). For social work students and practitioners, the study of social policy is key to a consideration of the lives of service users. However, social policy can also be perceived as belonging to the sphere of knowledge and distanced from social work skills. In this paper, I aim to tell the story of an attempt to address this perceived gap by offering a reflective space for social work students to consider their own stories in relation to social political concepts. This was done by adapting the Memory Work method associated with Haug et. al. (1987). The article and the method rely heavily on the role of stories in providing insight to the construction of social problems. The research was a complex process which opened up space to consider the role of power and vulnerability in practice

Key words

methodology; practitioner research; vulnerability; memory work; feminism; stories.

Introduction

Social work is a complex phenomenon. It has an international aspect as well as being characterised by national, regional and local practices. The subject of this article is primarily concerned with social work practice in the UK and, where necessary to make the distinction, in England. It can be argued that the development of social work is linked to the industrialisation of the global north (Hugman, 2009) and that it is now reaching a fluid and diverse post-modern identity. However, within the UK social work has always held an uncertain position and I would argue that there are attempts now in this "post-structuralist" society to impose order on its blurred boundaries. Within the UK, social work has had a convoluted and fragmented journey to its current condition. "Social Worker" is now a legally protected term. It can only be used to describe someone who is professionally qualified and registered with the General Social Care Council (soon to be subsumed into the Health Professionals Council as part of government "savings"). Qualification is at a minimum of degree level, but is based on a competency-led training model (Gregory and Holloway, 2005). This is a relatively new development in a "profession" that has historically been closely linked to political movements of both progressive and reactionary forces (Wise, 1990).

My role within this is as a lecturer in social policy on social work degrees. Social work has been defined as "applied social policy" (Lorenz, 2005: 97). In reviewing the curriculum and the literature it is possible to see social policy within social work as being concerned with five inter-related areas. The first of these could be the global perspective which recognises the pervasive, transnational neo-liberal project and its impact on "what is encouraged; how things might be done" (Penna, 2004: 2). Second, social policy within social work encompasses

ideological perspectives (particularly in relation to poverty). Third is the study of policy analysis and evaluation. Fourth it should be concerned with organisational practices; and finally, it should engage students with their individual practices and develop some social workers into "policy practitioners" (Weiss et. al. 2006) directly involved in the development of policy.

If social work education is seen as a fusion of the three spheres of knowledge, skills and values, social policy is often seen as only occupying the sphere of knowledge. As many students come to the course disengaged from political life, it is difficult to avoid the "facts" of party positions, manifesto promises, policy processes, statistics, current documents and legislation. However, in my teaching I have always tried to encourage a wider social, theoretical appreciation of social policy, believing that a narrow focus on current policy "produces a practitioner with the knowledge to follow procedure, but not the critical awareness that sees when the service outcomes are at odds with political objectives or who fails to infuse the policy framework with professional values (Gregory and Holloway, 2005: 618 – 619).

In particular, I am concerned that whilst many modules on the BA in social work stress the role of structures, wider politics and the law in determining who service users will be, the decisions of students to undertake social work are less problematised and uncritically accepted. My concern is that "politics" is something which happens to "them" (service users and carers) and not "us" (students/practitioners). Both social workers and service users should be the subject of social policy. I wanted to question the received wisdom that "the gap between the personal and the professional has to be understood as a sign of the professionalisation of the helping professions" (Zavirљek, 2002: 267).

My hope was that within a practitioner research intervention I could offer students an opportunity for a reflective, subjective space that would complement the advantages of a discipline that stresses objectivity and neutrality. The aim of this paper, then, is to explore methodological issues that could offer personal perspectives on social policy. In particular, I outline a practitioner research project that engaged with the methodology of Memory Work (Haug, 1987). Then I consider some of the complexities of practitioner research within a particular context, concentrating on issues of vulnerability.

Discussion - Methodology

This section will be present a (condensed) story of my decision-making process. I choose to present this as a narrative, as Walker (2007: 295) argues stories are "quite fundamental to the process of action research, such that it is hard to imagine how we might write about it in a non-storied way." I was introduced to the idea of practitioner research through my Post-Graduate Certificate in Education (Post-Compulsory) (PGCE) a requirement for teaching in Further Education colleges in the UK. My intervention, for the purposes of gaining that qualification, was to introduce a formal debate within a social policy module for first year undergraduates on the BA in Social Work.

My findings, as written up for the assessed report for my PGCE, concentrated on the themes of the role of emotions, critical thinking, team work and assessment. However, on further reflection I would add that debate, whilst opening up the students' minds to the potential of political rhetoric and advocacy through argument, was not entirely successful in developing a view of social policy which could engage with the students' own choices. In other words, students began to acknowledge the role that wider structures might play in the lives of service-users, but their own positions were less problematised and uncritically

accepted. Service users were still the subjects of debate, "the debated" and not the "debaters" – still positioned as *other*.

Debate still forms a useful and important part of the social policy curriculum. However, my focus has turned to providing a reflective space for students to consider the question: "Service users' stories are assessed, but what about the stories you tell about yourself?"

I was looking for a method that could support my intention of blurring the dichotomous boundaries of service user and social worker and that would emphasise how these boundaries are constructed within social work and social policy practices. This collapsing of one boundary has also led me to consider other methodological territories. In particular, I wanted to problematise the conceptions of subject and object of research and theory, method and experience (Crawford et. al., 1992). It would be disingenuous to claim that my discovery of Memory Work forged a possible solution (too neat an ending to my story). It is rather that through experimentation with a method that I have begun to be able to unpack why it appealed in the first place.

Memory Work

There is another story to be told here: the history of Memory Work. Memory Work as discussed by Frigga Haug began as an overtly political project. It was forged from the work of the women's editorial board of *Das Argument,* a West German Marxist journal. The work was first published in the 1980s under the title *Frauenformen* and was concerned with women's lives and how they "learned to behave in 'feminine ways'." (Haug, 1987: 24). It was a project that was designed to put women's experience at the centre of that discussion because of a "fundamental unease with all the theories of socialisation previously developed within psychology and sociology" (Haug,

1987: 24). The basis of this "unease" was the issue of women's agency in the process of growing up. And yet theory was not marked in binary opposition to women's experience.

> *Our reference point has been and remains Marxism; our stated aim is to inscribe feminism into the Marxist framework.* (Haug, 1987: 23).

In discussing what Memory Work is, it is always a challenge to present a coherent document of the process without minimising the complexities. It should be stated that it was not intended to be a fixed set of practices. Haug and the original collective did much more than just analyse their written memories. However, what I shall give here is adapted from subsequent Memory Work practitioners who have attempted to be as open as possible about the practice – Crawford et. al. (1992), Onyx and Small, (2001) and Stephenson and Kippax (2008).

Memory Work is a research tool that uses groupwork. It takes place over three phases. In phase one, memories are written of a particular episode, in the third person and in as much detail as possible (Crawford et. al., 1992). The choice of third person writing is designed to cause a deliberate gap between the writer and the memory to offer it as a collective rather than individual resource. "Writing in the third person is a curious technique. It is an invitation to co-researchers to observe aspects of themselves" (Stephenson and Kippax, 2008: 132).

Another key aspect of this phase is the use of a cue or prompt to inspire the written memories. Both Haug (1987) and Crawford et. al. (1997) caution against the use of the obvious cue for providing too well-rehearsed narratives, or aligning memory with a too neat unified biography. "The trick is to produce the more jagged stuff of personal lived experience" (Onyx and Small, 2001: 776).

Phase two involves the analysis of memories in group discussion leading to a re-writing of selected texts (although Crawford et. al., 1992: 50, in their adherence to the rules found the re-writing of memories "unproductive").

Phase three is a further analysis of the memories and transcripts of group discussion which should result in the group identifying points for intervening in their experiences of subjection. Onyx and Small (2001: 777) state that phase three is usually done by one of the co-researchers as an individual (academic) exercise "though with drafts of this process subject to further discussion by other members of the collective".

So, this then is how 'pure' Memory Work should look. However, in its evolution some adaptations to the method have been made for pragmatic reasons and others still have arisen out of a need to align methods more closely with research aims or researchers' strengths and flexibilities. This experiment with the method of memory work is in line with its conception as an experimental way of uncovering the socialisation process and has always been a feature of its practice.

My work has carried on this tradition. Taking an under-used space on the time-table labelled as Professional Development Groups, I organised four groups on the first year full-time BA. The groups were assigned fairly randomly by me and consisted of 8 – 9 members. Two groups were women only and the five men within the year split across the other two groups. The groups would chose a cue related to the field of social work, some suggested by me and others from their own understanding of the task. (Examples of cues chosen include 'risk', 'protection' and 'control'). They would meet to discuss the written memories looking for similarities and differences, using the written words to consider theories, clichйs and generalisations made around the topic.

However, I chose to label and run my research as the "Writing Stories Project" rather than a Memory Work exercise. This was for a number of reasons. The first of these comes from a desire to remove "memory" from the title. Whilst Memory Work is envisaged as a "performative act of remembering, an active engagement for social change" (Zavirљek, 2002: 267), it could easily be misinterpreted as a site of psychological intervention. "Memory in modern discourse is a psychological concept" (Smith, 2005: 81). My aim was to avoid pathologising the students' personal stories and stressing the individual nature of their problems (Zavirљek, 2002), but to afford them context and see them as part of wider truths.

I was also aware that I would not be adhering to the guidelines of Memory Work in their entirety. Students would be offered the space to analyse their stories. However, it is the stories that would form the basis of my analysis rather than a combination of written memory and discussion. It felt too intrusive to record and transcribe students' discussions given my relation to them.

This was the key reason for the shift in emphasis. I am a tutor and the research participants my tutees. The moving away from Memory Work as prescribed by Haug was, in part, motivated by the recognition that there were very different power relations in play between the two projects. A collective of women activists could be as subject to hierarchical power and ascribed roles as any other group. "Groups are seen as vulnerable to sub-groups and to domination and opposition by more powerful individuals" (Preston-Shoot, 2007: 11). However, there would at least be some attempt to move away from this and to come to the project as equals. This could not be so easily achieved within an educational setting with power relations between teacher and student having to be constantly acknowledged and reinforced through processes such as assessment. It would be fair to say that the students would have been aware of their role

of students throughout the process; and, more importantly, they would have been able to distinguish their role as social work students, trainees in a career open to public and service user accountability and surveillance.

Discussion – The Process

As I write this article, I have reached the point within the project of attempting to write up the process and analyse my data. So, I am re-reading material and reflecting on the process. Reinharz (1992) notes that in feminist research learning must occur on three levels: the person, the problem and the method. Whilst I am going to concentrate on the issue of method my reflections show that learning in one area impacts on each of the others. The reason I will be concentrating on process is that little has been written on the process of Memory Work and "we need sufficient detail describing not only the findings but the ways in which the methods were used and how participants experience use of the method" (Kaufman et. al., 2008: 15).

It is also an ethical consideration to bring to the attention of the wider audience the 'messiness' of the research process. This is a form of reflexivity that continually audits and monitors the research process, bringing with it a consideration of the "negotiated, relative and socially constructed nature of the research experience" (Finlay and Gough, 2003: 4). In other words there should be recognition that we assess (analyse) the stories we are told as researchers, but what about the stories we tell about our research:

> *There is often a divergence between how research has actually been done and what is reported in research accounts and text books. The result is that methodological accounts do not prepare researchers for the problems and*

> *satisfactions they are likely to encounter.* (Letherby, 2003: 160).

And for me, this was a messy (although well-organised and co-ordinated) project. A source of the complexity was the strain in trying to relate a method forged from within a collective ideal to the power relationships inherent within educational settings. Using Memory Work as a piece of Participatory Action Research, (rather than a co-researched journey), brought with it the tension of the collective ideal versus the need for a leader. McDonald (2003: 85) states: "Participatory research calls for leadership". But then goes on to add (2003: 87) "the challenge is to break down the hierarchy implicit in the researcher/ participant relationship". My challenge was that the leadership I had to take was in part governed by the anti-feminist, anti-scholarly managerialism currently pervading the UK Further Education culture.

That being said, for the most part the intervention was a positive experience that offered me and some of the students an opportunity to resist the pervading culture. One group performed so well together, it would be fair to say some lasting bonds were made, as well as positive learning about how to conduct or be involved in groupwork.

I have felt privileged to be allowed to conduct this process and to have shared many of the students' stories and conversations. This is not to say that everything has run smoothly and out of four groups, one group struggled significantly. This led to the decision that three members would no longer attend. However, ill-feeling was running high and it is likely that two would have been excluded by the rest of the group, had they not taken the decision to leave.

It is not unusual for research participants to withdraw; the tension here was my position as both researcher and teacher. What became apparent to me is that the assumption that

teachers hold all power within the student/teacher relationship does not hold true and that exploitation could come from within the group with issues of commitment coming to the fore. A concern of one student was that she was giving without getting. In these circumstances, as a researcher, I had no right to insist on attendance as a teacher would, could and, within the constraining attendance procedures of the institution, should. To avoid the possibility of exploitation and to meet the demands of the organisation it was important to find a way of ensuring the student's attendance could be registered or excused.

However, the incident highlighted the issue of empowerment. Within the educational context this is a disputed term. For example, Ellsworth (1989: 297) states boldly:

> *Strategies such as student empowerment and dialogue give the illusion of equality while in fact leaving the authoritarian nature of the student/teacher intact.*

While feminist researchers such as Paradis (2000) suggest empowerment is a characteristic of their feminist project, there is always a tension between having power and giving power. One aim of the project was to give students a reflective space. This could be liberating from the demands of an assessment-led programme. However, as teacher/researcher I should not start from the assumption that students require empowering. What was gratifying for me in this situation was that challenges to the students came from within the student group, that all the challenges were appropriate and that decisions were taken by the students.

Discussion – Initial Findings

Addressing further concerns about groupworking, the issues that arose were not just about group dynamics, but also the

content that was produced. The production of stories as data has meant engaging with new techniques for analysis. I am engaged not only in content and thematic analysis, usual processes within social policy research, but also with techniques borrowed from a more literary tradition. A thematic analysis has led to the realisation that a key chapter in my final thesis will be on violence. In choosing how to interpret these writings I am exploring literary concepts such as intertexuality and genre.

Violence

Neither violence nor trauma were cues that were ever chosen by the groups. Nor would I have suggested this as a cue for my students. Memory Work as envisaged by the original collective was to consider the mundane, the everyday rather than the sensitive or the harrowing. However, in this project, I have read about an armed robbery, sexual assault, domestic violence, childhood sexual abuse, child neglect and rape.

I was not entirely surprised by this level of disclosure. As a female member of a predominantly male teaching team, I had experienced this level of disclosure before. Issues of boundaries, disclosure and self-disclosure are always reflexive and I have rehearsed many of these issues prior to the research. I am also well versed in the arguments of the politics of emotional labour that female staff encounter in the academy. However, the new dimension to consider within this process was the impact on other students. Morley (1998: 24) had similar findings.

> *It would be misleading to suggest that only teachers undertake emotional labour. Several students in my study commented on how demanding they found groupwork. Giving support and attention, listening to others, working through differences were often experienced as painful and difficult.*

This was acknowledged at the time and there was opportunity for students to debrief and offers of student support services were always open. Students dealt with this in a number of ways, including some withdrawing from the process (as stated above). Also many students saw it as an essential component of their social work training, a realisation that they would have to deal with painful and difficult emotions. As Cooper (2005: 6) says of his experience of working within child protection:

> *I was often afraid when doing this kind of work; afraid of what I would discover about what was happening to children, afraid of facing parents or carers; afraid of what would happen if I did not find out what was happening, or if I backed away from facing adults with my suspicions.*

However, the links between this work and social work training go further than developing what we currently term "emotional resilience". As the analysis will be concerned with the texts the students produced, it has led me to consider how and why we write about the traumatic and the violent. Starting with the 'how', students set themselves the task of finding a means to express their remembered experiences.

> *The challenge of finding language that is true to traumatic experience is, however, a daunting one. How can we speak about the unspeakable without attempting to render it intelligible and sayable? The paradoxes of traumatic memory may seem to defy analysis.* (Brison, 2002: xi)

We can see this tension in the public accounts of child abuse in that while they may attempt to tell the story with "passion, urgency and a sense of shock" (Cooper, 2005: 4), it ends up doing something quite different, by using the dispassion and reason of professional language.

Then there is the 'why' of the stories. Haug (2001) as a visiting lecturer in Toronto discovered a prevalence of abuse stories. On trying to engage students in the process of Memory Work she found:

> *They refused to do memory work, demanded special measures of safety, asked for at least two additional therapists and wanted to know if I could handle this. It took me three weeks to understand that they had self-evidently assumed memory work meant that they would be expected to reveal an incestuous past, an idea that they found fascinating and horrible in equal measure.* (Haug, 2001: 56)

Whilst Haug's students refused, my students were prepared to share, perhaps supporting Furedi's (2004: 40) notion that the "act of sharing – that is turning private troubles into public stories – strongly resonates with current cultural norms." Furedi relates this to an internalisation of the self-help model and the marketisation of the social experience. Whereas Foucault (1978: 60) sees the need for disclosure as inscribed in power relations – "the obligation to confess is now relayed through so many different points that we no longer perceive it as the effect of a power that constrains us"; and it is important to recognise the context of the production of these texts regarding violence. The students were writing aware that they were occupying a role of a trainee in human services relating to care and control. Using Furedi, it could be argued that the students were offering these stories in the knowledge that "openness to seeking help is culturally represented as virtuous behaviour" (2004: 37). The suggestion is, that to be in a position to be perceived as able to help others, they must have been open about their own pasts.

Vulnerability within Feminist Research and Learning

However, students who wrote about violence took a risk in doing so – such disclosure could have left them vulnerable.

'Vulnerable' is now a label given to UK service users and often attached to a previous label such as 'learning disability' or 'mental health' issue, suggesting, therefore, that vulnerability is a permanent, essential state. It does not place vulnerability in relation to the subject's other circumstances and suggests that it is something only service users can be labelled as. This undercuts the recognition that at times we are all vulnerable. "Without the insulation of a network of inter-personal relations, the individual stands exposed to the pressures of the world and experiences the condition of the self as indeed that of vulnerability" (Furedi, 2004: 105).

For example, whilst throughout this research I am the authorial voice, there is a vulnerability present in the production of this paper, which attempts to offer something original to the field of social work and policy. Therefore, this writing leads to the possible exposure that I am neither original nor interesting. This is a vulnerability that some lecturers are, to some extent, aware of each time they stand in front of a group of students.

Vulnerability holds a particular position for the feminist teacher of social policy. Anne Mulvey (2002: 560) wrote when reflecting on her feminism:

> *It confirmed my being in the world in emotional and embodied ways. It also offered tools to demystify and challenge sexist systems and created alternative settings where I was welcome as the person I was not in spite of her.*

This is a useful quote for me because it sums up the warmth and integrity which feminism has given me. It also points to the benefit of feminism for the academic, through the process of deconstruction and demystification of what Audre Lorde (1984) calls the "masters tools". Feminism offers a space to challenge the gendered norms through the forging of alternative spaces, usually through collective group processes.

However, within the teaching of social policy, feminism has an ambivalent potential for the feminist teacher. In offering me tools for self-affirmation, there are times when the knowledge of processes of marginalisation throws into sharp relief my own position. Challenging students with issues around the gendered notions of, for example, care, poverty and work I am open to their antagonism and anti-feminist sentiment. Within social policy teaching, I am positioned as subject, object and teacher. That vulnerability increases my awareness around my subject matter and leads to another way of considering the term. Butler (2004: 30) writes when discussing violence and our response to it:

> *To foreclose that vulnerability to banish it, to make ourselves secure at the expense of every other human consideration is to eradicate one of the most important resources from which we must take our bearings and find our way.*

This quote is about acknowledging that those who fall prey to violence are "us" and not "them". The closeness of "them" and "us" boundaries has echoes with concerns around social policy teaching for social work – the continuums along which we work.

Students produced their own way of dealing with the issues of their exposure and vulnerability. Alongside a chapter analysing the writings about violence and trauma, I will also include a chapter on success. A strategy that was adopted by all groups was to choose to write to the cue 'success'. A key question for social work (within social policy) is how do you measure success? That was the justification for the cue. However, it was also acknowledged that this was a means of writing about something positive in the students' lives. If this cue had not been discussed I would not know of the high-flying sales woman, the teenage cross-country runner, the karaoke talent show winner, the British Judo team member amongst my students, alongside

the joy many felt at academic achievement, passing driving tests or childbirth. A call to remember that victims of violence or service users are not just the label our bureaucracies give them.

Conclusion

In summary, I have offered an account of the complexities of undertaking practitioner research within social policy education. This is just one possible version and assessment of this story. Social policy is a reflexive discipline and alongside its positivist history and use of a range of quantitative and qualitative data, it requires reflexive methods. Groupworking has a place in this. Yet, as with all practitioner research, it can be a difficult process to manage as the flaws and limits of the educational context, the students and the teachers inject a messiness into the flow. It can place educators and students in positions of vulnerability. However, constructing vulnerability as a positive rather than a deficit can open up new possibilities of learning and new sites for ethical evaluation.

Social work and social policy exist to deal with sensitive issues and it is through this exploration of such issues that we open up the possibility of "imaginative methodological advances" (Renzetti and Lee, 1983: 7).

References

1. **Brison, S. J.** (2002) Aftermath: Violence and the remaking of a self Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press
2. **Butler, J.** (2004) Precarious Life: The powers of mourning and violence London, Verso
3. **Crawford, J. Kippax, S. Onyx, J., Gault, U. and Benton, P.** (1992) Emotion and Gender: Constructing Meaning from Memory London, Sage

4. **Cooper, A.** (2005) 'Surface and depth in the Victoria Climbie inquiry report' Child and Family Social Work, 10, 1 – 9

5. **Ellsworth, E.** (1989) 'Why doesn't this feel empowering? Working through the repressive myths of critical pedagogy' Harvard Educational Review 59: 3, 297 – 324

6. **Finlay, L. and Gough, B.** (2003) (eds) Reflexivity: A practical guide for researchers in health and social sciences Oxford, Blackwell Publishing

7. **Foucault, M.** (1978) History of Sexuality Volume 1: An Introduction New York, Vintage Books

8. **Furedi, F.** (2004) Therapy Culture: Cultivating vulnerability in an uncertain age London, Routledge

9. **Gregory, M. and Holloway, M.** (2005) 'The debate as a pedagogic tool in social policy for social work students' Social Work Education, 24: 6, 617 – 637

10. **Haug, F.** (1987) Female Sexualisation: A Collective Work of Memory London, Verso Classics

11. **Haug, F.** (2001) 'Sexual deregulation or, the child abuser as hero in neoliberalism' Feminist Theory 2, 1: 55 - 78

12. **Hugman, R.** (2009) 'But is it social work? Some reflections on mistaken identities' British Journal of Social Work, 39, 1138 – 1153

13. **Kaufman, J. S., Ewing, M. S., Montgomery, D. and Hyle, A. E.** (2008) 'Philosophy and Overview of Memory Work'. In Hyle, A. E., Ewing, M. S., Montgomery, D. and Kaufman, J. S. (eds.) Dissecting the mundane: International Perspectives of Memory-Work Maryland, University Press of America pp3 – 20

14. **Letherby, G.** (2003) Feminist Research in Theory and Practice Buckingham, Open University Press

15. **Lorenz, W.** (2005) 'Social Work and the new social order – challenging neo-liberalism's erosion of solidarity' Social Work and Society, 3: 1, 93 -101

16. **Lorde, A.** (1984) Sister Outsider Freedom, CA., The Crossing Press

17. **McDonald, S.** (2003) 'Answering questions and asking more: reflections on feminist participatory research' Resources for Feminist Research 30, 1 – 2, 77 – 101

18. **Morley, L.** (1998) 'All you need is love: feminist pedagogy for empowerment and emotional labour in the academy' International Journal of Inclusive Education 2: 1, 15 – 27

19. **Mulvey, A. Gridley, H. and Gawith, L.** (2001) 'Convent Girls, Feminism and Community Psychology' Journal of Community Psychology 29: 5, 563 – 584

20. **Onyx, J. and Small, J.** (2001) 'Memory Work: The Method' Qualitative Inquiry 7, 773 – 786

21. **Paradis, E.K.** (2000) 'Feminist and community psychology ethics in research with homeless women' American Journal of Community Psychology 26: 6, 839 – 858

22. **Penna, S.** (2003) 'Policy Contexts of Social Work in Britain: the Wider Implications of 'New' Labour Policy and the 'New Legal Regime'' Social Work and Society 1: 1, 1 – 21

23. **Preston-Shoot, M.** (2008) Effective Group Work [2nd Edition] Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan

24. **Reinharz, S.** (1992) Feminist Methods in Social Research New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press

25. **Renzetti, C. M. and Lee, R. M.** (1983) Researching Sensitive Topics New York, Sage

26. **Smith, R.** (2005) 'The history of psychological categories' Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences 36, pp55 – 94

27. **Stephenson, N and Kippax, S.** (2008) 'Memory Work'. In Willig, C. and Stainton-Rogers, W. (eds.) Qualitative Research in Psychology London, Sage, pp128 - 146

28. **Walker, M.** (2007) 'Action research and narratives: "Finely aware and richly responsible"' Educational Action Research 15: 2, 295 – 303

29. **Weiss, I., Gal., J. and Kattan, J.** (2006) 'Social policy for social work: A teaching agenda' British Journal of Social Work 36, 789 – 806

30. **Wise, S.** (1990) 'Becoming a feminist social work'. In Stanley, L. (ed.) Feminist Praxis: Research, Theory and Epistemology in Feminist Sociology London, Routledge, pp236 – 249

31. **Zavirљek, D.** (2002) 'The ethnography of memory in social welfare and social work practice' International Journal of Social Welfare, 11 266 – 269

MERLE PIHO
TAIMI TULVA

ELDERLY VOLUNTEERS: RESOURCE IN ESTONIAN SOCIETY

Abstract

This article discusses the voluntary activities of elderly people based on two social centres in Tallinn (the Self-Help and Advisory Centre for Senior Citizens (VENÜ) and Haabersti Social Centre (HSK)). The objective is to clarify the meaning of voluntary work done by elderly people for the elderly themselves and describe its importance in society. The article addresses factors that motivate the elderly to engage in voluntary activities. The voluntary work done by the elderly is construed as a resource in society that needs to be valued and developed.

Key words

elderely; voluntary activities.

Introduction

Elderly people, reaching a phase in their lives when active work-life has ended, are looking for new ways to organise their lives. Making a suitable choice out of a variety of options depends largely on the wishes, preferences, health and economic situation of the elderly. One rewarding choice for society is an elderly person who works as a volunteer.

In Estonia, where 17% (Eesti statistika 2009) of the population are elderly (65+), the older population is often referred to as in need of assistance and for whom social and health care expenses have to be increased. Also the majority of studies about elderly people are focused on the coping and satisfaction of the elderly as users of different social welfare services.

This article is based on a study that was carried out during 2008-2009 and it discusses the elderly from a less studied aspect – as assistance provider. The readiness of the elderly to dedicate their resources to voluntary activities is an important proof of the ability of people to be useful members of society in their older age. "No other generation have so much free time, knowledge and skills accumulated throughout their lives, which could be implemented for the well-being of themselves and their fellow citizens. This is a resource that simply should not be left without use" (Hankewitz 2003, 5).

Voluntary activities of the elderly in Estonia

Questions of civil society are gradually being more widely recognised in the Estonian society. In order to support the development of civil society, the Estonian Parliament has adopted **the Estonian Civil Society Development Concept** (Eesti kodanikuühiskonna…2002), which defines the mutually

complementary roles of public authorities and civil initiatives and the principles of cooperation in designing and implementing public policy and building Estonian civil society (ibid).

In Estonia, The Ministry of Interior is the institution responsible for analysing, planning and coordinating civil society related public policy and organising the development of civil society (Siseministeeriumi...2009.). The tasks of the above-mentioned institution include also activities related to the development of voluntary work, aiming to increase public awareness of the nature of voluntary work and the readiness of non-governmental institutions to involve more volunteers into their activities (ibid).

In Estonia the voluntary activities of the elderly have been little researched, and as a result there are no reliable statistics about the area. At the same time studies have shown that "the activeness of the elderly is characterised by the fact that every tenth older person participates in voluntary work" (Tulva, Kiis 2001, 37). The figure also includes the elderly who participate in hobby groups. According to the 2009 data there are 229 437 elderly people in Estonia which form 17% of the population (Eesti Statistika 2009).

Elderly volunteers have gathered into different organisations in order to make their activities more effective. In Estonia there are between 200 and 250 organisations – associations, day centres, village societies and community centres – to whose activities the elderly contribute.

In general the elderly volunteers are active in the following fields:

- **Supporting and helping people of the same age**. The elderly act mainly as a support to older people who have remained

alone. They visit them at home or in nursing homes, offering their company and help in order to solve problems related to day-to-day activities. They also pay attention to helping, for example, grand-mothers, who raise their grandchildren on their own, etc. Another frequent voluntary activity is acting as activity leaders in elderly day centres. Popular activities are leading handicraft classes, singing, foreign language and gymnastics groups.

- **Work with children and young people**. In some social centres joint activities for seniors and young people are organised, and the elderly often visit the young people in the youth rooms of the centre to have a chat and help with homework. They also visit orphanages and help to organise events.

- **Developing community life.** In Estonia the Village Movement Kodukant is quite popular. The elderly are organised in and around local civic centres. Both forms of activity are focusing on developing community life by organising cultural events, raising money for donations via fairs and exhibition sales, dealing with environmental issues, etc.

- **Representing the interests of the target group in interactions with the public sector.** The elderly represent the interests of their age group and organisations in different commissions, round tables and senior councils founded in local government.

In Estonia there is no umbrella organisation that would nationally coordinate the voluntary activities of the elderly. Due to this, lack of information is a major concern for elderly voluntary organisations. This makes it more difficult to attract new older volunteers, cooperate with possible implementing agencies, and represent and defend the interests of older people when interacting with the public sector.

Theoretical framework of the research

This research is based on the theoretical underpinnings of social capital and empowerment. **Social capital** covers the aspects of social organisation – trust, norms and networks – that can improve the effective functioning of society through co-ordinated activities (Putnam 1993, 167). Elderly volunteers share similar value judgements, moral norms and life-styles, which stem both from their world-view and age orientation. They form new social relations through participation in organisations and networks that coordinate the voluntary activities of the elderly. The voluntary organisations of the elderly produce a general trust in society through norms and networks, which is the main element of social capital.

In the current research the manifestation of the potential of the elderly through socially beneficial work has been discussed based on the principles of **empowerment**. The objective of empowerment is helping people to regain control of their lives – it is focused on the ability of people to act according to their own interests (Akins 1995; ref Cox, Parsons 1993, 19). The voluntary activities of the elderly are seen as an effective self-help method, through which the objectives of empowerment can be reached.

Research method and sample

This is a phenomenological study. According to the work of Virtanen (2006) the object of phenomenological research is human experience (see also Laherand 2008, 87). The objective of the study was to clarify the meaning of voluntary work done by the elderly for the elderly themselves and describe how this phenomenon exists in society. In the course of the study the area of elderly voluntary activities was studied on the basis of

the subjective opinions stemming from the personal experiences of the interviewees.

The analysed data was gathered through thematic interviews, where it was possible to change the wording and sequence of questions during the interview (Hirsjärvi, Remes, Sajavaara 2005, 191-197). As an interview form, the individual interview was the chosen method (ibid). The aim of this was to diminish the desire of the persons being interviewed to provide socially acceptable answers that decrease the reliability of the interview (ibid). An individual interview provides an opportunity to create a tension-free atmosphere, which enables people to be sincere and up-front when talking about themselves.

Interviews with experts in voluntary activities were carried out in the work-place of the interviewees. Elderly volunteers were interviewed in their centres. The duration of the interviews was approximately 1-1.5 hours. The interviewees were active and had an open state of mind and were willing to share their experiences and opinions.

The objective of the data analysis was to find meanings and describe the situation. Due to this the analysis was based on Virtanen's (2006) Amadeo Giorgi method (see Laherand 2008, 89-92, ref Giorgi & Giorgi 2006), where the analysis consists of 5 phases:

- In the first phase the data is studied without attitude or prejudice.
- In the second phase the division of data into meaningful units takes place.
- In the third phase translating the use of the language of the interviewees into scientific language occurs.
- The fourth phase entails forming the individual meaning network.
- In the fifth phase the forming of a general meaning network occurs, which has to contain central meanings

that were found in the individual meaning network of interviewees. Here the meanings of phenomena on a general level are analysed.

The research sample was formed according to the study objective. In order to find the meaning of elderly voluntary activities for the elderly themselves, volunteers were interviewed who had at least five years of voluntary work experience. All the elderly were pensioners who were actively involved in voluntary activities at the time of interviews. The age of the people being interviewed was between 68-84 years and their voluntary activities were directed at helping people of the same age.

In order to describe the importance of elderly voluntary activities in society interviews were carried out with experts in the field who are responsible for organising and coordinating voluntary work done by the elderly on a day-to-day basis or are involved in developing voluntary activities at a national level.

In order to ensure representativeness of the study, interviews were conducted with volunteers active in two different centres; people engaged in voluntary acivity on a managerial level, and civil society experts. The sample consisted of 10 respondents, including 4 volunteers and 6 professionals, and it was formed on the basis of four different levels:

- **Elderly volunteers:** Liidia, 84 years (V1) is a support person for two women in Merivälja Domizil, Juhan, 75 years (V2) is a camping circle leader and organises different sport events, Elve, 68 years (V3) works in a library and Helmi, 71 years (V4) leads a handicraft and sewing circle. The names of the respondents have been changed.
- **Leaders of elderly volunteers:** VENÜ chairman of the board Heino Hankewitz (expert 1), member of the board

Lea Viires (expert 2) and manager of the Haabersti Social Centre Gennadi Vihman (expert 3)

- **Manager of an implementing agency** Valter Koppel (expert 4), who regularly uses the help of elderly volunteers in organising the work of the Paunküla nursing home.
- **Experts in civil society:** Marion Bobkov (expert 5), who works as senior specialist in civil society at the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Agu Laius (expert 6) who is the manager of the National Foundation of Civil Society. The above-mentioned respondents did not ask to be anonymous in the study.

Data analysis

According to the objectives of the study, the information received was processed on two different levels – age group and society. The data analysis began with describing the meaning of voluntary work for the elderly themselves and this was followed by looking at the elderly voluntary activities as a resource in society.

Meaning of voluntary work for the elderly themselves

The elderly volunteers who were interviewed can be characterised as active and positively disposed people, who have recognised their age limitations and potential and have organised their lives accordingly. They are engaged in voluntary work on average for one day a week, 3-4 hours at a time. The respondents find that there are several factors that drive them to voluntary activities. The most emphasised aspect was the feeling of being needed. Another important aspect was the need to communicate, belong to a group and achieve self-fulfilment.

„Mostly satisfaction, knowing and feeling that you are still needed by someone and that you are expected. And a change of scenery. I cannot imagine the situation without this Poska house and visits to the nursing homes. You know, at the moment you put curling rollers in your hair in the evening when you have to come here in the morning and apply make-up and wear better clothes. I imagine I would not even open the cupboard door if I sat at home all the time. I really could not imagine my life without such visits” (V1).

„I do not know, this is like an inner drive. Like the knitting-work here. I see that women need this kind of help. They are happy at the same time...this gives back that good feeling” (V4).

Doing voluntary work has brought positive changes to the every-day life of the elderly. After an active work-life they have found new ways to implement their knowledge and experience, which enables them to achieve self-fulfilment and be actively engaged. Also new acquaintances have emerged with similar interests and value judgements.

„You are among people, in the middle of life. Of course positively, in every sense positively. I see this as a natural part of my life. Not that I have a duty now, that I must. I do it happily, I do it gladly...“(V3).

„It takes time, and it also requires finances. You do not visit someone, my mother has taught me, without bringing something as a gift. But it also gives back a lot. This good feeling when you leave there, you have been caressed and hugged, and these grateful eyes, which follow you there from the door-step. You know this makes up for any time spent, and physical discomfort and everything. It is rewarding work, spiritually rewarding. It gives back to myself as much or even more than to those to whom you offer something” (V1).

According to the respondents, voluntary activities have become a part of their life-style. Several people who were interviewed found that voluntary work entails the joy of giving which is an important reason for action. All those volunteers thought that the duty of voluntary work, which they have taken upon themselves, forces them to be more self demanding and self disciplined in a positive way.

Importance of voluntary work done by the elderly in society

When looking at voluntary work done by the elderly at a societal level, it is very important to know corresponding attitudes and views. Experts in civil society and long-term proponents of voluntary work undertaken by the elderly were interviewed.

„I consider the voluntary work undertaken by the elderly to be very important, since the number of elderly is so high in Estonia. They are actually still very capable of acting, contributing to society and making use of them for the benefit of Estonian society is crucial from my point of view" (expert 6).

„I consider voluntary work to be very important. Otherwise the Self-Help and Advisory Centre for Senior Citizens would not have been established 13 years ago and also several years before that the Estonian Charity Foundation, which was founded with the distinct purpose of promoting voluntary work done by elderly in Estonia. All over Estonia a lot is being done by elderly for society" (expert 1).

The interviewees were also asked about engagement opportunities for the elderly. They mentioned the options for the elderly to work in social welfare, with children and young people and in senior councils.

"I see enormous potential in all our elderly pedagogues. Their contribution could be used in several ways...they could be grandmothers-grandfathers in orphanages, which is really very necessary. Another matter that could be addressed is that we have a lot of problems at schools, where pupils lag behind with their studies. Elderly teachers could do voluntary work at schools and teach these children after school-hours" (expert 6).

„In the case of older people their knowledge and experiences are a resource that is often left unappreciated and unaccounted for. For example in our institution there are joint events with young people and our ladies go to the youth room to talk with children and help them with studies" (expert3).

„The state could ask more often for the advice and opinions of the elderly. In other countries senior councils have been founded in local governments" (expert 1).

The interviews indicated that elderly voluntary activities were considered important for society. The respondents found that the voluntary activities of retired people are an important resource for the good of the society that should be valued and recognised.

Several ways were proposed to assist the elderly. The experts thought that the work of the elderly in helping people of the same age is an important contribution to the field of social welfare. It easier and more immediate for the people from the same generation to understand each other's problems and need for help, which was proven by the effectiveness of the work done so far. At the same time, according to the principle of inter-generational cohesion, the work of the elderly with children and young people is also necessary. Being an advocate for the interests of one's age-group is also important from the view-point of the Estonian ageing society. The participation of the elderly in societal processes helps to guarantee that the decisions made correspond to real needs.

Discussion

The opinions of the interviewed elderly people showed that they are motivated to engage in voluntary work due to the wish to feel needed. By helping others a person becomes aware of being needed and experiences spiritual well-being. The elderly volunteers who were interviewed found that they were satisfied with their lives. „Satisfaction is the ratio of satisfied and felt needs, which depends, in addition to his or her achievements, also on a persons' demands and expectations" (Gothoni 2008, 10).

Another important motivator was the need for self-fulfilment, communication and belonging. Implementing their skills and knowledge in voluntary activities offers the elderly new opportunities for self-fulfilment after an active work-life. Elderly volunteers who have gathered around organisations find new friends and companions, with whom they are connected through common interests and activities. In this way a communication circle is formed, which by allowing the seniors to feel part of a collective, replaces former relations with work colleagues. In addition to doing voluntary work the interviewed elderly people take part in hobby circles, training courses and events at VENÜ and HSK. This is a welcome change from work-related activities and provides an opportunity to communicate and restore resources.

When studying the impact of voluntary activities on the organisation of the life of the elderly it became apparent that work as a volunteer has entailed many positive changes. The people who were interviewed stated that they had become more cheerful and active. It is known that voluntary work offers effective self-help. The respondents mentioned that they started to look for new activities after retirement, when their children did not need help any more in raising their grandchildren or after

losing a spouse. „The marital relationship covers the needs of elderly people for inter-personal communication and through the spouse it is possible to satisfy one's needs for affection, companionship and communication. Losing a spouse poses a grave danger for the self image of a person..." (Kiis 2005, 12). Many elderly volunteers are widows. Voluntary work helps them to cope with their new life situation and they often become very active and entrepreneurial members of different organisations.

Loneliness is one of the main problems of the elderly (see Viiralt 2004, 43, ref Lindgren 1994). The loneliness of elderly people is a very serious problem especially among women, since the average life-span of men is considerably shorter. According to the 2009 statistics there are 75 700 (33%) elderly men and 153 737 (67%) elderly women in Estonia (Eesti Statistika 2009). Therefore the majority of the elderly who are engaged in voluntary work at the centres are women. Similarly people of the same age who receive help are mostly females.

The elderly volunteers who participated in the study stated that they are so occupied with their activities that they have no time to contemplate their life worries and health problems. At the same time they added that staying home alone and worrying about one's health is the main activity of many people of the same age. The feeling of loneliness causes many health problems, including contributing to the on-set of stress (Viiralt 2004, 41). "In Estonia about 40% of the elderly self-report that they suffer from depression, which is several times higher than in other developed countries. At the same time in Estonia 10% of elderly people are engaged in voluntary work, which is several times lower than in developed countries" (Hankewitz 2003, 18).

According to several studies voluntary activities have a positive effect on the health of the elderly. Thoits and Hewitt (2001) found that participation in voluntary work raised satisfaction

with life, happiness, self-esteem and evaluation of one's physical health and decreased depression amongst those 60 years and older (see Lum, ref Lightfoot 2005). Morrow-Howell (2003), Musick and Wilson (2003), Van Willigen (2000) have found that even very small amount of voluntary activities – as little as 3 hours per month – is related to better health among elderly people. This indicates that simply being in the role of a volunteer is sufficient to achieve a positive effect on one's health and functional capacity (ibid).

When discussing elderly voluntary activities it is also important to pay attention to social rehabilitation. Rehabilitation should be understood as involving elderly people in societal processes, reinstating their social position to a level which is as close as possible to the one which they had when they participated actively in work (Hankewitz 2003, 16). Voluntary work is a very suitable way for achieving that position. A productive or useful existence is a necessary source of self-evaluation and identity and working for-free can be a substitute for working for a wage, which previously provided these benefits (Musick, Wilson 2003, ref Midlarsky, 1991, 241). By fulfilling the tasks of voluntary work it is again possible to feel an equal member of society.

The interviews conducted during the study showed that for several respondents, voluntary activities presented an opportunity to make use of their professional knowledge and experience. Some volunteers who were active as hobby group leaders continued their previous professional activities through undertaking voluntary work.

Work done by elderly volunteers is an important socio-economic contribution to the development of society. The volunteers are active in areas where the contribution of the state, local government or the private sector is not sufficient and therefore

the voluntary work undertaken by elderly people is an important contribution guaranteeing the functioning of society. „Bottom-up initiatives enable the service providers to take into account the special needs and preferences of certain societal groups, to experiment with new ideas and flexibly adjust to specific circumstances." (Lagerspetz 2000, 3)

The interviews stated that the demand for voluntary work undertaken by the elderly is currently greater than the supply. Although the volunteers of VENÜ visit the residents of nursing homes once or twice per month, the visits should actually be paid as often as once a week. This would be welcomed by the residents of nursing homes as they gravely miss opportunities for communication.

From a societal stand-point it is important to focus on the development of voluntary work undertaken by elderly people. Involving new elderly volunteers in voluntary activities would enable additional resources to be directed into existing implementation areas or the development of new courses of action. For example in Estonia almost one-third of the elderly who live alone have been characterised as a societal resource to which no application which corresponds to their capabilities can be found. (Tulva, Viiralt-Nummela 2008, 83).

The most important aspect related to the inclusion of the elderly is raising the awareness of society about the nature of voluntary work and the different ways to make use of elderly people's resources. It is necessary to promote more and more the possibility of undertaking voluntary work and to exchange contacts. It is important to explain to the elderly and their relatives and friends that voluntary activities are a possible source of self-help, providing opportunities for productive activities, self-development, communication and increasing independence.

Summary and conclusions

Voluntary activities in older age provide the elderly with the opportunity to be active and useful members of the society. Work as a volunteer has a positive effect on the self-evaluation of the elderly; on their ability to act and cope.

Meaning of voluntary work for the elderly themselves

- Elderly volunteers feel needed when helping others and experience through that help spiritual satisfaction. Feeling useful and needed is one of the main motivators for acting as a volunteer.
- Voluntary work enables the volunteer to implement knowledge and experience accumulated through-out one's life and offers in older age opportunities for self-fulfilment. Work as a volunteer replaces earlier work-related activities for the elderly and helps them to retain an active way of life.
- Belonging to an organisation which organises voluntary work enables the elderly to feel part of a collective, through replacing former relations with colleagues.
- Voluntary work offers well-functioning self-help and contributes to alleviating feelings of loneliness. After the end of an active work- and home-life, voluntary activities offer implementation and communication opportunities, which enable the elderly to cope with new living arrangements.
- Work as a volunteer keeps the elderly busy, improves their ability to cope with day-to-day life and creates opportunities for dignified ageing.

Importance of elderly voluntary activities for society

- Work undertaken by elderly volunteers is an important socio-economic contribution to the development of

society. Elderly volunteers work in differing areas, where the contribution of the state or private sector is insufficient. A large proportion of elderly volunteers are active in the social sphere, mainly as a support to people of the same age who have remained alone.

- Elderly voluntary activities provide the potential for social rehabilitation, through which the elderly become active members of society once again. Through organised activities the active elderly represent the interests and needs of their age-group in society. As a result of voluntary activities providing well-functioning self-help the number of elderly people who need public social and health care services can be decreased.

- The activities of elderly volunteers are a source of social capital. Through norms and networks the elderly voluntary associations produce a general trust in society, which provides the main element of social capital.

The year 2011 has been declared European Year of Volunteering. „The general objective of this is to promote and support through the exchange of experiences and good practice the efforts of Member States, local and regional governments and civil society and create in the European Union a favourable environment for voluntary activities" (Siseministeeriumi...2011). In 2011, several events promoting voluntary activities will be carried out in Estonia. There are plans to organise regional information days in cooperation with county development centres, events for school-children focussing on the principle of talking about one's experience or narrating "stories", different media exposures with the objective of increasing the awareness of the population about the nature of voluntary work and other communication activities. At the same time training courses are also being organised in order to increase the readiness of non-governmental organisations to include new volunteers. Special attention is being paid to introducing the opportunities in order to utilise the potential of young and elderly people.

References

1. **Cox, E.O., Parsons R.J.** (1994). *Empowerment-oriented social work practice with the elderly.* California: Brooks/Cole.
2. **Eesti kodanikuüvhiskonna arengu kontseptsioon** (2002). URL http://www.siseministe erium.ee/?id=30410 (05.04.2009)
3. **Eesti statistika** (2009). URL http://www.stat.ee (05.04.2009)
4. **Gothóni, R. (2008).** Vana ja väärikana. Kogumikus T.Tulva (toim.). *Eakate vananemise kogemused Eestis ja Soomes (lk.7-13).* Tallinn: TLÜ
5. **Hankewitz, H.** (2003). *Eaka vabatahtliku käsiraamat.* Tallinn:VENÜ
6. **Hirsjärvi, S., Remes, P., Sajavaara, P. (2005).** *Uuri ja kirjuta.* Tallinn: Medicina
7. **Kiis, A.** (2005). Üksi elavate eakate heaolu: elukeskkond ning mitteformaalne ja formaalne toetus. Kogumikus T.Tulva (toim.), *Eaka heaolu ja toimetulek (lk.9-31).* Tallinn: TLÜ
8. **Lagerspetz, M.** (2000). Kodanikuühiskonna rollid tänases Eestis. *Riigikogu Toimetised 2.* URL http://www.riigikogu.ee/rito/index.php?id=11664 (20.11.2010)
9. **Laherand, M.-L. (2008).** *Kvalitatiivne uurimisviis.*Tallinn: Infotrükk
10. **Lum, T.Y., Lightfoot, E.** (2005). The Effects of Volunteering on the Physical and Mental Health of Older People. *Research on Aging,* Vol 27, 1, 31-55. Sage Journals Online.
11. **Musick, M. A., Wilson, J. (2003).** Volunteering and depression: the role of psychological and social resources in different age groups. *Social Science & Medicine*, 56, 259-269. ScienceDirect
12. **Putnam, R.D.** (1993). *Making democracy work: Civic traditions in modern Italy.*
    Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press
13. **Siseministeeriumi kodulehekülg** (2009). URL http://www.siseministeerium.ee/index.php?id=25325 (16.04.2009)
14. **Tulva,T., Kiis, A.** (2001). *Vananemine Eestis: eakate toimetulek ja teenuste vajadus.* Tallinn: Tallinna Pedagoogikaülikool, EV Sotsiaalministeerium
15. **Tulva, T., Viiralt-Nummela, I.** (2008). Vananemine kui sooline fenomen: Eesti üksi elavate eakate toimetulek ja selle toetamine. Kogumikus T.Tulva (toim.), *Eakate vananemise kogemused Eestis ja Soomes (lk.73-84).* Tallinn: TLÜ
16. **Viiralt, I.** (2004). Eakate üksindus – kas paratamatus? Kogumikus T.Tulva. *Vananemine ja põlvkondadevaheline sidusus*. Tallinn: Tallinna Pedagoogikaülikool, EV Sotsiaalministeerium

ANA DIAKONIDZE

FROM STATUS-BASED TO NEEDS-BASED SOCIAL ASSISTANCE –SOCIAL PROTECTION FOR INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS (IDPS) IN GEORGIA

Abstract

The paper seeks to explain a double-standard approach in the social assistance concerning internally displaced people in Georgia resulting from the complexity of providing categorical as well as means-tested benefits to the same group of beneficiaries. The paper argues that a transition from status-based to needs-based assistance is a correct step towards removing this double standard; however, the challenges associated with it require proper attention. First, due to flaws in the way beneficiaries are targeted in the existing needs-based scheme, there will be a group of displaced people who are receiving status-based assistance and are "objectively poor," but would not be able to claim needs-based assistance after this transition. Secondly, the method of transition has to be carefully chosen. One of the simplest ways to deal with it would be to increase the attractiveness of the needs-based assistance scheme by increasing the cash benefit, which would, however, incur significant cost. Finally, the practical meaning of the status of "Internally Displaced" becomes questionable when there are no benefits attached to it. It is only by addressing these challenges that transition can serve the purpose of consolidating state efforts and increasing efficiency of social spending.

Key words

Social protection; social assistance; welfare; efficiency; status-based vs. needs-based assistance; internally displaced.

Acronyms: AP – Action Plan; CC – Collective Centre; DHS – Durable Housing Solution; DRC – Danish Refugee Council; IDMC – Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre; IDP – Internally Displaced Person; NRC – Norwegian Refugee Council; PA – Private Accommodation; SBA – Status Based Assistance; SSA – Social Service Agency; TSA – Targeted Social Assistance; UNIRSD – United Nations Research Institute for Social Development; UNICEF – The United Nations Children's Fund.

Introduction – Internal Displacement in Georgia

In August 2008 more than 130,000 people had to flee their homes as a result of the conflict between Georgia and Russia. Ten months later over 17,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs) had not returned home, forced instead to make a living in one of the many temporary settlements and collective centers around Georgia. Thus, the total caseload of IDPs went up to 256,358 individuals (88,696 families) including those displaced during the earlier conflicts in 1990-91. The latter are often referred to as "old" IDPs which constitute the majority of the displaced population (235,659IDPs, 81,517 families), while the share of the new caseload is relatively smaller, 17,297IDPs (6,517 families). (Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from Occupied Territories, Accommodation and Refugees of Georgia, 2010).

Using the criterion of place of residence, two main groups of IDPs can be distinguished: those living in *organized settlements* (referring to the collective centers and government-built cottage and block-type settlements in the aftermath of 2008 war) and *privately accommodated* IDPs. This latter group includes all IDPs living with their relatives, as well as individuals who have bought or are renting an apartment. In 2009 the government started transferring "temporary residence" apartments (in CCs) into legal ownership of IDPs. All IDPs who have privatized their

living space automatically moved to the group of 'privately accommodated'.

Socio-economic problems of IDPs have been an issue for Georgia since the first wave of displacement. However, it was only shortly before the August 2008 war that a statewide strategy was formed to deal with these issues in a systematic way. The State Strategy on IDPs envisages the preparation and regular updating of the Action Plan (AP). The first Action Plan for the Implementation of the State Strategy on IDPs (2009-2012) was approved by the Decree #489 of the Georgian Government on the 30th of July 2008, then updated and adopted by another Decree, #403, of the Government of Georgia on the 28th May, 2009. The latest update was approved by the Steering Committee and was adopted by the Decree #575 of the Government of Georgia on the 11th May, 2010. The Action Plan benefits from a broad consultation process. As a living document it undergoes updates based on consultations which analyze findings, lessons learned, and good practices identified during the implementation of the State Strategy (Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from Occupied Territories, Accommodation and Refugees of Georgia, 2010).

Two major goals of the AP include: the improvement of living conditions through the provision of durable housing solutions (DHS) to IDPs; and improvement to the socio-economic conditions of the displaced persons. The first quarter of 2010 marked some significant achievements with regards to the first goal. Almost all new IDPs and some of the old IDPs (total of 24,000 families) have received DHS (Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from Occupied Territories, Accommodation and Refugees of Georgia, 2010).

As for the socio-economic integration, this part of the AP has always lacked a clear road map. There are no timelines, cost estimates or concrete measures within this plan. It is limited to general statements referring to the importance of correctly

tailored assistance, and creation of opportunities for the employment of IDPs. The approach is that no separate socio-economic development plan has to be created for IDPs, but rather an emphasis has been made on mainstreaming IDPs into existing social programs in order to facilitate their socio-economic integration into the host community. The Ministry for Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied Territories, Accommodation and Refugees of Georgia has gone further with this idea by stating that no project implemented by non-government organizations (NGOs) should be targeting IDPs only, but should also include the representatives of the host community, in order to facilitate integration and economic development (Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from Occupied Territories, Accommodation and Refugees of Georgia, 2010).

Obviously, the two caseloads of IDPs have imposed significant pressure on social assistance and protection schemes in Georgia, with the number of dependants on state aid increasing drastically. The following parts of the paper examine how the socio-economic condition of IDPs differs from that of the general population, the ways social assistance is administered in the country and the main challenges associated with transition from status-based to needs-based assistance for IDPs.

This paper is based on the analysis of the 2009 Georgian Household survey (data-base published on the web-site of Georgian department of Statistics), which was primarily used for describing IDP socio-economic condition. Statistical information provided on the Social Service Agency (SSA) web-site and key document reviews are used extensively for the rest of the analysis.

Socioeconomic Differences among Displaced and General Populations

It is a common understanding that IDPs are one of the most vulnerable groups in Georgian society. This is based on

anecdotal evidence and a number of small-scale studies that only provide insights on specific groups of IDPs. There is still a lack of comprehensive data and research in this field that would provide a country-wide overview of socio-economic condition of the internally displaced population. The 2009 Georgian household survey presents a great opportunity in this regard, as it contains the information about the special status of the individual (IDP or non-IDP). This gives the opportunity to make a comparative analysis of various socioeconomic characteristics of IDPs and Georgian population in general.

The comparisons reveal statistically significant differences between the general population and internally displaced persons according to urban concentration, economic status, living conditions, and educational attainment. Compared to the general population a bigger share of IDPs estimate their economic status as "poor" and "extremely poor". (See Table 1)

Displacement in Georgia is highly urban: 68.8 % of IDPs live in urban areas as opposed to only 36.7 % of the general population (see Table 1). This reflects a perception that big cities offer more employment opportunities. Many IDPs reported that they would like to stay in the city or move to another urban location during the relocation process (Danish Refugee Council, Report on Privately Accommodated IDPs in Georgia, 2010). A higher share of IDPs compared to the general population state that if their living space is not repaired immediately, it might collapse. However, this should be of no surprise, as many IDPs still live in dilapidated collective centers across the country. When compared to the general population, there is a significantly higher share of highly educated IDPs, which is counterintuitive to the following discussion about the differences in employment rates among the two groups.

Table 1: Differences between IDPs and General Population According to Socio-economic Indicators *(Source: analysis of 2009 Georgia Household Survey)*

		General Population	IDP	Chi-square	d.f	
		(n=79,293)	(n=2,714)	1187.376***	1	
Urbanicity	Rural	63.3%	31.2%			
	Urban	36.7%	68.8%			
Economic Status		(n=21,585)	(n=671)	80.551***	4	
	Rich	0.1%	0.0%			
	Well-off	1.4%	1.6%			
	Middle	44.3%	29.4%			
	Poor	46.9%	55.1%			
	Extremely Poor	7.3%	13.9%			
Living Conditions		(n=21,585)	(n=671)	29.836***	4	
	Well-repaired	2.4%	2.8%			
	Needs no repair	9.9%	12.2%			
	Needs cosmetic repair	32.9%	27.0%			
	Needs overall repair	48.8%	47.8%			
	Needs immediate repair	6.0%	10.1%			
Education Level Attainment		(n=65,723)	(n=2,158)	160.586***	3	
	Basic Education	3.5%	3.0%			
	Secondary Education	73.2%	62.1%			
	Higher Education	22.6%	34.3%			
	No Education	0.7%	0.6%			

Note. ***p<0.001

A study conducted by the World Bank in 2005 looking at employment differences between IDPs and the general population has found statistically significant differences between the rates of employment between these groups. According to this study, the difference occurred only between 1991 and 1999,

during which time employment among IDPs surpassed that of the general population (Tskitishvili at al, 2005). Our analysis of the Household Survey data of 2009, however, indicates that the employment rate is currently significantly lower among IDPs (see the paragraph below). This change could be attributed to the increased number of IDPs after the war with Russia in 2008. A statistically significant difference was observed among the two groups according to the proportion of employed, unemployed, and economically active persons (see Table 2). "Employed" shows the share of persons, in their respective population groups, who are currently employed or self-employed. "Active" shows the share of population, falling into the working age category, that is also seeking employment opportunity. The difference in the unemployment rates between the two population groups is substantial, accounting for 15.9 % for the general population and 33.7 % for the IDP population. The latter group also has a smaller portion of economically active persons.

Table 2: Differences between IDPs and General Population According Employment Rates
(Source: analysis of 2009 Georgia Household Survey)

Employment status	GP (n=62,192)	IDP (1,968)	Chi-square	d.f
Employed	57.0%	37.9%	254.4***	1
Unemployed	15.9%	33.7%	283.6***	1
Active	67.7%	57.1%	98.059***	1

Note. *** p<0.001

The effect of IDP/non-IDP status on the likelihood of being employed was also analyzed. It concludes that when controlling for various socioeconomic indicators, IDPs have significantly lower chances for being employed. The model presented in the appendix (Table 1) shows at p<0.001 that, when holding age, gender, education level, region, level of urbanization, economic

status, marital status, and ethnicity constant, a non-IDP is 2.965 times more likely to be employed than an IDP.

The evidence suggests that IDPs are indeed a vulnerable group in society, suffering from high unemployment rates and low economic capacity, making them heavily dependent on state social assistance and international aid. As the latter is not the focus of discussion in this paper, we move towards the analysis of the social protection offered to IDPs in Georgia.

Georgian Social Model: How does it accommodate IDP needs?

The Georgian welfare model is heavily tilted towards the "informalised" model as described by Drahokoupil and Myant (2010), in which the state has the legal obligation to provide social protection but mostly fails to provide protection that the population implicitly demands. If we take health insurance as an example, only 23% of the entire Georgian population is insured (UNICEF, 2009). The majority (78%) of those insured are holders of the so-called 'pro-poor' insurance, which is not enough to pay the health care costs fully and the insured still have to pay out-of-pocket for medical services and medicines (European Commission, 2011). In this way, the Georgian social model also displays signs of the minimal welfare model, where there is a bigger formal dependence on private provision, and payment for services compared to western Europe (Drahokoupil et al., 2010).

As in other countries with a large informal economy, social assistance programs are widespread in Georgia. Such programs are used as a means to extend social protection to a population traditionally excluded from contributory social insurance because of their informal employment, or low incomes (UNRISD, 2010). However, the share of social transfers accounted for only 4.4% of GDP in 2007, consisting of the following main components: (a) pensions–3.5% of GDP (80% of the total social transfers);

(b) Targeted Social Assistance (TSA) –0.4% of GDP (9.4% of the total); (c) allowances for Internally Displaced Person (IDP) – 0.2% of GDP; and (d) various allowances (multi-child family, orphan, disabled person, single pensioner, and so forth)–0.1% of GDP (World Bank, Human Development Sector Unit, 2008). However, relative to other countries in transition, and in particular to European countries, Georgia is spending very little (ENPI, 2010).

Two types of allowances are discussed in this paper: Targeted Social Assistance (TSA) and IDP allowance (also referred to as Status Based Assistance - SBA), which is currently the largest categorical benefit in the country (UNICEF, 2009). TSA is expected to gradually replace all categorical benefits (ENPI, 2010), which is viewed as a way to relax the existing fiscal constraints (World Bank Human Development Sector Unit, 2008). However, as discussed below, the need for transition is evident for other reasons as well.

Since the conflicts in the early nineties, 'old' IDPs have received a status-based allowance from the state. In order to receive assistance the IDP only has to prove their IDP status. The allowance is currently GEL 28 (roughly 12 euros) per month per person for those in Private Accommodation and GEL 22 per month per person for those in Collective Centers. The utility bills for the latter group and the 'new' IDPs from the 2008 war, also get covered by the state up to GEL 13.5 per person per month.

Since 2005 IDPs have had the option of choosing to register with the Social Services Agency and going through means-testing that has to define their level of poverty. If the family scores less than 70,000 they are eligible for medical insurance package and if less than 57,000 the family receives a cash allowance of 30 GEL for the head of the household and 24 GEL for each additional member. At the moment IDPs can voluntarily choose

which type of assistance they prefer, although the Government decree on social assistance to the Georgian population – provider of this option – does force them to forgo their IDP allowance if they choose to take the TSA option. The new IDPs from the August 2008 war have, however, automatically qualified to receive TSA, without having to be means-tested (IDMC & NRC, 2009).

Being aware of the benefit levels for all available options, the net cash amount that a family of five residing in PA would receive is IDP allowance of GEL 140 (with no additional benefits included); a family of 5 in an organized settlement receives IDP allowance of GEL 110 (in addition, coverage of electricity bills of GEL 13.5 per person, equalling GEL 67.5 in total). Finally, a family of five receives TSA of GEL 126 (in addition, TSA recipients have medical insurance).

It is obvious that choosing a specific type of social assistance depends on the type of residence and the amount of the cash allowance. If a family of five lives in PA, it is more profitable to opt for IDP allowance, but if they live in a CC then TSA will provide more benefit (depending on what the family prioritizes: electricity bills covered or having a medical insurance). According to this logic, the majority of privately accommodated IDPs should be in receipt of IDP allowance.

Currently 64% of all IDPs live in PA (Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from Occupied Territories, Accommodation and Refugees of Georgia, 2010) - a total of 155,122 individuals. According to SSA, the total number of privately accommodated IDPs in receipt of status-based allowance is 144,192 (March 2011). Thus, as expected, 92% of the privately accommodated have opted for IDP allowance. We can conclude that more than half of the entire caseload is receiving status-based assistance. However, there are no ways to assess whether they fall under the poverty line or not. As for the remaining 10,930 IDPs we can

assume that they are either receiving TSA, or are not receiving any type of assistance at all.

It is not surprising that since 2010 there has been a clear upward trend in IDP allowance uptake amongst privately accommodated IDPs, particularly in the regions of Tbilisi and Samegrelo-Zemo Svaneti (SSA, 2010). The ongoing privatization process, as discussed in the introductory part of the paper, helps increasing the number of IDPs in Private Accommodation, hence, increasing the take-up of SBA.

For IDPs living in an organized settlement there is no big difference whether they would go for TSA or status-based assistance. As explained above they do have electricity bills covered but this most probably does not outweigh the TSA, which is bigger in terms of cash provision and also provides IDPs with a medical insurance package. Currently, medical insurance is the only pull factor on the TSA side. Conversely, there is a risk associated with it: if an IDP goes for TSA they might not get it (if they do not get the required scores after means-testing). Taking into account the hassle of registering, and other administrative procedures for assistance, which are not clear, it should be expected that this group of IDPs also choose SBA, which they are certain to receive once applied for.
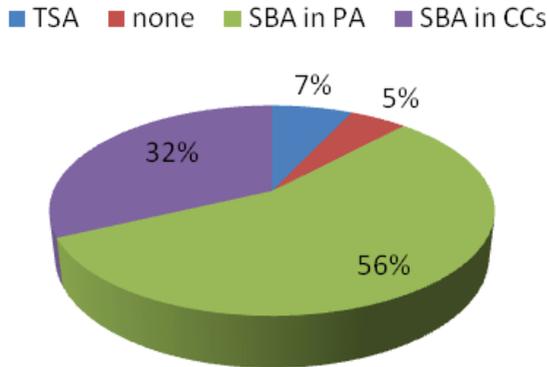
Currently 36% of the entire displaced caseload (101,263 individuals), lives in organized settlements. According to SSA, 82,848 IDPs (81%) in organized settlements are receiving SBA. As expected, a majority in this group also apply for IDP allowance. As in the case of privately accommodated IDPs, the remaining share of IDPs in organized settlements (18,415) can either be receiving TSA, or might not be receiving any type of assistance whatsoever.

Finally, we come to the group of IDPs in receipt of TSA. While discussing previous groups it was obvious that 10,930 from the

first and 18,415 from the second group (29,345 in total) are potential TSA recipients. However, according to the SSA, the number of TSA recipients in March 2011 reached only 19,012. This figure obviously includes a whole new caseload (around 17,000 IDPs), meaning that the share of old IDPs is only 2000.

Chart 1: IDP distribution according to the type of assistance received
(Source: analysis based on the department of Statistics and SSA data, May 2011)

Analysis of the results reveals that around 10,333 IDPs (difference among the potential and actual TSA receivers) are not receiving any type of assistance. However, we cannot judge whether these are living in Private Accommodation or in organized settlements. These make up 5% of the entire caseload (see Chart 1). The second smallest share of IDPs is the group in receipt of TSA, which indicates that the latter type of social assistance is not very popular among IDPs. Transition will therefore have important implications for all groups of IDPs, irrespective to the kind of assistance they are receiving at the moment.

Challenges of Transition and Ways to Deal with Them

The policy to move from status- to needs-based assistance for IDPs was openly stated in 2010 with the amendment in the Action Plan stating that: "… it is necessary to dissociate the issue of IDP status from the receipt of social assistance. IDPs, like other persons in Georgia, may take part in state social programs, determined on the basis of needs, and regardless of the status of the beneficiary" (Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from Occupied Territories, Accommodation and Refugees of Georgia, IDP Action Plan, 2010).

The current method of administering social transfers leaves much room for speculation about the efficiency and fairness of the system. Firstly, the whole new caseload automatically receives TSA without being means-tested, unlike the 'old' IDPs. It is probable that the new individuals, who have suffered the war just recently, are in real need of assistance. However, not all of the 'old' IDPs have managed to rebuild their lives either, and some continue to live in dire conditions (Danish Refugee Council, 2010). Thus, the argument of 'new' IDPs being more vulnerable due to their recent displacement is weak and has to be backed by concrete figures reflecting the worse socio-economic condition of the latter group, which, regrettably, do not exist.

Secondly, the state social assistance scheme employs a double standard by offering a categorical benefit (IDP allowance) based on status and at the same time means-testing some from the same group of beneficiaries. The lack of statistical data about socio-economic characteristics of IDPs again makes it difficult to see how many of those receiving SBA can be objectively considered as 'poor'. Applying means-testing to every IDP can answer all of these questions and finally offer a clear picture of who is needy and who is not.

There are attempts to estimate the number of IDPs that would qualify for TSA after all of them undergo means-testing. This information is of practical importance for financial planning and logistics for the policy-makers. However, only rough guesses can be made at this time. The only available proxy indicator is to look at the number of IDPs currently registered at the Social Service Agency that have been considered eligible for cash assistance. While the number of IDPs who have addressed SSA differ each month, on average there have been 95,000 IDPs that did so in 2011. This represents 37% of the entire caseload. However, it is interesting to note that the share of IDPs who are actually considered eligible for TSA hardly ever exceeds 20% of those who applied (roughly 17,000IDPs). If we take these numbers as proxies, then we can add another 17,000 (34,000 in total) IDPs in receipt of TSA in case 80% of the entire caseload applies. The same logic brings us to 42,500 IDPs in receipt of TSA if 100% apply. This makes only 16% of the entire caseload.
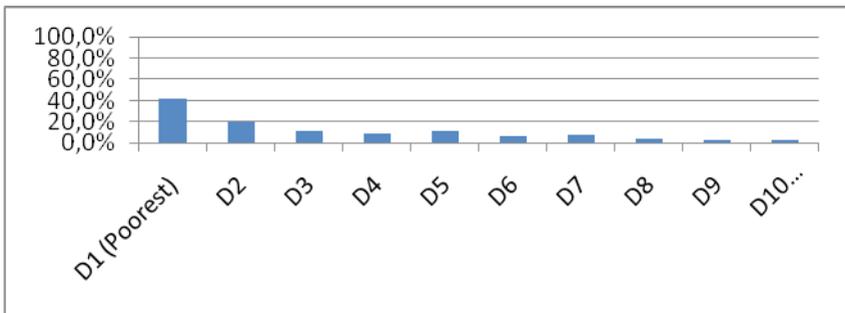
The figure sounds too small considering the significantly low socio-economic status of IDPs as discussed in the beginning of this paper. However, if the existing shortcomings of the Targeted Social Assistance are taken into account, it should not sound unrealistic. This brings us to the following challenges of transition:

Challenge 1: The system of Targeted Social Assistance is not well-targeted and is currently reaching only 40% of the most poor (see Chart 2). If it stays the same during transition, there will definitely be a share of IDPs currently receiving SBA and being 'objectively poor' that will not be able to claim TSA due to flaws in targeting after the transition. For them the transition will mean a net loss, depriving them of their only source of assistance, for some the only means of subsistence. The potential share of such IDPs is the central question for policy-makers. Obviously the less the number, the more successful

the transition from status- to needs-based assistance can be deemed. It is apparent that transition, the way it is envisaged, will make the system even less efficient than it is now. This fact points towards the importance of making the TSA system more sophisticated to ensure that it is fairly redistributing the cash assistance.

Chart 2: Incidence of TSA across consumption deciles
(Source: UNICEF, 2009)

Even though the TSA short-comings are well-known and efforts are ongoing to improve it, time is still needed until the targeting mechanism significantly improves. Having this and other issues mentioned below in mind, the transition process will not bring the desired impact.

Challenge 2: Another important challenge is to make the transition happen. There are many ways of doing it. A simple one is to announce the date when status-based allowances will cease to exist and ask everyone concerned to apply for TSA if they deem it necessary. This is, however, a politically sensitive topic as the abolition of any kind of allowance, even when replaced with another, might result in public outcry and discontent. In order to avoid this, a more subtle approach can be taken. The point is to increase the attractiveness of TSA so that the 88% of IDPs currently in receipt of SBA realize that TSA offers more benefits and they start to shift. This would

likely mean an increase in the TSA cash allowance, which will significantly increase the costs of financing, since it has to be increased not for IDPs only, but for all non-IDPs who are eligible. For example, if we argue to increase the allowance to the subsistence minimum level, which is currently GEL 135 per average consumer per month (Department of Statistics of Georgia, 2011), the cost would increase from current GEL 12 million per month to roughly GEL 60 million per month.

Challenge 3: Last, but not least, an important challenge to consider is the symbolism attached to the IDP allowance. For many IDPs status-based assistance has been proof of their physical existence and political importance. By abolishing the IDP allowance they will be taken off the political radar. Many IDPs also fear that this would mean losing their IDP status (which is not the case officially). However, these developments beg further questions concerning local integration of IDPs: does it mean that social welfare becomes a permanent state, re-formulating IDP dependency, shelving poorer IDPs and integrating them in the general poverty of Georgia? Will the already evident donor fatigue be hastened when IDPs are no longer clearly demarcated from the general population? Currently, there are no answers to these questions (DRC, 2010). State and non-state agencies working on IDP issues have always stressed IDP integration and mainstreaming which, if translated into practical terms, means that IDPs should no longer be demarcated from the general population. In this case they will be left with IDP status only. However, the meaning of this status, when no other benefits are attached to it, can only be of political and emotional importance.

Conclusion

As discussed in the paper, the current state of affairs with regard to social spending in Georgia is rather complex. The principle of 'deservingness' which is central to the typology of welfare states (Esping-Andersen, 1990) is difficult to define in the Georgian reality. In other words, it is not clear which IDP the state considers to deserve assistance: those who have an IDP status or those who live below the poverty line. In itself, this leads to discrimination and inefficiency in social spending.

In view of the facts mentioned above, a change to a targeted social assistance, replacing status-based assistance seems to be a logical step, leaving no room for speculation, as the assistance would be provided to every single IDP on the same basis. However, a shortcoming of the TSA makes it almost inevitable that there will be a considerable share of losers (IDPs currently receiving SBA but not able to claim TSA due to problems in targeting) from this transition, which is not the desired policy outcome. Finally, it boils down to the choice to keep the existing system with all of its deficiencies, and continue improving the TSA mechanism, or just make the transition worsen the situation further. In that case there is nothing left but to advocate for postponing the transition until TSA can guarantee fair treatment to everyone who warrants it.

Appendix

Table 1: **Logistic Regression for Likelihood of Employment from the National Household Survey**

Predictors	Employment (Employed=1)			95.0% C.I for EXP (B)	
	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper
General Population (non-IDP)	1.087***	0.196	2.965	2.018	4.347
Female	0.260	0.141	1.296	.985	1.710
Urban/Non Urban	-1.122***	0.162	0.326	.237	.448
Age	0.040***	0.006	1.041	1.148	1.294
Tbilisi	0.086	0.210	1.090	.720	1.639
Kakheti	-0.032	0.394	0.969	.445	2.087
Shida qartli	-0.290	0.253	0.748	.453	1.221
Kvemo Kartli	0.618	0.322	1.855	.972	3.414
Samtkhe-djavakheti	2.277	1.060	9.748	1.142	66.635
Mtskheta-tianeti	-0.036	0.659	0.965	.263	3.471
Adjara	-0.699*	0.349	0.497	.251	.985
Guria	1.302*	0.625	3.676	1.092	12.626
Samegrelo	0.370	0.221	1.448	.947	2.245
Imereti			1.000		
single	-0.004	0.311	0.996	.537	1.818
married	0.300	0.264	1.350	.797	2.243
divorced	-0.816	0.490	0.442	.163	1.108
widowed			1.000		
Rich			1.000		
Well off	0.192	0.537	1.212	.421	3.456
Middle	0.914***	0.217	2.494	1.615	3.788
Poor	0.354	0.202	1.424	.954	2.113
Very poor			1.000		
No education			1.000		
basic education	-1.851	1.098	0.157	.020	1.428
secondary	-1.975	1.060	0.139	.020	1.184

technical/ vocational	-1.821	n1.067	0.162	.022	1.406
bachelor's	-4.043***	1.233	0.018	.002	.207
master's	-1.748	1.067	0.174	.024	1.491
doctoral	0.301	0.545	1.351	.034	1.234
Economically Inactive	-24.179	845.727	0.000	.000	
Constant	0.468	1.208	1.597		
Chi-square	3,699.037				
df	26				
Sig.	0.000				
-2 Log likelihood	1,518.760				
Cox & Snell R Square	0.618				
Nagelkerke R Square	0.832				
%age Predicted	90.4				

References

1. **Danish Refugee Council,** (2010). *Report on Privately Accommodated IDPs in Georgia .*
2. **Danish Refugee Council,** (2010). IDPs and Social Welfare: A briefing Paper. Tbilisi, Georgia
3. **Department of Statistics of Georgia.** (2011). *www.geostat.ge.* Retrieved April 6, 2011
4. **Drahokoupil, J., & Myant, M.** (2010, February 26). *International integration and resilience to crises in transition economies.* Retrieved April 1, 2011, from http://ssrn.com/abstract=1546423
5. **ENPI.** (2010). *08-14 Black Sea Labor Market Reviews: Georgia Country Report.*
6. **Esping-Andersen, Gosta** (1990). The three worlds of welfare capitalism: Cambridge; Polity Press.
7. **European Commission,** (2011). Social Protection & Social Inclusion in Georgia.

8. **Internal Displacement Monitoring Center**(IDMC) & Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC). (2009). *Georgia: IDPs in Georgia Still Need Attention – A Profile of the Internal Displacement Situation.*

9. Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from Occupied Territories, Accommodation and Refugees of Georgia. (2010). *IDP Housing Strategy and Working Plan 2010.*

10. Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from Occupied Territories, Accommodation and Refugees of Georgia. (2010). Action Plan of IDP Strategy. Acessed at HYPERLINK «http://mra.gov.ge/main/GEO» \l «section/46»   http://mra.gov.ge/main/GEO#section/46 on June 30, 2011

11. **The World Bank Human Development Sector Unit.** (2008). *Georgia Poverty Assessment, Report No. 4440-GE.*

12. **Tskitishvili, G., Dershem, L., & Kechakmadze, V.** (2005). *Social Capital and Employment Opportunities Among Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Georgia.* Tbilisi: The World Bank.

13. **UNICEF.** (2009).How do Georgian Children and their Families Cope with the Impact of the Financial Crises?, Report on the Georgia Welfare Monitoring Survey

14. **United Nation Research Institue for Social Development** (UNIRSD). (2010).Transformative Social Policy and Poverty Reduction, Section two, Chapter 5

INTRODUCING THE CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Associate Professor Mare Leino, Ph.D., Associate Professor at Tallinn University, Institute of Social Work. She teaches courses in social pedagogy, research methods, children with special needs. Her research interests relate to social pedagogy and problems of children.

E-mail:

Maria Valiavko, PhD Student at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (Ukraine), Master of Social Policy Analysis (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium), BA in Social Work (National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Ukraine). Sphere of interest: social policy.

E-mail: mariiavaliavko@gmail.com

Natalya Dmytryshyna, PhD Student at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (Ukraine). She is a senior lecturer of the School of Social Work at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, where she teaches courses on Social Work. She has Master Degree in Social Work (National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy). Field of Interests: social work, psychology, professional psychology.

E-mail: dmnatalya@ukr.net

Nina Mešl, Ph.D., Assistant Lecturer at the University in Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Work. She is a qualified social worker. She has been working in the fields of youth and family social work (from 1998 to 2003). Since 2003 she has been teaching and researching in the fields of family social work and social work theories of help.

E-mail: nina.mesl@fsd.uni-lj.si

Rachel Robbins, Associate Lecturer at Manchester Metropolitan University, Department of Social Work and Social Change(UK)

E-mail: R.Robbins@mmu.ac.uk

Merle Piho, Doctoral student of Institute of Social Work of Tallinn University.

E-mail: merle.piho@mail.ee

Professor Taimi Tulva, Professor of Social Work at Tallinn University, Institute of Social Work. She was the imitator of social work education in Estonia after regain of independence. Her main research areas are: social work with elderly, child protection, development of social work as science and profession in Estonia.

E-mail: ttulva@tlu.ee

Ana Diakonidze, Guest Lecturer at Tbilisi State University, teaching the course on "European Social Policy" at the Department of Sociology and Social work. She has Master in Social Policy Analysis (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium) and the Center for European Policy Studies (Luxembourg), BA in Sociology from Tbilisi State University. Sphere of Interests: social protection and social assistance schemes in the transition economies and the role of NGOs in delivering social services to the vulnerable groups of society. She serves as an advisor at the Arbeiter-Samariter-Bund Germany office in Georgia working for the development of strategy on elderly-care in the country.

E-mail: a.diakonidze@asb-georgia.org

SOCIAL POLICY AND SOCIAL WORK IN TRANSITION

Call for papers

Information on Journal

In 2009, the EU-Tempus 'ACES' project launched the English-language peer-reviewed journal *Social Policy and Social Work in Transition* (ISSN - 1987-8710). The 'ACES' project is implemented by Sheffield Halam University (UK), Tbilisi State University (Georgia), Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (Ukraine), University of Ljubljana (Slovenia), Tallinn University (Estonia) and Vilnius Pedagogical University (Lithuania).

Articles are welcome from all those who are working in project institutions, as well as by a broader audience (professors, researchers, PhD students, practitioners, policy makers, etc). The journal covers such issues as research, best practices in service provision and other applied issues, academic development of social work and social policy, reflections of the transition process and other broad reflections of social phenomena.

The Editors are:

Professor Mark Doel (Sheffield Hallam University, UK)
Professor Iago Kachkachishvili (Tbilisi State University, Georgia)
Professor Lauri Leppik (Tallin University, Estonia)
Dr Tetyana Semigina (National University Kyiv Mohyla Academy, Ukraine).

NEXT ISSUE

Vol 3 Issue 1 (2012) *Theme: **Social work practice in transition***
        Papers accepted by 1st October 2011

Future volume

Vol 3 Issue 2 (2012) *Theme: **Social welfare policy in transition***
        Papers accepted by 1st March 2012

Submissions

Articles and enquiries should be sent via email to **Tetyana Semigina,** tv_sem@ukma.kiev.ua

Peer review

All articles are reviewed anonymously by two assessors, and the editors take final responsibility for the decisions that follow.

Financial policy

No honorarium will be provided to authors. Authors are not expected to bare any costs related to journal publishing.

Language policy

Articles to be provided in English.

Responsibility for good English should be taken by the author. Particularly if English is not the author's first language, before submitting a manuscript it is better to have it edited for language by someone who is profession. This is step may help to ensure that the academic content of a paper is fully understood by journal editors and reviewers, as well as readers.

Requirements for papers

- Papers should be between 4,000 and 8,000 words
- Papers should be submitted in doc or rtf format, font Times New Roman/Arial, 12, 1,5 spacing, wide margins.
- Papers should have an abstract (around 100 words), 5-10 key words; introduction; main part (methodological part for research paper is a must); discussion; conclusions (lessons learnt)
- Extensive footnotes are not invited in the text.
- Authors should send to coeditors two separate files – 1) a cover page file (title of paper, name of author, institution, position, academic degree, sphere of interests, contact e-mail); and 2) an anonymous manuscript file (contain title, abstract, keywords, the main body of the document and a list of references).

Reference system

Papers should have all necessary references. The preferable reference style is the Harvard reference system.

References within the text should be cited by giving the author's name and year of publication, eg. (Smith, 2004). Specific page numbers should be cited after a direct quotation (Smith, 2004, p 46). Those works cited in the text (and no others) should be listed at the end of the text

in alphabetical order by author's name using the journal's standard conventions.

Where there are more than two authors, the reference within the text should cite the first author et al. and the year: (Smith et al., 2000). The reference list should include all the authors for each publication: Smith, J., Doe, J. and Jones, R. (2000).

Examples of Citations and References

BOOKS
Maurice, M., Sellier, F. and Silvestre, J.-J. (1986) The Social Foundations of Industrial Power: A Comparison of France and Germany, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press.

EDITED BOOKS
Streeck, W. and Thelen, K. (eds) (2005) Beyond Continuity: Explorations in the Dynamics of Advanced Political Economies, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

BOOK CHAPTERS
Biddle J. (1991) 'The Instrumental Presentism of John R. Commons'. In Brown, J. and van Keuren, D. (eds) The Estate of Social Knowledge, Baltimore, MD, John Hopkins Press, pp. 84-105.

JOURNAL ARTICLES
Schneiberg, M. (2005) 'What's on the Path? Path Dependence, Organizational Diversity and the Problem of Institutional Change in the US Economy, 1900-1950', Socio-Economic Review, 5, 47-80.

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES
Epstein, E. (2006, February 2) 'Lawmakers Rip Net Giants for Bowing to China Censors', The San Francisco Chronicle, San Francisco, CA, p. A7.

The New York Times (2005, June 10) 'An Important Election Safeguard', New York, NY, p. 20.

ELECTRONIC ARTICLES
Rodrik, D. (2002) 'Feasible Globalizations', accessed at http://ksghome. harvard.edu/~drodrik/papers.html on March 31, 2002.

Ahrweiler, P., Gilbert, N. and Pyka, A. (2006) 'Institutions Matter but ... – Organisational Alignment in Knowledge-Based Industries', Science, Technology & Innovation Studies, 2, p. 39-58, accessed at http://www.sti-studies.de/articles/2006-01/Ahrweiler-160306.pdf on April 16, 2006.

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS
Sunder, S. (2006) 'Balancing norms and Standards in Regulation of Accounting', paper presented at the Annual Conference of SASE, Special Session on Accounting and Economics, University of Trier, Trier, Germany, June 30–July 2.

DISCUSSION/WORKING PAPERS
Boeri, T., Conde-Ruiz, J. I. and Galasso, V. (2003) Protecting against Labour Market Risk: Employment Protection or Unemployment Benefits?, CEPR Discussion Paper No. 3990, London, Center for Economic Policy Research.

Boeri, T., Conde-Ruiz, J. I. and Galasso, V. (2006) The Political Economy of Flexicurity, FEDEA Working Papers, 2006-15, Madrid, Fundación de Estudios de Economía Aplicada.

Social Policy and Social Work in Transition

Mission Statement

This journal is dedicated to issues in social policy and social work that reflect transition processes and other broad reflections of social phenomena. The journal's 'home base' is eastern Europe, though articles from a wide range of countries is encouraged as part of our mission to articulate international and cross-national issues in social policy and social work.

The journal is sponsored by the European Union Tempus Programme, as part of a programme of projects entitled 'Advancing the Three Cycle Social Work Education System in Six European Countries' (ACES). This programme has launched the journal with the aim of creating a self-sustaining journal beyond the completion of the programme in 2012.

We aim to publish a broad range of articles that cover research, academic development of social policy and social work, and best practices in service provision and other applied issues. Our guiding principle is that of the significance of transition, with particular reference to the impact of transition on social phenomena in eastern Europe.