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ENGAGING EMPLOYERS AS PARTNERS IN
SUBSIDIZED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS
*Sarah Taylor, Sarah Carnochan, Gina Pascual, and
Michael J. Austin*

BOOK REVIEWS

The Need for Social Work Advocacy to Create Social Justice for Transgender People: A Call to Action

Justin E. Lerner

Gabriel Robles

New York University
Silver School of Social Work

Transgender people in the United States experience high levels of employment discrimination. The Employment Nondiscrimination Act (ENDA) is one mechanism that would provide basic workplace protections for this population. We argue, however, that passage of ENDA is only one of many preliminary steps to help transgender people experience an essential basic version of social justice. Using Bonnycastle's (2011) social justice relational illustrative model, we develop a conceptual framework that argues that social workers need to advocate for transgender people on a policy level in order to move them from their current nonexistent version of social justice to a basic version of social justice. Recommendations are provided on how social work advocacy can help create this this basic version of social justice.

Key words: *Employment discrimination, LGBT, social justice, social work advocacy, transgender*

Employment discrimination against transgender people is a significant social welfare concern. In the U.S., employment discrimination costs employers $64 billion annually in covering expenses related to the cost associated with losing and replacing over 2 million professionals and managers who decide to leave their employers due to unfairness in the workplace (Level Playing Field Institute [LPFI], 2007). Employment discrimination also burdens employees and taxpayers. In a recent study that examined a side-by-side comparison of transgender

and non-transgender workers over a 5-year period, an estimated $132,577 in extra financial burdens per person was discovered as a result of lost income, out-of-pocket medical expenses, denied promotions, and unfair terminations (Movement Advancement Project [MAP], 2013). Finally, employment discrimination practices cost taxpayers millions of dollars in settlements each year, as well as additional social welfare expenditures, such as unemployment insurance, SSI, etc. (MAP, 2013). Hence, legislation protecting transgender individuals is sorely needed.

Employment discrimination protection policies have been shown to impact labor and workforce productivity as a result of sexual orientation and gender identity discrimination (Burns, 2012). Martell (2013) demonstrated that state employment nondiscrimination policies decreased wage differentials by 20% for men who have sex with men (MSM) as compared to heterosexual men. Additionally, the lack of employment protection has shown to increase employer costs stemming from a lower level of employee commitment, a higher employee absenteeism rate, a less motivated employee workforce, and a decreased level of employee productivity (Burns, 2012). These costs become particularly important when examining the reality that when lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people work in a discriminatory environment, the productivity of their non-LGBT peers tends to also suffer (Everly, Shih, & Ho, 2012). Thus, the purpose of this paper is to examine the role that social workers can play to reduce economic disparities for transgender and other gender non-conforming individuals through advocacy efforts focused on the passage of the federal Employment Nondiscrimination Act (ENDA) and through mobilization of the profession to create stronger employment protections.

State Employment Protections

While the social work profession needs to advocate for several social welfare issues affecting transgender people (such as access to health care, homelessness, and access to correct identity documents), employment discrimination should be one of the top priorities due to well-established research on the

correlation of employment and social well-being (Helliwell & Putnam, 2004; McKee-Ryan, Song, Wanberg, & Kinicki, 2005; Warr & Parry, 1982). For example, lack of access to employment often leads to a lack of access to an affordable employee-sponsored health care plan, poor health, and poor psychosocial well-being. Income instability has also been consistently shown to have an association with psychosocial issues, including homelessness (Kushel, Gupta, Gee, & Haas, 2006; Scott, Edin, London, & Kissane, 2004). Furthermore, without the benefit of marriage equality until recently, transgender people fired from their jobs have often been unable to join their partner's health care plans or access hundreds of other economic benefits that marriage provides.

Some progress has been made for lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) people. LGB people have seen slightly more workplace protections in the United States than transgender people. Specifically, 21 states offer workplace protections for LGB people, whereas only 18 states offer these same protections based on gender identity (Human Rights Campaign [HRC], 2014). Although the public sector has yet to address workplace discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity, the private sector has responded more aggressively to the need to implement workplace protections. For example, 88% of Fortune 500 Companies provide workplace protections for LGB people, while 57% have policies that include gender identity, potentially positively impacting the lives and social well being of transgender individuals (HRC, 2014).

Some evidence may suggest that transgender workplace protections can increase the quality of life for transgender people. California's 2008 Transgender Law Center survey uncovered that transgender people within California (a state with transgender employment protections) were about two times as likely as non-transgender (cisgender) people to possess a bachelor's degree (Davis & Wertz, 2009-2010). These respondents, however, were about twice as likely as the cisgender population to live below the poverty line, contradicting the literature that suggests that higher education is associated with increased wages (Davis & Wertz, 2009-2010; Kushel et al., 2006; Scott et al., 2004). These findings suggest that poverty, health, and mental health are often excluded from the conversation

and must be taken into account when considering employment protections.

When compared to the cisgender population, transgender people are four times more likely to live in extreme poverty, meaning a household income of less than $10,000 per year (Grant et al., 2011). Due to chronic underemployment and unemployment, many transgender people engage in sex work in search of economic opportunities, increasing their risk for adverse health outcomes such as HIV and other STIs. HIV rates among this population, therefore, are twice as high when compared with transgender people who are employed (Grant et al., 2011).

Current state employment antidiscrimination laws often provide inadequate and uneven protections for transgender people, making these laws politically unstable (Aden, 2010; Jasiunas, 2000). Discrimination for gay and lesbian people has been somewhat consistently documented, yet research exploring transgender workplace discrimination tends to rely on anecdotal and self-reporting measures (Colvin, 2007). Nine out of ten transgender workers have reported either directly experiencing workplace discrimination and harassment or hiding their true identities in order to avoid mistreatment (Burns, 2012). In The National Transgender Discrimination Survey, with the largest transgender sample to date, 47% of transgender people indicated that they had been denied a promotion, refused hiring, or were fired because of their transgender identity (Grant et al., 2011). Many transgender people who want to transition genders while at the workplace are often disciplined for this departure from U.S. society's underlying gender norm that a person's biological sex needs to be congruent with that individual's gender identity or gender presentation (Dietert & Dentice, 2009). A closer examination of employment discrimination policies is warranted.

Brief History of the Employment Nondiscrimination Act (ENDA)

Over the last four decades, passing federal legislation that protects gay, lesbian, and bisexual people from workplace discrimination has been a priority for the lesbian, gay, bisexual,

and transgender (LGBT) rights movement. The inclusion of transgender people in antidiscrimination legislation, however, has been a continual source of contention. The Equality Act, introduced on May 14, 1974 by U.S. House Representative Bella Abzug from New York, marked the first time that a "gay rights" focused bill appeared at a federal level (Vitulli, 2010). This act "prohibits, under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, discrimination on account of sex, marital status, or sexual orientation in places of public accommodation, and under color of State law" (GovTrack, n.d.a). This bill, which did not include protections for transgender people, died in committee and never reached the floor of the House or the Senate.

Some version of this bill has been reintroduced in almost every session of Congress since 1974, yet the bill only reached the floor of the House or Senate in 1996, 2007, and 2013 (Congress.gov, n.d.a). On September 10, 1996, the Senate rejected the bill, which did not include gender identity protection, by a 50-49 vote (Congress.gov, n.d.a). On November 7, 2007, another bill passed in the House by a vote of 235-184, but died in the Senate (GovTrack, n.d.b). The original version of the 2007 bill included gender identity protections, but a non-inclusive second bill replaced the original version when Democratic leadership became concerned that they did not have enough votes to pass a gender identity inclusive bill (Vitulli, 2010).

Even though the original bill was never brought to either the House or Senate floor, Representative Barney Frank's introduction of the bill signified the first time in its history that gender identity protections had been added to the sexual orientation protections (Vitulli, 2010). On November 7, 2013, the Senate passed a gender identity-inclusive ENDA bill by a vote of 64-32 (Peters, 2013). This historic vote marked the first time the Senate passed an ENDA bill, as well as the first time that an inclusive ENDA passed the House or Senate. The bill never received a vote on the House floor in the 113th Congress. A subsequent Congress, therefore, will have authority over any future version of ENDA.

Without the inclusion of gender identity protections in ENDA, employers can potentially use sexual stereotypes as a legitimate reason to discriminate against an employee (Weinberg, 2009-2010). For example, individuals can be

terminated for exhibiting behavior that is not traditionally congruent with their biological sex. The legal complexities of this form of discrimination are beyond the scope of this paper. This example, however, reveals how sexual orientation and gender identity often intersect and demonstrates the necessity for gender identity protections within ENDA. Community advocates and other social justice-oriented professionals need to critically consider their role in advocating for inclusionary workplace policies for transgender people. Advocating for the passage of ENDA is an important place to begin.

Advocating for Transgender Rights

The enactment of ENDA as federal law could potentially have a greater positive and measurable impact on more people in the LGBT community than the repeal of Don't Ask Don't Tell (DADT) and the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) (McThomas & Buchanan, 2012). The Human Rights Campaign (HRC), the largest LGBT civil rights organization in the U.S., has often taken a lead on supporting ENDA. The organization has in the past, however, focused less on creating an ENDA that is inclusive of transgender people and has often supported a non-inclusive ENDA because that type of legislation would cover the majority of its constituency. The majority of HRC's membership base has traditionally been white and affluent gay men, so excluding gender identity from ENDA would not jeopardize protection for this population. Sentiments similar to HRC's position have been commonplace within the LGBT rights debate.

While HRC's plan was likely a sound strategy to cover the majority of its constituents, it was not prioritizing a greater social justice framework. Interestingly, with the exception of a few scholars, social workers have largely remained silent on this issue (e.g., Burdge, 2008; Gates, 2010). This silence is particularly troubling, as social work's roots are based in social justice practice among marginalized groups and populations. The National Gay & Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF), which works to "build the grassroots political power of the LGBT community to win complete equality" currently only supports an ENDA bill that is transgender inclusive (NGLTF, n.d.). True to its mission to "win complete equality," NGLTF decided

to not support the 113th Congress' version of the ENDA bill. Congress added a broad religious exemption that would allow employers to discriminate against LGBT people based on the organization's religious beliefs (Carey, 2014). This addition follows a similar line of logic to the Supreme Court case of *Burwell vs. Hobby Lobby* (2014) that allows organizations to exercise religious freedom by choosing not to cover birth control access for women within employee-sponsored medical plans. Despite the contention on Capitol Hill, the Obama administration enacted an Executive Order that aims to protect individuals from workplace discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity with jurisdiction over civilian, federal, and federally-contracted employment sites (Executive Order 13672, 2014).

A Social Work Framework for Advocating for Transgender Individuals

When examining the social work literature, missing are specific strategies on how to implement social justice frameworks at the greater macro level (Moyo, 2010). Bonnycastle (2011), however, suggests the use of an illustrative framework of social justice that builds on a basic continuum in which social justice falls within the range between social oppression (the idea that a social group consciously or unconsciously manipulates another group in order to benefit) and social equality (the idea that everyone has the same innate worth and that this ideal will be underscored in policy decisions) (see Figure 1). He examines several prominent relational aspects of social justice, including relation to distributive justice, relation to identity, relation to human rights, and relation to political ideology. Each of these relational aspects can serve as its own lens through which social justice can be examined. These relational aspects are not exhaustive and can be expanded.

Figure 1. The Social Justice Continuum (Bonnycastle, 2011)
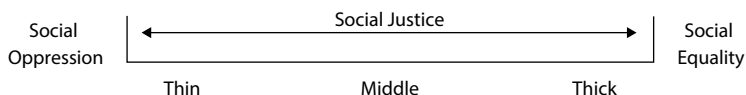
All of the relational aspects are divided into three subcategories—a thin, middle, and thick version (see Table 1), which are located along a continuum between social oppression and social equality. How the aspect is expressed, therefore, determines whether it will be closer to the social oppression or the social equality pole. Each subcategory of a relational aspect closer to social oppression is considered a thin version of social justice, while any subcategory of a relational aspect closer to social equality is considered a thick version of social justice. We believe that a less-than-thin version of social justice has been operating within the social work profession when examining transgender workplace protections. Adapting Bonnycastle's model, we have created a model of how a thin version of social justice would look for transgender individuals. We base our recommendations for social work advocacy on this model.

Table 1. Relational Aspects of Social Justice (Bonnycastle, 2011)

Relation to:	Social Justice Continuum		
	Thin [Basic] Version	Middle Version	Thick Version
Distributive justice	Basic equality	Equal opportunity	Equality of conditions
Identity	Citizenship rights and obligations	Redistribution and cultural recognition	Redistribution, recognition, and representation
Human rights	Negative rights (civil and political)	Positive rights (economic and social)	Solidarity rights (global rights and indigenism)
Political ideology	Neoliberalism, neoconservatism	Social liberalism	Reconstructed socialism

Adapted from Bonnycastle (2011)

Recommendations for Social Work Advocacy

In the event that Congress passes a future version of ENDA, social workers and allied social justice professionals can still play a critical role in the movement of transgender rights towards a fundamental version of social justice. The below theoretically-informed recommendations, based on Bonnycastle's illustrative model (Figure 2), are suggested for social work practitioners, researchers, and professionals in allied disciplines to work with policymakers to advance transgender protections.

Basic Equality (relation to distributive justice)

Social workers need to advocate for transgender inclusive policies within health and social service agencies. Agencies often operate as social microcosms that focus on providing services with historical roots steeped in charity (i.e., the traditional "Band-Aid" approach) rather than justice (i.e., a systems-level approach) for clients. Social workers can help agencies identify and amend the social injustices that have inhibited transgender workplace protections. Furthermore, within their own agencies, social workers have the ability to advocate for transgender workplace protections.

Figure 2. Thin Version of Social Justice for Transgender Individuals
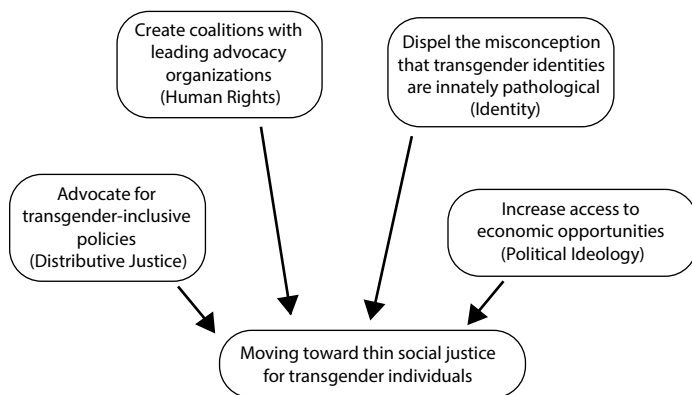
Social workers can advocate for transgender people by supporting and creating transgender-inclusive workplace development programs (thus helping to increase the number and quality of legal programs that support transgender people in the workplace), promoting housing stability programs for transgender people within agencies, and helping improve internal housing policies and practices within agencies (Davis & Wertz, 2009-2010). In order to move closer to the basic "thin" version of social justice that addresses transgender legal protections, social workers need to continue to advocate that their agencies focus on better education, health, and job training programs that have become more common for gay and lesbian people (Davis & Wertz, 2009-2010). Social workers are prime candidates to lead this cause, due to a dedication to basic

equality stemming from the National Association of Social Workers' (NASW) Code of Ethics.

Civil and Political Rights (relation to human rights)

Social work professionals and other major organizations should create coalitions with leading advocacy organizations to focus on political and civil liberties for transgender people. The social work profession's history of advocacy makes social workers prime candidates to build coalitions with other major advocacy organizations. For example, NASW could join coalitions with other major LGBT civil rights organizations, such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the Human Rights Campaign (HRC), and the National Center for Transgender Equality (NCTE). By joining coalitions, social work organizations could stay more informed about the state of policy affecting transgender individuals. Social workers are well suited for building relationships with other organizations and could provide a unique perspective to these organizations on how best to advocate for transgender people. Social workers could serve, in theory, as consultants in much the same way that a corporation might bring in outside consultants to improve outcomes for the organization.

Access to Economic Opportunities (relation to political ideology)

NASW, along with other LGBT organizations, should mobilize their members to become informed and to lobby for ENDA and other important transgender legislation that arises in the federal legislature. Social workers could help communities increase civic participation within already existing programs that train community members on the lobby process with particular attention to legislation that provides equal economic opportunities for transgender individuals. Social workers have the training, skills, and knowledge to take part in the political process, but often do not, due to continuous micro practice-focused demands in their day-to-day work. By stepping out of the consultation room and into the realm of community organizing, social workers could better aid their individual clients to navigate the dynamic context in which they are embedded.

NASW has over 130,000 members represented in all

Congressional districts in the U.S. (NASW, n.d.). NASW has not been largely active or effective in lobbying for ENDA or any other major transgender pieces of legislation. NASW has also not led a primary effort to educate its members on major issues that affect transgender people in addition to employment discrimination, such as homelessness, healthcare access, and HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections (STIs). This piece of legislation could be included as part of NASW's annual lobby day.

Like NASW, most major LGBT civil rights organizations host an annual lobby day. Social workers could assist these organizations with turnout on lobby days. For example, The National Center for Transgender Equality (NCTE) hosts an annual lobby day on Capitol Hill in July. Since NASW often focuses solely on legislation specific to the social work profession, it could potentially expand its current somewhat narrowly focused repertoire to help facilitate organizing social workers to attend these allied organizations' lobby days. NASW might be concerned that sending members to lobby for other organizations' lobby days could compromise its member base. This strategy, however, may actually expand its member base by broadening the social justice issues to which NASW provides attention. Having social workers present at these lobby days could greatly impact their ability to better advocate for transgender clients on a macro policy level in conjunction with the micro practice level in which they are already engaged.

Citizenship Rights and Obligation (relation to identity)

Social workers need to participate in national professional organizations that represent a consortium of interdisciplinary mental health professionals, such as the American Psychiatric Association (APA). In 1973, homosexuality was removed from the Diagnostic and Statistic Manual, which is the APA's manual that all clinical social workers use for billing and reimbursement. DSM-V, the most recent version of the manual that debuted in 2013, continues to include gender dysphoria as a diagnosis. This categorization continues to perpetuate the misconception that transgender identities are innately pathological. We argue that transgender identity is a normal, healthy identity that has been framed as pathological due to societal

prejudice rather than biological dysfunction. Since social work relies heavily on the DSM-V for its clinical practice, social workers need to be well represented within the APA in order to counter the continued pathology assigned to transgender identity. Social workers have the power to educate and to advocate that gender dysphoria follow in the footsteps of the removal of homosexuality as an obsolete diagnosis. Without social work advocacy, the removal of this diagnosis will continue to be a slow moving process.

Limitations

Several limitations need to be considered when addressing the above recommendations to increase social workers' roles in creating a thicker version of social justice for transgender individuals. In this paper we have been discussing gender identity (how people self-identify their gender) but not gender expression (how people present their gender on a continuum from masculine to feminine and everything in between). Much discrimination in the workplace occurs due to a person's gender expression. ENDA, however, would protect a person's gender identity irrespective of the person's gender expression. Social workers will need to become better trained in understanding these concepts so that they can become more effective advocates.

The inclusion of gender identity could always be dropped from a future version of the bill. This scenario is most likely to occur when the Senate and House reach a Republican majority during any election cycle. With a more conservative legislature, the best legal (but not social justice-focused) strategy may be to omit the gender identity protections so that the majority of the bill will pass. Social workers will need to learn how to navigate this type of political process. Lastly, the feasibility of having social workers become involved in advocating for transgender people may be complicated. Since this population is such a small segment of the U.S. population, most social workers may not have any contact with this population. As social workers are already overworked in their full-time jobs, helping them to understand the importance of this issue as a social justice issue may be difficult without any prior exposure or experience working with this population.

Conclusion

The LGBT rights movement has witnessed some extraordinary gains over the last decade. In 2003, Howard Dean was the first viable presidential candidate to openly support civil unions for LGBT people. In 2004, Massachusetts became the first state to legalize same sex marriage. In 2006, an amendment to the Constitution defining marriage as a union between a man and a woman did not gain enough votes to proceed with a roll call vote in the Senate (Congress.gov, n.d.b). In 2011, Congress repealed Don't Ask Don't Tell (DADT). In 2013, the Supreme Court ruled the heart of the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) unconstitutional. Our current President supports same sex marriage, and the Supreme Court ruled in favor of marriage equality in all 50 states on June 26, 2015. These measures have created a climate that is more supportive of LGBT people in our country than any other time in history. Providing economic stability and a daily environment free from harassment and discrimination for transgender people needs to become the next priority for the LGBT rights movement. Building a culture that celebrates transgender people through enforceable workplace protections via ENDA and social work advocacy is a beginning step. With social work's historical roots focused on a thick version of social justice, social workers should be the primary players in the 21st century that will advocate for these critical protections for transgender people.

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Continuity or Shift?
A Multiple Streams Framework
Analysis of the Family Policy in Turkey

AZIZE ASLIHAN NISANCI

In Turkey, the word "family" was used for the first time in the title of a ministry (state department) with the establishment of The Ministry (Department) of Family and Social Policies in July 2011. This article analyzes the process through which the new ministry came into being and discusses the elements of continuity and shift in the current government's family policy. Kingdon's (2002) multiple streams framework is used to analyze the policy making process. Thus, the article discusses how the problem, policy and political streams opened the window for the Ministry of Family and Social Policies. While the problem and policy streams are found useful for the analysis, the problem stream is insufficient to understand the unique context of Turkish politics.

Key words: *Family policy, Turkey, multiple streams framework*

In Turkey, the word "family" was used for the first time in the title of a ministry with the establishment of The Ministry of Family and Social Policies in July 2011. This was an important transformation in the area of social services because the new ministry gathered all other previously scattered state social service agencies, including the oldest child welfare agency (Social Services and Child Protection Agency/SHCEK) under its umbrella. There are six main areas of responsibility for the ministry: social relief; family and community services; child services; services for the disabled and the elderly; women's status; and services for the martyrs and veterans.

These areas are under the responsibilities of different directorates of the ministry. At first glance, there seem to be two implications of the ministry's organizational scheme. First, the title of the ministry makes one think that social policies in different areas of social welfare are seen as integral parts of

the family policy. Second, the creation of a separate director-
ate for family and community services raises questions about
what differentiates it from the other directorates, all of which
coordinate services for the society. This separate directorate
is called the Directorate General for Family and Community
Services. As in the case of the other directorates, which had
already been in service for years as separate organizations, this
directorate was the continuation of the General Directorate of
Family and Social Research, which operated under the Prime
Minister's office since 1989 with different titles. Within the or-
ganization of the ministry, this unit was granted the status of
a major social service directorate and its prominent role is re-
flected in the title of the ministry. Hence the activities of this
directorate comprise an integral part of the agenda of the min-
istry, and its role should be explored carefully to fully under-
stand the meaning of family and family policy for the current
government.

Once the ministry was established, the first activity of the
Directorate of Family and Social Policies became the imple-
mentation of a family life education program. The program
is presented as "the family education of Turkey" and a wide-
scale family life education campaign is currently being imple-
mented. It is supposed to be disseminated by volunteer train-
ers, who will participate in educational seminars in different
cities. The curriculum was prepared by the directorate and is
publicly accessible at the ministry's website. The education is
claimed to increase life quality of the families and teach the
"secrets of living in a healthy and happy family life." The cur-
riculum consists of modules on parenting skills, marriage
and family life, communication skills, legal rights, budgeting,
health, and media.

At first glance, one can have a sense that the policy actors
that implement the current transformation in the state's social
welfare arena put family at the center of their social policy
planning and have agendas that prioritize family policies. The
aim of this article is to explore why Turkish government attri-
butes such a primacy to family today, what this implies for the
family policy in general, what were the processes that led to
the emergence of a family ministry. Finally, is this transforma-
tion a continuity or a shift?

Background: The History of Family Policy in Turkey

Family has always been a central component of Turkish state ideology. From the acceptance of the Turkish Civil Code in 1926 to the present, the nuclear family became the only legitimate form of intimate relationship between male and female individuals (Sirman, 2004). The replacement of the modern nuclear family by the traditional extended family has been the goal of the Turkish modernization project. The 1982 Constitution used the concept of "family institution" and defined it as legally binding marriage (Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, 1982). The duty of the protection of family was also counted among the responsibilities of Turkish state. Article 41 of the constitution states that the family is the foundation of Turkish society and asserts that the state shall take the necessary measures and establish the necessary organization to ensure the peace and welfare of the family, especially the protection of the mother and children, and for family planning education and application.

With this article, the Turkish state legitimizes the state's role in regulating family life and establishes the state as the primary responsible agent for the welfare of the family. This constitutional article reflects that the Turkish state regards family as sacred and gives the primary responsibility of protecting the integrity of family to the state.

Governments also put a special emphasis on family from 1980s to the present. In the program of the first civil government, which was established in 1983 after the military coup of 1980, family was mentioned as the essence of nation (Yolcuoglu, 2011). It was stressed that family was the first and most important unit of social welfare and had a vital role in the protection of moral, national, and religious values. In the 1987 program of the State Planning Organization, there is a clear expression of the connection between social welfare and family welfare, and the family unit is addressed as the primary target of economic development, employment, and social services.

In the program of the 1987 government, it was again indicated that family was the foundation of society and women were the most important element of the family institution. In line with these purposes, a specialty commission was

established by the State Planning Institution in 1987. Its aim was defined as the investigation of the problems of the family in Turkey. The commission prepared a report and stated that there was a need for further research in the area. In the same year, research on "Turkish Family Structure" was conducted. In 1989, The Department for the Protection of Family Integrity was established under the umbrella of the Social Services and Child Protection Agency (SHCEK). In the same year, the Family Research Institution was established.

The subsequent governments continued to mention the importance of family policies in their programs. In the program of the 1993 government, the importance of women's vocational training and employment was emphasized, and the family was defined as the basic unit of democratic life. In addition to the ideological emphasis on the family, the family unit has also been important in the provision of social services, and family status has been a factor in the determination of entitlements (Kilic, 2010). For example, women and children were granted health care benefits as dependents of a male breadwinner. Similarly, working women were paid compensation after getting married, with the justification that they would be dependent on their husbands. There were also some benefits for the extended family members.

The history of the Directorate General for Family and Community Services goes back to 1989, when the Family Research Institution was established under the umbrella of the Prime Minister's Office. During the administration of the Justice and Development Party (AKP), which came to power in 2002, this institution was transformed into the Prime Ministry General Directorate of Family and Social Research in 2004. It was this unit that became the Directorate General for Family and Community Services today. Considering the long-lasting history of the state and government emphasis on family in Turkey, one may ask "What is new today?" One of the aims of this article is to explore what differentiates AKP's family policy from the policies of the previous governments. A multiple streams framework analysis will be used to analyze both continuities and ruptures.

Conceptual Framework

Kingdon (2002) proposes a multiple streams framework to analyze the processes of policy making by national governments. His framework is instrumental in making a detailed analysis of the processes through which the Ministry of Family and Social Services and the Directorate General for Family and Community Services came into being. Kingdon investigates how issues came to be recognized as issues in the first place and the processes by which agendas are set and alternatives are specified. According to Kingdon, agendas are set through three kinds of processes: problems, policies, and politics. These three streams, which flow through the system, join together and result in actual policies when the policy window is open. Policy windows provide policy entrepreneurs unique opportunities to turn their policy proposals into actual policies. Policy entrepreneurs are specialists such as bureaucrats, people in planning and evaluation, academics, interest groups and researchers. The policy window can open predictably or unpredictably and remains open for short periods of time.

The focus of this article is the processes which make the policy window open: the problem, policy, and problem streams. The three-level analysis allows us to answer the question of "Why now?" taking the entire system into consideration. As Zahariadis (2007) puts forward, the unit of analysis in Kingdon's framework is the entire system, and the collective choice is formulated as the combined result of structural forces and cognitive and affective processes that are highly context dependent. Therefore, the analysis can be used to explore the factors which contribute into the policy making at multiple levels and to better understand the policy climate. It also is instrumental to understand the dynamics in different contexts, such as different localities or even different countries. However, the multiple streams framework has not been widely used to understand non-Western policy contexts. There is only one study which uses the framework to analyze the health policies in Burkino Faso (Ridde, 2009). This article is another such attempt and focuses on how the Ministry of Family and Social Policies came into being.

The Problem Stream

Kingdon (2002) states that certain problems capture the attention of government officials while others do not. Problems are defined through indicators and may become visible as a result of a prominent event or a crisis. However, routine monitoring or studies by government agencies or nongovernmental researchers can also reveal problems. Most of the time, problems are far from being obvious, and the determination of whether an indicator is a problem or not is a matter of interpretation. The values one brings to an observation play a substantial role in problem definition. If the observers see a discrepancy between the observed condition and the ideal condition in their minds, they start to believe that something should be done. The conceptualization of the problem stream requires asking if there is a crisis that triggers today's family policies. If there is, the questions to ask are "who defines it as a problem?" "what are the values of the policy community?" and "what are the problem indicators?"

According to some social groups and some government officials, the family institution is in crisis in Western societies today. Before the Ministry of Family and Social Policies was established, a responsible minister from woman and family participated in a conference called "Family as a value within the context of religion, tradition and modernity" in November 2010. Her speech at the conference illustrates the AKP government's conceptualization of family policy. The minister emphasized that globalization and social changes have weakened the family as an institution, and that the family institution was going through a crisis. The minister also addressed out-of-wedlock relationships and population declines in Western countries as contemporary evils for societies today. According to the minister, the unity of Turkish society in the face of the risks and threats is due to its "high values that are produced in families." She also stated that the AKP government would prioritize family-centered policies.

The strategic plan of the Directorate General for Family and Community Services (The Republic of Turkey, 2007) also illustrated how the AKP government defined its ideal family as compared to the family in crisis. The text presented a negative view of the transformation of family in modern society. It

argued that family bonds and values have been deformed due to the trends of modernization, globalization, and individualization in Western societies. It further indicated that the care of the older adults, children, and individuals with disabilities was undertaken by traditional extended families in the past, as opposed to today's society, where these family members are taken care of by institutions.

The global indicators of family crisis identified by the text are the facts that young people are getting married at later ages, mothers are having their first child at later ages, couples are having fewer children, and the numbers of single parents and out-of-wedlock relationships are increasing. The strategic plan identifies the effects of globalization and media as negative influences on the family bonds in Turkey, especially after 1980s. The text claimed that the deformation in family values and structure became more visible in the 1990s. Statistical data were presented to identify major social problems as a decline in the population growth rate, a decline in the mean number of family members per family, a decline in the number of marriages, an increase in the number of divorces, and a decline in fertility rates. In the government documents and government officials' accounts, there is an apparent use of a conservative discourse in favor of preserving traditional family values.

It is not only the government that promotes the traditional extended family in Turkish society. Some NGOs share the government's perspectives and even work in collaboration with the government. For instance, The Center for Social and Economic Research (SEKAM, n.d.) implemented a large scale field research project on the family in Turkey and published the results on its website as an online report and as a book, *Family in Turkey: Structural Characteristics, Functions and Change of Family* (SEKAM, 2011). The survey questions focused on issues such as marriage, relationships, divorce, sexuality, violence, and parent-child relationships. The research project was funded by the Statistics Institution of Turkey (TUIK). This funding source reveals the ideological alliance between current AKP government and SEKAM.

In addition to the research project, SEKAM organized a symposium on family in Istanbul, Turkey in April 2011. In the symposium, it was emphasized that Turkish family structure

was about to collapse unless urgent precautions were taken. According to the head of SEKAM, individuals are losing their humanistic values under the influence of secularism and Westernization. He holds the European Union (EU) responsible for the degeneration of Turkish society and claims that the EU is trying to change Turkish society through cultural funds. He especially blames the soap operas and serials on television channels and thinks that they are produced with a conscious purpose of ruining the values and traditions of the society.

The Association for the Preservation and Support of Family (*Aileyi Koruma ve Destekleme Dernegi*, AKODER) is another non-profit organization with a focus on family. It was established as an initiative of women in 2004, and the main activity area of the association has been to investigate the threatening effects of media, primarily of television programs, on families (AKODER website, 2011). The association implements campaigns about the television programs they perceive as threatening and generates safe programs lists to guide families. The association considers morality and religious values as the criteria of safe programs for families.

Another NGO that advocates conservative family policies is an umbrella organization called The Union of the NGOs of the Islamic World (*Islam Dunyasi STK'lari Birligi*, IDSB). It is an international organization, and its center is in Istanbul. It was established after a conference on NGOs of the Islamic world in Istanbul in 2005. It is an umbrella organization that aims to provide coordination and cooperation between NGOs of the Islamic world. One hundred and fifty-two NGOs are members of the organization (The Union of NGOs of the Islamic World [IDSB], 2008). IDSB organized an International Family Conference in Indonesia on May, 2011. NGOs, academics and bureaucrats from fifteen different countries participated in the conference. In the final declaration (*Uluslararasi aile konferansi sonuc bildirgesi,* 2011), it was stressed that family was the most important institution for healthy individuals and society. They suggested the implementation of social policies which would support a family model based on the tenets of Islam and further claim that these kinds of policies will solve the problems caused by modern culture. They suggested the strengthening of the relations with relatives to solve the problems caused by the nuclear family structure. They also

suggested policies that encourage marriage and decrease divorce rates, and they want the women-focused policies implemented in such a way that they will not prevent women from fulfilling their basic duties within the family.

AKP government's policies are not exempt from criticisms. Feminist groups have voiced criticisms of the state family policies, in general, and of AKP's family policies, in particular. The creation of a ministry with the word *family* in its title and leaving the word *woman* aside with the abolishment of the position of the "prime ministry responsible from woman and family" triggered hot debates in the media. Feminist groups argue that the government defines women's primary roles as preserving family unity and ignores women as individuals. They also criticize the government for promoting the traditional patriarchal family, which they identify as the root of women's problems, such as domestic violence and honor killings (Can, 2006).

The Policy Stream

Kingdon (2002) elaborates a second contributor to governmental agendas: the policy stream. Once the problem and a need for solutions are recognized, the policy community proposes solutions compatible with their values. A process of gradual accumulation of knowledge and perspectives among the specialists in a given policy area, and the generation of policy proposals by such specialists, constitute the policy stream. The proposed ideas come together and constitute the policy primeval soup. Technical feasibility and value acceptability determine the success of the ideas in the competition to win acceptance in the policy networks.

The main policy proposal mechanism for Turkish governments has been the national Family Councils. Five family councils have been organized since 1990 by the Family Research Institution. While feminist groups have been struggling for effective women-focused policies and addressing problems such as the violence against women and honor killings, they were excluded and marginalized from the public policy making processes. On the other hand, conservative groups, which mainly constituted religious and/or nationalist actors, were participants of these family councils, in part because governments in Turkey were conservative in the 1990s. The proposals of these

conservative groups won the attention of the government officials and resulted in the current organization of the Ministry of Family and Social Services.

The policies proposed at the family councils paved the way for the current organizational scheme of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies. A quick look at the proposals proposed at the Family Councils is an inalienable part of the analysis. First of all, the necessity of establishing a family ministry was among the proposals in the first and third councils in 1990 (*Birinci aile surasi*, 1990) and 1998 (*Ucuncu aile surasi*, 1998). In the first council, it was stressed that family could not only consist of a man, a woman, and children, but had to include grandparents as well. The family was defined as a resilient unit with strong family bonds. The policy community proposed a family model that would embody love, affection and the democratic values of equal share of rights and responsibilities. Hierarchical relationships between men and women in family life were criticized. It was proposed that the departure point in the family policy had to be "our national culture" and "the care of children and the elderly within the family" had to be encouraged. The traditional Turkish home model was presented as an ideal design for Turkish families. The participants argued that day-care centers for children should be rearranged according to Turkish values.

As these points suggest, conservative values were held by the majority of the family council participants. On the other hand, there was some emphasis on the importance of the equality between men and women in family life and the value of democracy in the family unit. Traditional patriarchal hierarchies were presented as negative features that had to be overcome. The discourse used in the texts of the family councils reveals that the ideal family should both preserve strong family bonds of the traditional Turkish family (such as strong relations with extended family members) and practice modern democratic relations among the family members.

Another striking fact is that promoting family values and family well-being were handled together in the councils. Family welfare was regarded as an integral part of the family policy from the first council on. Issues of nutrition, health, housing, education, unemployment and employment were

counted as the basic areas to be addressed for family well-being. The main theme of the fourth council in 2004 was poverty and family (*Dorduncu aile surasi,* 2004). The need for the scientific study of family and poverty to guide family policies was presented. There were different commissions discussing economic, cultural and psychosocial aspects of poverty, the social security system, and strategies for dealing with poverty. It was stressed that social welfare measures had to be implemented. There were proposals suggesting a family wage and universal health insurance. The importance of promoting strong family values and bonds was a continuously emphasized theme. The fifth council took place in 2008, and its main theme was family support services. It was in this council that the specificities of AKP's family policies started to emerge. The last family council was organized by the new ministry in 2014 and various aspects of the government's family policies were discussed. In order to understand these particular aspects, there is a need for further analysis of the political stream.

The Political Stream

The political stream is the general political climate created by combined forces, such as swings of national mood, vagaries of public opinion, election results, changes of administration, turnover in Congress, shifts in partisan or ideological distributions in Congress, and interest group pressure campaigns. Kingdon (2002) defines the term *political* narrowly, related to the political environment of the United States. In this respect, Kingdon's category of the political is not sufficient to fully analyze the political climate in Turkey, which is influenced by multilevel factors such as the long-lasting nation–state ideology, the party ideology, and the forces of the global markets.

The state ideology is an indispensible part of the analysis of family policy in Turkey. The ambivalence towards Westernization and Western values has always been part of the Turkish modernization experience, as is the case for many other Third World countries. On the one hand, Westernization has been the ethos of the nation–state ideology after the foundation of the republic in 1923. On the other hand, the authenticity and uniqueness of the nation's values have been emphasized by the same state ideology. Hence, AKP's ambivalent

stance towards Westernization is not unique to the party, but has been part of the society's Westernization experience. However, "Turkishness" and the "unique Turkish family values" are defined based upon the ideologies of the groups.

The secularization and Westernization project created tensions within Turkish society and encountered opposition from the segments of the society which perceived the Westernization project as a threat to their religious values and culture. This tension marginalized the people and excluded them from the center, where the state power was held. Some scholars described this as a tension between "center" and "periphery" (Mardin, 1973). The current AKP government presented itself as the representative of the people, or the periphery, which was claimed to have been socially and economically disadvantaged and non-privileged. The leading members of the AKP government, including the then Prime Minister Erdogan, also came from a former political party (Welfare Party) which explicitly advocated prioritizing Islamic values. However, the leading figures in AKP recently disassociated themselves from the path of their former political party, as they claimed to have changed and embraced the goal of EU membership as their primary foreign policy goal. This means that they were not against following the path of modernization/Westernization anymore. On the other hand, they defined their new party's (AKP) defining principle as "conservative democracy" when they first established the party in 2001. This label, in a way, was revealing the difficulties that the party would experience in its ambition of compromising the goals of modernization and Westernization on the one hand and conservatism on the other hand.

The political ideology of AKP is in favor of conservative family policies. As the strategic plan of the Directorate of the Family and Social Services (The Republic of Turkey, 2007) reveals, the effects of modernization and globalization are viewed negatively and the cure suggested for these negative influences is the protection of the strong, extended traditional family. The nuclear family is regarded as the source of many of the problems in modern life, such as youth behavior problems. Western countries are highly criticized for being too individualistic and not taking care of elderly family members. Yazici (2007) shared her observations in one of these family

councils and asserted that one recurring theme was that in the European countries, corpses of people were found in their homes days after their death because they were living alone. AKP officials say that they are proud of the 'historically strong' Turkish family and their goal is to prevent Turkish society from ending up where Western countries are today.

Related to this fear, AKP also feels the need to take precautions against the decline in the population growth rate in Turkey. Being afraid of experiencing the low fertility rates, negative population growth rates and an increasingly aging population that Western European countries have experienced since the 1960s (Hantrais, 2004), the then Prime Minister Erdogan stressed that every Turkish woman had to have at least three children.

The fear of population decline is not the only motivation behind AKP's family policies. According to Yazici (2007), AKP's focus on the traditional extended family simultaneously serves two political aims. First, it invokes an ideal societal order to define their distinctiveness from both secularist predecessors in Turkey and an imagined West. Second, the promotion of strong family constitutes the discursive justification for decreasing welfare state provisions. These arguments can easily be traced in the government documents and the accounts of AKP's bureaucrats. In his speech in the fifth family council, Erdogan (Besinci aile surasi, 2008) emphasized the importance of the strong Turkish family as a protection in the face of the disruptive influences of poverty. AKP officials often mention the importance of a strong family to avoid the social upheavals against poverty that Argentina experienced in 2002 (Sirman, 2006).

The endeavor of replacing the support of the family institution with welfare state provisions is not peculiar to Turkey. Strong family has also been an important protection against the negative social consequences of shrinking welfare state provisions in the Southern European/Mediterranean states (Moreno, 2002). At this point, global neoliberal policies become a crucial force affecting the family policies of AKP. Reducing welfare spending and promoting strong family is not a hidden agenda for AKP. In the strategic plan of the Directorate of Family and Social Services (The Republic of Turkey, 2007), the

linkage between the decline of the welfare state and making the family unit an object of social welfare is explicitly stated. It is argued that providing social services via giving financial support to families reduces the cost of public social service expenditures significantly. It is also indicated that many states have developed social policies that support family and social networks to decrease the burden on the state budgets. In concert with this provision, AKP has implemented policies that weaken the welfare state provisions.

Social welfare scholars observe this transformation and give examples of the ground level implications of it (Kilic, 2010; Yazici, 2007). It is stated that AKP has been replacing the welfare state with civil society organizations and municipalities and transferring welfare responsibilities to families. Kilic (2010) suggests that there seems to be a move towards individualism in the Turkish welfare system after the social welfare reforms of 2006. Some of the benefits that were granted to children and women on the basis of dependency are not granted anymore. Yazici (2007) points to IMF and World Bank pressures as one of the forces behind AKP's neoliberal welfare policies.

On the other hand, AKP still claims to be a social welfare state and have some policies in this direction. One of the most recent examples is a widows' pension enacted on November 2011. AKP's social policies are called an "eclectic social security regime" by Bugra and Candas (2011). Kilic (2010) also gives examples of the reemergence of a "family-centered social policy approach" with AKP. He gives examples of the recent family medicine system and the cash that is paid to mothers of children under the condition that the children will continue to go to school. On the basis of these examples, Kilic (2010) argues that the nature of the recent social policy reform process in Turkey is oscillating between the poles of familialism and individualism. AKP's ambivalent attitude towards a welfare state leads to an ambivalence in its family policies.

Discussion

The institution of family has always been at the center of the state ideology in Turkey. In a way, family was the smallest social unit that would embody the modernization project in its

norms and organization. However, the objective of secularization left religious values outside the organization of social life, including the family life. While the Turkish state promoted the secularization project, traditional values continued to be practiced in society to different extents. Various governments before AKP advocated conservative family policies, and the history of the Family Councils goes back to 1990. From the 1980s on, conservative governments held power. In the 1990s, most of these governments were coalition governments, and conservative/Islamist, nationalist and leftist governments held the government power together in different combinations.

After the coalition governments of the 1990s, for the first time, a conservative government, whose members had their roots in an Islamist party, came to power. Since its first days in power, the AKP government has been accused of promoting Islamic values in its policies, and the same argument is made for its family policies. Therefore, it is necessary to see the continuities and ruptures that characterize AKP's family policies today. Kingdon's multiple streams framework was used to analyze the process through which the Ministry of Family and Social Policies came into being. A detailed focus on the problem, policy, and political streams showed the commonalities and specificities of the current government's family policies. The problem stream and policy stream analysis were instrumental in understanding the background of family policy in Turkey and in analyzing continuities and discontinuities in AKP's family policy. Moreover, the debates for and against AKP's family policies became part of the article thanks to the problem and policy streams frameworks.

On the other hand, the definition of the political stream was too narrow to contextualize the current family policy in Turkey. Kingdon's framework does not leave much room for the global economic dynamics that are not often explicitly discussed. These dynamics determine social policies in general and family policies in particular. Kingdon's model does not address the structural dynamics that should be part of the explanation.

In the light of the multiple streams analysis of AKP's family policies, it can be argued that there are some elements of continuity and discontinuity in AKP's family policies. AKP is not the first conservative government to advocate

conservative family policies in Turkey, which is why feminist critiques of conservative family policies do not start with AKP's history and go back to 1990s. Another element of continuity is that AKP's ambivalent attitude towards Westernization may be in higher degrees due to its members' religious sentiments. While AKP has an intense fear of cultural Westernization, it continues to strive for Turkey's EU membership. AKP supporters' suspicion towards the EU adds further to the ambivalence.

There are also unique characteristics of AKP's family policies. It was not until the current AKP government that the family unit became an object of social policy as part of the broader neoliberal current. An analysis of the documents of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies reveals that AKP government regards family policy as a holistic concept and includes all policies that affect family well-being and family welfare as family policy. This seems to be a positive development at first glance and demonstrates that the government does not solely focus on protecting traditional family values. This is important because enhancing family welfare cannot be restricted to promoting strong families. The boundaries of the family policy encompass all actions, directly or indirectly, intentionally or unintentionally, and affect the welfare of Turkish families (Butterfield, Rocha & Butterfield, 2010). However, AKP's policies in the direction of declining welfare state expenditures can have deteriorating effects on the families and increase the burden of the families. There is a need for the investigation of the family welfare in Turkey within a structural social justice framework in order to see the effects of AKP's social welfare policies on the well-being of Turkish families.

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Effects of Native American Geographical Location and Marital Status on Poverty

Tess Collett

Gordon E. Limb

Kevin Shafer

This study examined the association between geographic location (urban, rural, and tribal) and marital status on poverty among the Native American community. A sample of 5,110 Native Americans in the 2008-2010 American Community Survey were used for analyses. Results indicated that Native Americans were similar with the general population in their geographic location, marital status, and poverty. We found that the protective characteristics of marriage in the Native American community varied according to geographic location. We also discuss the impact this may have on the Native American community and what practitioners and policy makers should consider when working with the important but often overlooked population.

Key words: *Native American, American Indian, marital status, poverty, geographic location*

Socioeconomic factors are the driving forces behind many racial and ethnic differences in marriage and family stability. By increasing parental economic stability, these disparities can be improved (Hummer & Hamilton, 2010). One common finding in the literature is that negative correlations exist between poverty and marriage rates (Wells & Zinn, 2004). Another finding is the connection between poverty and geographic location. Recently, Lichter and Johnson (2007) asserted that people living in poverty continue to be disproportionately concentrated in rural geographical areas, especially in reference to racial and ethnic minorities. As we consider these factors, further investigation of the Native American population is necessary due to the absence of research in this area.

Though studies examining the Native American community have considered location and poverty, none have included family structure as an influencing factor.

Native Americans are two times more likely to live in poverty than other racial or ethnic groups (Brown, 2009), and yet research on poverty factors for Native Americans is scarce and in some cases nonexistent. However, recent findings show significantly higher levels of Native American children living in unmarried parent households (65%) as opposed to non-Native American children (27%) (Martin et al., 2009). Children in single-parent or unmarried parent households are at greater risk of economic disadvantages, specifically poverty and disability (Fijiura & Kiyoshi, 2000). In an effort to mitigate negative living conditions, such as those mentioned above, it would be important to investigate current statistical patterns among relationship structures and socioeconomic factors.

Therefore, using data from the 2008-2010 American Community Survey (ACS), the purpose of this study was to examine the contemporary relationships between geographic location, marital status, and poverty in the Native American community. We begin by providing a succinct history of poverty's relationship with the geographic economic framework, marital status, and other relevant Native American factors.

Marital Status and Poverty

Marriage rates have declined across all major racial and ethnic groups in the United States. Mather and Lavery (2010) indicated that the percentage of married adults (age 25 to 34) dropped from 55% to 45% between 2000 and 2009. Scholars have found several factors that correlate highly with marital status, including the presence of poverty. For example, data from the 2006-2008 ACS indicated that single-headed households were five times more likely to be in poverty than married couple households (Ruggles et al., 2010).

Some literature suggests that increases in poverty contribute to a decrease in marriage rates (Edin, Kefalas, & Reed, 2004). Other literature suggests that a decrease in marriage contributes to an increase in poverty, arguing that without the economic stability that marriage provides, people are putting

themselves at greater risk for poverty (McLanahan, 2006; Waite & Gallagher, 2000). Though the elemental explanation of this relationship remains to be decoded, the correlation remains substantial in variegated situations.

Therefore, theoretically, we might anticipate the economically disadvantaged portion of our sample to have a lower likelihood of being married. Regardless of whether marriage regulates economic advantage or vice versa, the exploration of marital influence is advantageous to effectively realizing socioeconomic aspects that might benefit from increased awareness and attention by social service workers and policy makers (Wells & Zinn, 2004). Responding to this increased awareness can diminish the presence of negative aspects, such as childhood poverty (Edin et al., 2004). Wells and Zinn (2004) claim that secondary to marital factors, poverty outcomes should be qualified by examining the influence of geographic location.

Geographic Location and Poverty

Geographic location is an inherent influencing factor in studies on marriage benefits and poverty and should not be unduly neglected (Wells & Zinn, 2004). One noteworthy aspect of geographic location is that of spatial concentration. Spatial concentration has been defined as the unequal geographical spread of poverty, and this disparate concentration of poverty is more commonly manifested in families living in rural geographic locations (Voss, Long, Hammer, & Friedman, 2006).

Some attribute spatial concentration to the inadequate availability of resources, full-time work, and skilled and well-paying jobs in rural areas. They suggest that living in poor rural areas has detrimental effects on economic success (Albrecht, Albrecht, & Murguia, 2005; Lichter & Johnson, 2007). Others attribute spatial concentration not to the causal effect of rural areas on people but to the characteristics of the individual (i.e., the individuals that live in rural areas are cause, not victim, of any economic ebbing) (Fisher, 2005).

Racial and Poverty Disparities in Geographic Location

According to Voss et al. (2006), issues of race and rural poverty are also interconnected, and discussion of such topics

should not disregard one or the other. Hence, the term *racial rural concentration* means racial and ethnic minorities being disproportionately concentrated in areas with less available resources than other populations in the same geographical area (Probst, Moore, Glover, & Samuels, 2004). Thus, the ethnic minority component of our sample leads us to think that Native American rural living may lead to economic disadvantage. Supplementary to marital status and geographic location are a number of expounded characteristics unique to the Native American community.

Native American Literature on Marital Status, Geographic Location and Poverty

Reserach on Native Americans is generally scarce or non-existent when it comes to examining the associations between marital status, geographic location, and poverty. However, general demographic information is available. In 2010, marriage rates among Native Americans (37%) were disproportionately lower than the general population in the United States (49%) (Center for Disease Control and Prevention, 2010). As of 2011, 22.4% of Native American households were economically disadvantaged, as opposed to 11.7% of all other U.S. households (U.S. Census, 2011). Bates (2008) stated that of the economically disadvantaged Native Americans, a disproportionate number (48%) lived in rural areas compared to all other households (27%). Rural areas are roughly defined as consolidated areas containing less than one million people.

In addition to urban and rural geographic locations, Native Americans occupy what are referred to as tribal lands (otherwise known as reservations). Cornell and Kalt (1988) contend that the residents of tribal lands are economically disadvantaged due to the lack of several resources, such as human capital (economic experience and expertise) and natural recourse endowment (land recourses). Few studies have examined the current economic structure of these tribal lands, and the deficiency in research has been attributed to either lack of scholarly interest because Native Americans are such a small percentage of the total population or tribal reluctance to taking part in research (Franz, 1999).

Federal Relocation

Charles (2003) states that current racial geographic location inequalities owe greatly to past racial discrimination and prejudices. Native Americans are no exception to this. Federal Relocation programs of the 1950s through the 1960s were implemented in an effort to move Native Americans from their rural communities and assimilate them into larger cities (Lucero, 2007). As a result, roughly 2/3 of all Native Americans (64.1%) live in urban areas (Bates, 2008). The recent significant shift in residential patterns among Native Americans has added justification to our geographical inquiry and is important to consider in providing a more comprehensive report of current trends as they relate to marital status and poverty in this important but often overlooked population.

Historical Trauma

Brave Heart and DeBruyn (1998) have coined the term "historical trauma" to represent the ramifications of the attempted extinction of Native American culture by forcibly relocating, assimilating, and splitting up families. This disbanding of Native American families resulted in a decrease in social and family support (Cross, Earl, & Simmons, 2000). Examples of this include wars, conquest, boarding schools, and destructive child welfare policies. There is little to no debate among scholars that historical trauma has had a profound impact on Native American life today. However, challenges among Native Americans can stem from current traumatic life experiences (such as health risks, discrimination, etc.) to past historical trauma (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998).

Current Study

As noted, literature on Native Americans and poverty motifs in reference to marital and geographic location is tenuous at best. Using data from the 2008-2010 ACS we sought to gain further insight concerning Native American poverty status according to geographic location and marital status. The review of literature in this area provided our study with a foundation upon which the variables of interest could be explored. Therefore, this study sought to answer five research

questions: (1) Are married Native Americans less likely to be in poverty? (RQ1); (2) Are Native Americans living in rural areas more likely to be in poverty than those living in urban areas? (RQ2); (3) Are Native Americans living in tribal lands more likely to be in poverty than those not living in tribal lands? (RQ3); (4) Do married Native Americans living in rural areas have a lower likelihood of living in poverty than those not married and living in urban areas? (RQ4); and (5) Are married Native Americans living in tribal lands more or less likely to be in poverty than those not married and not living in tribal lands? (RQ5).

Method

Participants and Procedure

This study utilized 2008-2010 American Community Survey (ACS) data collected as part of the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (Ruggles et al., 2010). The ACS is used to provide updated annual demographic, social, economic and housing data from both household units and group quarters (for more information see U.S. Census Bureau, 2009). The ACS was administered to a small percentage of the population in the 50 states, District of Columbia and Puerto Rico (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009). With few exceptions, the sampling methods consisted of 3-in-100 (U.S.) and 1-in-100 (Puerto Rico) random sampling and draws from Census Bureau's Master Address File (MAF) (for more information see U.S. Census Bureau, 2009).

For the purposes of this study, a sample consisting only of self-identifying Native Americans was extracted from the total number of ACS respondents (9,093,077, approximately 3% of the population). In this sample there were 143,475 male and female Native Americans. Deletion of data constrained by certain sociodemographic factors (those under 15, those in unidentified geographical areas, etc.), and missing data caused our sample to decrease to 97,618. From this modified sample we randomly selected a sample of 5,110 (roughly 20%) to account for excessive statistical power.

The age of Native American participants ranged from 15 to 94 years, with a mean of 42.20 and a standard deviation of

17.86. Roughly 35% of participants were married, 39.3% of participants lived in urban geographic locations, 48.6% lived in tribal lands, 24.2% were at or below the corresponding poverty threshold, 50.1% of all participants were currently employed, and 48.2% of participants were male (see Table 1).

Measures

Marital status. The ACS variable *marital status* was used as both an outcome (Model 1) and predictor variable (Model 2) in this study. Participants who were 15 years of age or older answered "What is the person's marital status?" by marking one of the following marital statuses: "a) now married, b) widowed, c) divorced, d) separated, and e) never married." This variable was categorical and for analysis purposes was recoded into a dichotomous variable. Marital Status was recoded resulting in non-married responses (widowed, divorced, separated, and never married) as the reference group compared to the married group (now married).

Poverty status. The ACS variable *poverty* was used as both a predictor (Model 1) and outcome variable (Models 2 and 3) in this study. Poverty was defined as the official poverty measurement by the Social Security Administration (SSA) to include individuals that fell below the poverty threshold, which considers multiple influencing factors, such as size of family, number of children, and current cost of living. Each participant was given a poverty value (ranging from .0 to 501.0, < 99.00 = below poverty threshold [in poverty]) by the Census Bureau for the corresponding year (2008, 2009, or 2010) based on household poverty status (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). This variable was originally continuous, and for our purposes was recoded into a dichotomous variable giving a status of above the poverty threshold ($\geq$ 100.00) as the reference group compared to the poverty group ($\leq$ 99.00).

Rural, and tribal geographic location. The ACS variable *metropolitan* was used as a key predictor variable in this study and indicated whether a participant lived in a rural or urban geographic location. Households were designated by the Census Bureau into one of the six location statuses: "(a) not identifiable, (b) not in metro area, (c) in metro area central city, (d) in metro area outside central city, (e) central city status unknown,

and (f) missing/unknown" according to the United States Office of Management and Budget's definition of a metropolitan area (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). A metropolitan area is roughly defined as a consolidated area of one million people or more (for more information see U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). This variable was categorical and was recoded into a dichotomous variable called "urban location." Recoding caused metropolitan living (in metro area central city, in metro area outside central city, and central city status unknown) to be the reference group compared to nonmetropolitan living (not in metro area). The remaining metropolitan statuses (not identifiable and missing/unknown) were recoded as system missing.

The ACS variable *homeland* was used as a key predictor variable in this study, and signified whether a participant lived in designated homeland areas. Households were federally recognized as located in a homeland area (otherwise known as American Indian, Alaskan Native, or Native Hawaiian reservation or tribal land), with the use of Public Use Microdata Areas (PUMAs), where (a) PUMA does not include a homeland area, and (b) PUMA includes a homeland area (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). This variable was recoded into a dichotomous variable called *tribal land*, resulting in those not living in a tribal land (PUMA does not include homeland area) to be the reference group compared to tribal land living (PUMA includes homeland area).

Geographic location and marital status interactions. We created two interaction variables by multiplying marital status with rural location, and marital status with tribal land. These interaction variables were named "marital*rural," and "marital*tribal land."

Control variables. According to past research, education, age, employment status, and gender also have significant correlations with our key variables (Hajnal, 1953; Mather & Lavery, 2010; Wilson, 1987). Some control variables were recoded in order to contain a more intuitive nature requisite to our regression models (education: 0 = no education, 1 = high school or less, 2 = three years of college, 3 = four or more years of college; employment status: 1 = employed, 0 = not employed; gender: 1 = male, 0 = female; and school: 1= currently in school, 0 = not currently in school). All other controls remained in their original discrete or continuous form.

Data Analysis

We screened the data for missing values, outliers, and participants who did not meet the criteria of this study (under the age of 15, unknown metropolitan status, and nonresponses) using STATA 12. In order to account for too much statistical power of the large Native American sample, we randomly selected 5,110 participants out of the original sample size of 143,475. The first set of analyses involved descriptive statistics (mentioned in participants and procedures, see Table 1). We then performed two logistic regression analyses to examine our research questions. Due to the large N size, we decided to use a more conservative p value (.01) to measure the power in our models. We ran a multiple predictor logistic regression model to examine how marital status and rural and tribal geographic locations relate to the likelihood of Native American impoverishment (RQs 1, 2 and 3) (Model 1). The second logistic regression model was run similarly to the prior, with the addition of the interaction variables marital status*rural location, and marital status*tribal land, to test whether married Native Americans living in rural or tribal locations were more or less likely to be in poverty than their corresponding reference groups (RQs 4 and 5) (Model 2).

Results

Multiple Predictor Logistic Regression Analyses

Table 2 contains a multiple predictor logistic regression (Model 1) to examine the relationships that marital status, rural, and tribal geographic location have on the likelihood of Native Americans living in poverty. Marital status, rural location, and tribal land were key predictors and poverty status was the outcome. We controlled for employment status, educational attainment, family size, number of children, children currently in school, gender, and age.

The regression indicated the following results: the odds of marital status were negatively related to poverty status (p < .001), the odds of rural living were positively correlated with poverty status (p < .001), and the odds of tribal living were positively related to poverty status (p < .001). In interpreting the odds ratios, we found that those who were married

were 66.8% less likely to be in poverty than those not married, those living in rural locations were 29.3% more likely to be in poverty than those living in urban areas, and those living in tribal locations were 10.1% more likely to be in poverty than those living outside of tribal lands. Simply stated, our results indicated that married Native Americans were over 50% less likely to be impoverished than nonmarried Native Americans, participants living in rural areas were more likely to be in poverty than urban participants, and tribal land participants were more likely to be in poverty than those living outside of tribal lands.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of Key Variables, American Community Survey, N=5,110

	Mean	Percent	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.
Poverty		24.2%		0	1
Marital Status		35.4%		0	1
Rural Living		39.3%		0	1
Tribal Living		48.6%		0	1
Educational Attainment	1.21		.723	1	4
Family Size	3.63		2.18	1	18
Employment Status		50.1%		0	1
Number of Children	.532		1.06	0	9
Gender		48.2%		0	1
Age	42.2		17.86	15	94

In order to answer our fourth and fifth research questions, we ran another multiple predictor logistic regression (Model 2, see Table 2) similar to the prior regression with the addition of our interaction variables marital*rural and marital*tribal as our key variables. The regression indicated that the odds of being married and living in a rural area were positively related to poverty status ($p < .001$), and the odds of being married and living in a tribal land were positively related to poverty status ($p = .006$). In interpreting the odds ratios, we found that

married and rural living participants were 15.7% more likely to be in poverty than those not married and living in urban areas, and that married and tribal land participants were 11% more likely to be in poverty than those not married and living outside tribal lands. This tells us that married Native Americans living in rural lands were more likely to be impoverished than those not married and living in urban areas, and married Native Americans living in tribal lands were more likely to be impoverished than those not married and living outside tribal areas.

Table 2. Logistic Regression Analyses of Poverty Status According to Geographic location and Marital Status

	Poverty Status			
	Model 1		Model 2	
Predictor	p	e (odds ratio)	p	e (odds ratio)
Rural Location	.001	1.29	.001	1.22
Tribal Land	.001	1.10	.001	1.11
Marital Status	.001	.33	.001	.35
Marital Status*Rural			.001	1.16
Marital Status*Tribal			.006	1.11
Employment Status	.001	1.77	.001	.19
Educational Attainment	.001	.61	.001	.61
Family Size	.001	.73	.001	.73
Number of Children	.001	1.74	.001	1.73
Currently in School	.020	.94	.009	.94
Gender	.001	.04	.008	.97
Age	.001	1.04	.001	1.04
N	5,110		5,110	
Pseudo R^2	.171		.172	
Log likelihood	-40716.997		-40671.997	
Hosmer & Lemeshow Test Chi Square	16925.59		16836.80	

Discussion

Native Americans have significantly higher rates of poverty, poorer rural concentration, and lower marital rates than the overall population (Brown, 2009; Center for Disease Control and Prevention, 2010; Probst et al., 2004). Disproportionate rates of economic challenges are also common in the Native American communities, yet we know little of the possible impacting factors of these trends. In an effort to further comprehend its structure, this study examined the roles of geographic location and marital status among Native American poverty rates. Our findings suggest that marital status and rural and tribal location are salient predictors of poverty in the Native American community. These findings induce critical discussions and implications.

Findings indicated that married Native Americans were less likely to be impoverished than those who were not married (RQ1). This was consistent with previous general population findings of common negative correlations between marriage and poverty (Mather & Lavery, 2010; Wells & Zinn, 2004). These findings may be due to several factors. Participants may have seen marriage as a desired outcome but also as a greater risk than they were willing to take. In Edin et al.'s (2004) study, impoverished people were at a higher risk of having other stressful factors influencing their lives, and adding the possibility of divorce that comes with marriage was found to not be worth the risk. In this case, the argument could be made that poverty precedes low marriage rates. Stressful life factors are especially present in the Native American community (e.g., 750% alcoholism rate, 190% suicide rate, 500% chronic illness rate, etc.), and they are twice as likely to live in poverty than the general population (Brown, 2009).

On the other hand, low marriage rates could be influencing poverty levels. Waite and Gallagher (2000) state that in addition to economic benefits, married couples achieve greater health, social interaction, and happiness than unmarried individuals. In this case, the low marriage rates would be influencing economic disadvantages in the Native American community. Despite not knowing which of the previous categories our sample belongs to, low marriage rates are associated with

higher likelihood of poverty, and therefore needs further discussion.

We found that Native Americans living in rural geographic locations were more likely to be at or below the poverty threshold than those in urban areas (RQ2). This finding was consistent with previous research on the general population (Voss et al., 2006), and was possibly influenced by the inadequate availability of resources in rural areas (Albrecht et al., 2005; Lichter & Johnson, 2007). Rural Native Americans may also have less access to adequate education and healthcare (Albrecht et al., 2005; Lichter & Johnson, 2007). Kohler, Anderson, Oravecz and Braun (2004) suggest that social service providers in rural locations would benefit from encouraging utilization of social supports and community services.

We also found that Native Americans living in tribal lands were more likely to be at or below the poverty threshold than those outside of tribal lands (RQ3). This was consistent with Census data and Cornell and Kalt's (1988, 1998) argument that tribal land populations are at an economic disadvantage due to a lack of resources necessary for economic growth. Though there have been multiple diverse attempts at generative economic headway for Native American tribal lands (Cornell & Kalt, 1998), there seems to be a continued economic stagnation. Perhaps this is due to a lack of attention to or exclusion of pertinent factors such as geographic location and marriage in interventions and social policies. We would advise that social policy makers, as well as social service providers, take particular note of marital (and other stabilizing factors) and locational aspects when constructing policies or interventions involving Native American communities.

Model results for our first interaction variable demonstrated that married participants living in rural areas were more likely to be in poverty than unmarried urban residents (RQ4). In the previous model, rural living was associated with a 29% greater likelihood of being in poverty, where the later interaction of married participants living in rural locations had a decreased likelihood of 16%. Findings suggest possible protective benefits inherent in marriage and other stability factors, as argued by McLanahan (2006) and Waite and Gallagher (2000) to exist in Native American communities, as well as the unequal

concentration of poverty in rural geographic locations (Voss et al., 2006). Social service providers in Native American rural communities should be cognizant of these current constellations and would benefit from integrating marital support and promotion of relationship stability into their treatment plans. We also advise that special attention be given to creating or building upon family community services in reservation and Native American populated rural areas.

Finally, the marital and tribal interaction variable showed that participants living in tribal lands were more likely to be in poverty than nonmarried nontribal land participants (RQ5). In the prior model, tribal living was associated with a 7% higher likelihood of impoverishment, while the addition of marriage to tribal living resulted in a 15% higher likelihood of impoverishment. While this could be interpreted from multiple viewpoints, it remains that marriage in tribal communities is not associated with higher economic standards, contrary to the general population and even remaining Native American population. Implications could be that tribal social service workers and policy makers wishing to increase relationship (such as marital rates) and economic stability carefully examine these patterns and aspects unique to the tribal community that may be preventing relationship and economic growth among this population.

While helping strengthen marriage and marriage promotion programs may be one implication of this study, another important consideration would be on policies and interventions that might strengthen marriage AND reduce poverty. Here, Hue, Garfinkel, Haskins, McLanahan, and Mincy (2010) state that one of the most important findings from the Fragile Families Study is that nonmarital births "play a central role in boosting the nation's poverty rate" (p. 6). As such, they make four recommendations that policy makers should consider in order to strengthen marriage and reduce poverty: (1) strengthen the safety net that provides cash and in-kind support and helps those at risk to find and maintain adequate work; (2) expand prevention policies that have been shown to reduce nonmarital births (e.g., see Sawhill, Thomas, & Monea, 2010); (3) revise criminal sentencing laws that inevitably break up families and put children at even greater risk; and (4) refuse to give up on healthy marriage programs that have been shown

to be effective (p. 6). We agree that this is a good starting place. Consideration of different geographic locations, including reservation status, and their individual impacts should be included in this conversation as well.

Limitations

Though this study is original in its inclusion of tribal land data, one noteworthy limitation is that the rich and diverse cultures, economic structures, and family constructs greatly vary among the 564 federally recognized tribes, causing generalization to be a cautious affair (Brown, 2009). This limitation may present unreliability in reference to identification of marital structure. For example, Tribe A may define and treat marriage similar to other populations (e.g., with rights, benefits, and desirability), while Tribe B may define and treat marriage with lower intrinsic or external value (e.g., no rights, no benefits, and little desirability). Yet, the survey displays both tribes in the same light, and therefore, intertribal disparities may not be accounted for. Extreme poverty, such as that experienced on many reservations, is also difficult to identify and measure, given the lack of specified criteria.

Future Research

Future research considering related influential factors of family structure and geographic location structure on poverty is recommended in order to improve clinical practice and facilitate culturally appropriate change in the Native American Community, specifically focusing on the the areas of varying family structures, such as step-families, collectivistic family, etc. Native Americans have a different traditional family structure than most other Western populations. This increased family involvement, present in collectivistic family structures (Limb, Hodge, & Panos, 2008), may play a significant role in diminishing or augmenting the association between geographic location and marital status with economic disadvantage.

Useful geographic location examination could be conducted through further identification and consideration of intertribal differences. These extensions would increase statistical reliability and generalizability. Whereas our study was more exploratory of current trends, further related studies

may provide more explanatory insight indicative of the past, current and future trends. Here, future research could provide social service workers with strong empirical findings that can supplement efficacious clinical work, policy making, and educational training.

Finally, a meta-analysis of the Fragile Families Study, examining each of these issues individually and collectively, needs to be done. While some of this has occurred generally, few, if any, have looked at these issues within a Native American context. Doing so could provide important points to consider when moving the research forward in this area.

Conclusion

The high risk for economic disadvantage, non-marital or stability outcomes, and rural poverty are substantial among Native American communities, and yet, research illuminating these topics of interest is scarce (Brown, 2009; Martin et al., 2009). This was one of the first studies to examine poverty among Native Americans and its relationship to marital status and geographic location (rural and tribal). Results contribute a foundational understanding of current trends in the Native American community that are advantageous to clinicians and policy makers concerned with this targeted population. Findings indicate similarities between Native American trends and the general population in that non-marital, rural, and tribal populations areas are more likely to be in poverty than those who are married, living in urban, or non-tribal land areas.

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Interprofessional Collaboration for Children with Special Healthcare Needs: A Review of Effective Education Integration

Catherine M. Giroux

Julie K. Corkett

Nipissing University

With the innovation of technology, increased medical knowledge, and improved treatment techniques, the education of children with special healthcare needs is no longer restricted to hospitals. The current paper examines issues surrounding interprofessional collaboration (IPC) between educators, medical professionals, and allied health professionals in the school setting. Specifically, this paper disseminates the literature on interprofessional collaboration through the examination of the current state of IPC between the health and education sectors when accommodating students with complex medical needs. The aspects of IPC that are in need of improvement are identified along with recommendations for the improvement of IPC in the context of children with special healthcare needs.

Key words: *Medical complexity, interprofessional collaboration, health, education*

As a result of technological advances, increased medical knowledge, and improved treatment techniques, more children with special healthcare needs (CSHCN) are spending less time in hospitals and more time receiving treatments as outpatients (Shaw & McCabe, 2008). As a result, the paradigm of providing schooling for CHSCN in hospitals is being replaced with one that can accommodate students in their own homes and in mainstream schools (Robinson & Summers, 2012). This paradigm shift has created the need to ensure that transitions from hospital to school are made as seamlessly as possible. To accomplish this, hospital-to-school transition plans must be

developed and implemented so that appropriate accommodations are provided to CHSCN students (Shaw & McCabe, 2008). The development of effective transition plans requires efficient interprofessional collaboration. By addressing the following questions, this paper examines the current practice of interprofessional collaboration (IPC) between health providers and schools:

> (1) What is the current state of IPC between the health providers and schools when accommodating students with complex medical needs?

> (2) Can the current state of IPC be improved?

The Maternal and Child Health Bureau defines CSHCN as "children who have or are at increased risk of a chronic physical, developmental, behavioral, or emotional condition and require healthcare and related services of a type or amount beyond that required by children generally" (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 529). As this definition demonstrates, there is considerable variation in the medical complexity experienced by children with CSHCN. However, according to Cohen et al. (2011), CSHCN's medical complexity typically encompasses the four following domains:

> Needs: Children with medical complexity (CMC) are characterized as having substantial healthcare service (i.e., medical care, specialized therapies) and educational needs.

> Chronic condition(s): CMC have one or more chronic condition(s) that are severe and/or associated with medical fragility. The condition(s) are usually life-long and the children may also experience lasting effects from treatments.

> Functional limitations: These limitations are usually severe and may require the use of technologies such as a tracheostomy tube, feeding tube, or wheelchair. A child's functional limitations may also vary over time.

> Healthcare use: CMC have high projected usage of

healthcare resources. These may include prolonged hospitalizations, multiple surgeries, and the ongoing involvement of multiple specialty services and providers.

Due to the decreased quality and increased cost of targeted educational and medical support services, and due to an increased need for coordination between multiple specialties, the diverse needs of CSHCN are often not effectively met in the classroom (McClanahan & Weismuller, 2015).

IPC and Education

The medical complexity of CSHCN has significant implications for the field of education. Specifically, their medical complexity requires the provision of modifications and accommodations, which are best achieved through effective IPC (Alquraini & Gut, 2012). Effective IPC requires that all professionals involved in a student's health and education communicate with each other about the student's progress, strengths, needs, and any other relevant information. Effective collaboration between educational and health professionals permits for smoother transitions between hospital or home-based care and the return to the school setting (Madan-Swain, Katz, & LaGory, 2004; Robinson & Summers, 2012).

IPC has been shown to improve collaboration, patient care, and health outcomes (Kitts, Christodoulou, & Goldman, 2011). These improvements occur because different disciplines can inform and enhance one another's clinical or academic practices (Kitts et al., 2011). The medical profession has recognized the importance of IPC and, as a result, is now incorporating IPC as part of their certification and degree programs (Margison & Shore, 2009; Salm, Greenberg, Pitzel, & Cripps, 2010; Schocken, Schwartz, & Stevenson, 2013). While the field of education recognizes the importance of IPC, faculties of education have yet to formally address IPC as part of their programming (Salm et al., 2010). Unlike other professional faculties (e.g., nursing, medicine, and psychology) where students immediately learn to collaborate with other professionals, faculties of education remain a siloed environment, focusing strictly on teaching (Salm et al., 2010). This siloing is ironic, since schools are often

promoted to be the central location for service provision as well as health promotion and social action. Educators are expected to participate in, and often coordinate, interprofessional collaboration for students with exceptionalities and medical complexity, and yet, they are arguably the least prepared to work on such a team since their education and training does not include this aspect (Salm et al., 2010).

Interprofessional Collaboration: Barriers

In North America, the importance of IPC with regard to meeting special education needs has been recognized since the 1970s (Graham & Wright, 1999). In the United States, many CSHCN became eligible for educational accommodations under Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 that would facilitate their integration into mainstream classrooms (Shaw & McCabe, 2008). At this time, schooling was starting to move away from a dual-track system, where special education existed as a subsystem of regular education with separate pupils, teachers, and funding systems (Stainback & Stainback, 1984). Mainstreaming required additional supports and services to be available in the classroom to support CSHCN, which resulted in the need for increased IPC (Stainback & Stainback, 1984; Thomson, 1984).

It became obvious in the 1980s that, even though IPC was a promising approach, it was significantly more difficult to implement than anticipated (Graham & Wright, 1999). One of the main difficulties encountered was that the schools' para-educational professionals were siloed within a prescribed specialization consisting of unique aims, experiences, and training (Thomson, 1984). Furthermore, professional jurisdictions did not always overlap or involve similar stakeholders (e.g., health authorities and educational authorities) (Thomson, 1984). Therefore, a lack of communication between service providers and the resulting conflicts between professionals became common (Graham & Wright, 1999; Kitts et al., 2011).

Today, despite attempts for successful IPC, barriers still arise. These barriers include privacy rights, hidden agendas, dominant personalities, and competition among the different specialties and health/educational sectors (Margison & Shore,

2009). All of these barriers prevent the optimization of the assistance provided to CSHCN in their educational endeavors. In order to establish a common ground between disciplines, developing and communicating common goals and objectives are essential (Giacomini, 2004). In order for IPC to work, all professionals need to communicate equally and effectively and remember that the purpose of their collaboration is the well-being and best interests of the student with special healthcare needs.

Interprofessional Collaboration: Overcoming Barriers

A lead example of effective IPC can be found in the United Kingdom. What sets the United Kingdom apart from other countries is the fact that it has specific legislation and policies in place regarding how the education of CSHCN should occur. In England, the law states that students who cannot attend school due to chronic or complex illness are to be provided with an education similar to that available at school (Department for Education, 2010; Department for Education and Skills, 2001; Robinson & Summers, 2012). Furthermore, it falls on school leaders to ensure that a policy is in place that involves the close communication between the teachers, the hospital, and home. To make this happen, hospital-based teachers communicate with CSHCN's regular classroom teachers in order to facilitate a smooth transition between the hospital and school (Robinson & Summers, 2012). Furthermore, professionals involved in the care of CSHCN visit schools in order to provide information related to the child's health and related needs to his or her teachers (Robinson & Summers, 2012). This type of collaboration is designed to allay fears and concerns amongst educators and peers alike, as a child with special healthcare needs re-enters the classroom after a period of prolonged absence due to illness.

The dominant focus of the United Kingdom model is on a unified service provision where all members of various teams (medical, educational, or other) communicate and collaborate for the ease of the student's transitions from hospital to home to school (Department for Education and Skills, 2001). It is recognized that effective liaisons between key partners minimizes

the disruption that is caused by illness to a student's education; as such, local educational authorities and schools are expected to nominate a point-person to coordinate the education of CSHCN students, who often need to transition in and out of the conventional school setting. The Department for Education and Skills (2001) also recommends that health, social services, and educational professionals undergo a common training and professional development to assist in the transition to an interdisciplinary approach to care and education of CSHCN.

While North America lags behind the United Kingdom in terms of IPC for CSHCN students, there are some states and provinces that are attempting to develop similar systems. That CHSCN students require multiple services from multiple sectors makes it challenging to implement coordinated IPC between medical and educational professionals for the development of effective education plans. One of the main challenges to overcome is how to bring highly educated and specialized individuals together and expect a high level of collaboration when differing ideologies, scopes of practice, and specializations often interfere with effective IPC. One university in Saskatchewan, Canada is attempting to address this challenge.

The United Kingdom's Department for Education and Skills (2001) recommended that health, social services, and educational professionals undergo a common training and professional development to assist in the transition to an interdisciplinary approach to care and education of CSHCN students. In keeping with this recommendation, Salm et al. (2010) conducted a qualitative study where seven cohorts of pre-service professionals from faculties of Education, Nursing, Justice Studies, Kinesiology and Health Studies, and Social Work at the University of Regina, in Saskatchewan Canada, participated in a fourteen-week interprofessional practicum in elementary schools (Salm et al., 2010). The main goal of this project was to understand how an interprofessional practicum for pre-service professionals might alleviate professional silos by exploring how they learned with, from, and about each other's professions (Salm et al., 2010). In addition, the project also examined how the pre-service professionals perceived the impact IPC had on the quality of care for children and youth

with special needs. The pre-service professionals reported through weekly seminars, journals, field notes, and interviews that the practicum was valuable because it deepened their appreciation for the roles that other professionals play alongside their own profession in assisting CSHCN students (Salm et al., 2010). Salm et al. (2010) found that an interprofessional practicum provided pre-service professionals with a forum to learn collaborative skills, including problem solving and conflict resolution. Despite these benefits, a key finding within the school-based practicum included feelings of alienation among students, owing to the longstanding influence of traditional professional training focused on creating autonomous specialists (Salm et al., 2010). Unlike the United Kingdom, which focused on addressing collaboration between practicing professionals, the advantage of training pre-service professionals is that it provides the opportunity for a systemic change to occur, as these pre-service professionals will take this knowledge and experience with them as they start their careers.

Recommendations for Schools

Based on the medical complexity faced by students with CHSCN a common, agreed-upon set of best practices for IPC, focusing on the student/patient at the center, must be developed. This information, along with the successful examples of IPC in practice, may be used to inform recommendations about how interprofessional collaboration may be improved within the educational sphere. These recommendations relate to the improved sharing of information, the creation of a new care/information provision coordinator role, post-secondary curriculum changes, and policy changes.

Improved sharing of information. One recommendation that could improve the efficiency and effectiveness of interprofessional collaboration relates to sharing of information about CSHCN between all stakeholders involved in their healthcare and education. For example, in the medical field, patients have records and charts kept by medical and allied health professionals (e.g., Electronic Medical Records [EMR]). Upon referral, these records are shared so that the relevant information travels with the patient and reduces duplication. However, it is often up to the patient's family to ensure that this transfer

of records takes place when the child visits different specialists. There are currently few care coordinators to assist or to take responsibility for this task. In addition, this type of formal sharing of up-to-date records or charts does not currently take place in schools, which means that not all of the professionals working with a student have access to the same information. Issues of doctor–patient confidentiality, among others, often preclude the sharing of records and charts between medical and educational professionals (Cunningham & Wodrich, 2006). Additionally, within Canada and the United States, freedom of information and privacy protection Acts legislate what information can be shared and with whom. These Acts specifically forbid the disclosure of personal information as an unjustified invasion of personal privacy when the personal information relates to a medical, psychiatric or psychological history, diagnosis, condition, treatment, or evaluation (Government of Canada, 2015; Government of Ontario, 2014; U.S. Department of State, 2014). They also indicate that these provisions apply to educational history. Therefore, the only way that information can be shared between medical and educational professionals is through the parents.

Currently, the best solution is for parents of CSHCN to act as intermediaries between health and education professionals in order for relevant information to be transferred according to current confidentiality rules and practices (Cunningham & Wodrich, 2006; Obeng & James, 2010). This can create additional stress on parents of CSHCN, because they already have to fill the additional role of advocate in both the health and education spheres. A simple template, like the MyHealth Passport developed by The Hospital for Sick Children in Toronto, could be provided to parents of CSHCN to share with school personnel as required (The Hospital For Sick Children, 2012). This new template would include amendments to address pertinent educational information. Along with any specific medical information that the parents of CSHCN deemed appropriate to share with educators, this tool would include information about the student's educational exceptionalities (if any), program modifications and accommodations, and relevant psychoeducational assessment data. Further, student strengths and needs as they relate to the medical element will

be reflected, along with any health supports that the student needs or receives throughout the school day (e.g., medications, catheterization, etc.).

Despite the fact that this tool may be an effective solution for the sharing of medical information and the promotion of IPC, there are inherent difficulties that must be overcome. For instance, the question of how much medical information teachers actually need about the student (e.g., listing all medication side effects or solely the learning-related ones) arises. Second, for CSHCN students, health conditions are often complex and vary daily. This variance would also need to be reflected in this tool. Additionally issues regarding the transfer of information between health and education require attention. For example, how much educational information would be relevant and useful to medical practitioners would need to be determined. Further study into the applications and functionality of a patient-owned/parent-owned tool to promote IPC and information sharing between health and educational professionals is recommended.

While educators and medical professionals may be unable to communicate about the student's needs, parents may choose to share any relevant information. The hypothetical tool described above would simply facilitate the sharing of information. Since the parents, in conjunction with the CSHCN, as appropriate, are responsible for maintaining and sharing the document, there is no contravention of the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act. Nevertheless, the lack of formal, coordinated information sharing ties in with the second recommendation, made below.

Care/information provision coordinators. It is well documented in the literature (e.g., Canter & Roberts, 2012; Cunningham & Wodrich, 2006; Harris, 2009; McClanahan & Weismuller, 2015) that having a single professional coordinate collaboration among the various education, health, and allied health professionals is the best way forward in terms of assisting students with complex health needs. In fact, Harris (2009) identified the need for effective liaison consultants. The role of the liaison consultant is to coordinate care and access to information. In addition to being informed about the child's particular needs, this professional would be responsible for ensuring that all relevant information is communicated to all of the

stakeholders involved in the CSHCN's health and education (home, school, and hospital/medical realm) (Canter & Roberts, 2012).

Professionals in psychology and education have proposed that school psychologists might be the best professionals to fill this role (Cunningham & Wodrich, 2006; Margison & Shore, 2009). Currently 13 to 18% of children are reported to have special needs (Cohen et al., 2011; Shaw & McCabe, 2008). Additionally, 1 in 1000 children from three months to 18 years of age are estimated to be dependent on medical technology and skilled nursing care (Lipper, Farr, Marchese, Palfrey, & Darby, 1997). In order for psychologists to be able to act as coordinators for CSHCN, there would have to be a significant increase in the number of psychologists employed by school systems, since their current case loads are heavy and they may not be able to play this role in schools with high numbers of CSHCN. There would also have to be additional training provided, since healthcare/educational coordination is a complex field that currently exists outside of the realm of psychology.

An alternative suggestion would be to have medical professionals, such as nurse practitioners, available in the schools to act as liaisons between CSHCN, families, educators, and physicians. Nurse practitioners work across multiple systems, including healthcare and education, and are well positioned to provide care coordination in a variety of pediatric settings and in schools (McClanahan & Weismuller, 2015). Regardless of supply and demand issues, having a professional coordinate the transfer of information to all interprofessional collaborators, as well as act as an advocate for the student, would decrease the need for families of students with medical complexity to play an intermediary role, which would likely help to decrease their stress levels.

Pre-service training. Finally, changing the curriculum requirements for pre-service professional programs (e.g., education, social work, medical and allied health professions, etc.) to include an interprofessional component could have a significant impact on future interprofessional collaborations in the care of CSHCN. Research suggests (e.g., Kitts et al., 2011; Madan-Swain et al., 2004; Robinson & Summers, 2012; Salm et al., 2010) that fostering an inter-disciplinary or interprofessional framework for collaboration is beneficial to both

the patient/student and the professional, since it allows for a forum for communicating and sharing pertinent information amongst disciplines. By including training on how best to collaborate and communicate effectively within interprofessional teams in their education and training, young professionals will begin their careers with an appreciation of the benefits of conferring with others in varying roles and capacities. Change is a slow process and many of the problems that currently exist with interprofessional collaboration may arise from professionals not having learned how to work effectively within these teams. Changing the academic curriculum of the next generation of professionals who will work with students with complex medical needs could help to initiate real systemic change in the long term.

Certain medical and nursing programs have already begun implementing an interprofessional education (IPE). The interprofessional practicum at the University of Regina is but one example. Others include the *Caring for Kids Where They Live* approach to pediatric clinical nursing education at a Western Canadian university (Ogenchuk, Spurr, & Bally, 2014), as well as a program using IPE to improve and promote patient safety at Memorial University in Eastern Canada (Kearney et al., 2010). Interprofessionalism is not only a pre-service learning objective; it is increasingly being taught at in-service nursing trainings as well (Russell, Nyhof-Young, Abosh, & Robinson, 2006).

IPE occurs when students from more than one profession learn with, from, and about each other in order to improve and enable collaboration, health outcomes, and quality of care (Ogenchuk et al., 2014). It is a growing trend in healthcare education, notably in Canadian curriculums (Kearney et al., 2010; Ogenchuk et al., 2014; Russell et al., 2006). Despite the strong push for IPE, questions arise about when it is best implemented in a professional's learning process. Russell et al. (2006) argue that professionals need their own disciplinary identity before they can undertake interdisciplinary work, because to best collaborate with others, it is important for professionals to be well grounded in their own specific discipline. Conversely, Russell et al. (2006) also state that early unidisciplinary socialization leads to the development of professional siloes that have the potential to become barriers to IPC. Timing the introduction

of IPE into post-secondary curriculums is a difficult consideration that has significant impacts on the future professional practices of professionals.

Another consideration involves the implications of collaborative work on a culture of safety in the workplace. According to the Health Council of Canada (2009), there is growing evidence that when healthcare professionals effectively communicate and collaborate, the quality of patient care increases. This begins with educating students of health professional programs about concepts like the importance of working well on interprofessional teams (Kearney et al., 2010). It would follow that if these positive changes occur in healthcare settings, they would be likely to occur in educational settings as well.

Conclusions and Future Work

Interprofessional collaboration already takes place, to some extent and with some degree of effectiveness, in both the health and education sectors. As a result, examples of collaboration and multidisciplinarity can be found in existing literature and can be adapted to the context of accommodating students with special healthcare needs into the existing education structures. The increased survival rate of children with medical complexity and a shift from hospital-based schools to the integration of CSHCN into regular classes has resulted in the need for changes to the ways that school boards and governments provide educational support. Interprofessional collaboration and communication are important factors in promoting the overall health and well being of the student, but may also serve to minimize stress on all stakeholders involved in the student's healthcare and education. While barriers currently exist within interprofessional approaches, there are examples of its successful implementation into practice. The question to be addressed moving forward is how best to improve this form of collaboration so that all stakeholders get appropriate access to information and resources to best support the changing needs of CSHCN.

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Is What's Best for Dads Best for Families?
Paternity Leave Policies and Equity
Across Forty-four Nations

Karie Feldman

Brian K. Gran

Case Western Reserve University

In a global economy, paternity leave policies represent one of the most significant expansions of the welfare state that seek to help fathers respond to socio-economic pressures on their work and families. Policy makers who strongly promote socio-economic equity may respond to these global changes with new policy formulae meant to encourage involvement of fathers in their families. Nevertheless, scholars have limited understanding of who benefits from paternity leave policies and what these benefits mean to families. The present study is a comparative analysis of paternity leave policies across forty-four countries. This paper first presents a typology of paternity leave policies. This typology consists of seven criteria that range from duration of benefits to amount of benefits to employment security. This typology is then applied to forty-four countries. The present study demonstrates that a surprisingly small number of countries are devoted to family equity.

Key words: *paternity leave, welfare state, family*

Who benefits from paternity leave policies? Globalization has not only placed pressures on governments and businesses, families are responding to changes in workplaces and communities. While people juggle multiple roles, such as parents and employees, many societies are struggling with unfavorable demographic conditions. In response, some governments offer support so that parents can spend more time with their young children. Governments have instituted a wide variety of policies that differ in the ways that they emphasize financial support, ability to balance career and family involvement, and

in particular, equity in terms of encouraging both fathers and mothers to become involved parents. These policies include comprehensive programs for fathers provided by governments that include elements such as parent training (McLanahan & Carlson, 2002) and funding of organizations that provide similar services (e.g., Gillies, 2009). The most direct and far-reaching policy to encourage fatherhood involvement, though, is paternity leave. This is a clear example of policy directly targeted towards helping fathers meet family care needs.

Across the world, rapid changes in social policies influencing the intersection of work and family have left us with limited understanding of who benefits from expanded paternity leave. While there has been research on changes that occur when policies are instituted within a single country, few attempts have been made to explore these changes from a global perspective. The present study is a comparative analysis of paternity leave policies across forty-four countries. After presenting a typology of paternity leave policies, this study compares individual countries' policies to the paternity leave typology. Through this comparison, we aim to understand the ideologies that drive both family policy and ideologies around parenting. A bottom line of the present study is that some governments seem to achieve gender equity while promoting family stability, which some research suggests is unlikely. On the other hand, most countries do not seem to achieve either objective.

Government Intervention into Families: Models of Paternity Policies

Government interventions aimed at increasing fathers' involvement in childrearing have generally followed two distinct models (Gregory & Milner, 2011). In the first model, men are encouraged to contribute more time to family activity in the interest of supporting increased rates of women in the workforce and eventually increasing the level of gender equity. This change can be slow, especially when cultures within workplaces do not adjust to policies set forth by the government. Studies that examine fathers' slow uptake of policies often cite enduring expectations that work responsibilities should not shift regardless of changes in parental status (e.g.,

Humberd, Ladge, & Harrington, 2014).

Encouraging companies to embrace flexibility in work–life balance for both men and women expresses a motivation on the part of those creating policy to spread the burden of raising children. This change is needed to compensate a workforce that is increasingly made up of women, and is likely to be nearly equal in terms of gender participation in the future (OECD, 2012; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014). In fact, recent research suggests that policies offering employees options to manage their own time can promote the retention of skilled workers who would otherwise opt out of high level positions due to work spill-over (e.g., Moen, Kelly, & Hill, 2011). With employee turnover a growing concern for many businesses, there is a growing interest in the ways in which supporting families can help reduce the cost of training new workers and increasing worker satisfaction.

Internationally, countries have attempted to address paternity leave in terms of equity between parents. For example, in Sweden, a quota has been introduced to give fathers access to two months of paid paternity leave that must be used in order to receive full government parenting benefits. This legislation has been clearly documented as an attempt to strengthen women's bargaining position in the workplace and increase overall gender equity (Almqvist & Duvander, 2014). Evidence suggests that, especially in couples in which both parents are well-educated, fathers who take longer leaves demonstrate attitudes that reflect a strong value for shared parenting responsibility (Klinth, 2008), increased levels of father-child engagement (Brandth & Gislason, 2011; Hosking, Whitehouse, & Baxter, 2010), and more equal distribution of childcare tasks (Almqvist & Duvander, 2014). Data collected in the United States shows that when fathers take company-sponsored paternity leave, the vast majority (over 90%) spend time providing direct care to children, and over 80% spend some of their time helping with the household (Harrington, Van Deusen, Fraone, Eddy, & Haas, 2014).

Countries that offer leaves of multiple week duration only to fathers (e.g., father quotas) are associated with significantly higher rates of father involvement in childcare later in the child's first year (Boll, Leppin, & Reich, 2014). Further research

has shown that while leaves of greater duration increase involvement in childcare and housework activities, those fathers who take any leave at all are significantly more involved in childcare than fathers who take no leave (Bygren & Duvander, 2006).

While trends toward involved fatherhood are increasing within married couples, less clear is the extent to which men are truly exhibiting involved parenting behaviors. In a second model of paternity policy creation, governments shift focus from equity between parents to fathers who are not at all involved (Gregory & Milner, 2011). Researchers note the growing number of women who give birth in non-marital relationships or with absent spouses, making involved fatherhood an increasingly middle-class phenomenon (LaRossa, 1988). From this standpoint, fathers are seen as yet another resource for solving family-related problems.

In the United States, legislation was passed in 2000 to encourage fathers to contribute both financially and emotionally to their children's upbringing (McLanahan & Carlson, 2002; Nepomnyaschy & Garfinkel, 2010). Evidence suggests that fathers who become involved with their children immediately upon birth are likely to remain involved in the future, with stronger relationships shown between fathers and three-year -old children (Cabrera, Fagan, & Farrie, 2008). Further, among non-resident fathers in general, involvement with children seems to drop off over time (Carlson & Berger, 2013). Various pilot programs were developed that attempted to teach parenting skills, improve employment opportunities and skills, and to ensure access to children. Findings suggested that these programs were most effective when specifically targeted to interested fathers immediately following the birth of their children (McLanahan & Carlson, 2002). Despite the efficacy of these programs, paternity leave policies are most likely to impact middle class families in which fathers are employed full-time.

Outside of these two models, paternity leave has also been proposed as a piece of more comprehensive family leave to improve overall work–family balance. Cultural differences can lead to viewing childrearing as either an individual responsibility or as a responsibility of the society as a whole.

For instance, France provides citizens with state-subsidized childcare, flexible work arrangements, and shortened work weeks to help parents adequately serve their employers and spend time with their children (Fagnani & Letablier, 2004). Even though fathers in France have access to generous leave, evidence suggests that they spend less time in childcare than fathers in other countries (Craig & Mullan, 2010), though this may be because their children are being cared for outside of the home in quality daycare centers.

Regardless of whether father-involvement is seen as a way to increase gender equity, improve the economic status of single-parent families, or as a part of more comprehensive family policy, tapping into fathers as a means to share the burden of child-rearing is an increasingly popular expansion of the welfare state. The focus of this paper is to consider whether certain constellations of policies map together along ideologies for family care.

General Family Policy and the Changing Welfare State

There is a rich history of utilizing typologies to compare constellations of policies cross-nationally. Using this methodology allows the sorting and classification of various nations in order to make sense of a great deal of complex data. Perhaps the best known example of this approach is Gøsta Esping-Andersen's (1990) model of welfare regimes. In this model, three ideal types of welfare states are described according to institutional characteristics. While no countries perfectly match the arrangements of a liberal, conservative, or social-democratic regime, Esping-Andersen ranks each country according to the degree to which decommodification and defamilialisation are expected. Decommodifiation is the degree to which an individual can enjoy a socially-acceptable standard of living independent of the paid labor market (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 37). Likewise, defamilialization is the degree to which an individual can enjoy a socially-acceptable standard of living independent of the family (Esping-Andersen, 1990).

Social democratic welfare states are generous and spend a great deal to decommodify and defamilialize their citizens.

According to Esping-Andersen, Sweden's welfare state circa 1990 was a social–democratic welfare state. In contrast, conservative welfare states spend a great deal, but their efforts tend to decommodify rather than defamilialize. Due to traditional family values, the state only intervenes when a family's ability is exhausted. An example of a conservative welfare state circa 1990 was Italy. A liberal welfare state is characterized as not decommodifying, but it does defamilialize. For Esping-Andersen, a 1990 example was the United States.

Feminists, however, have offered significant criticisms of Esping-Andersen's work (e.g., Crompton, 1999; Orloff, 2009), noting that gendered division of labor is not well-accounted for in this characterization of nations. In fact, feminist scholars have noted that leave policies have primarily been designed by men and therefore exhibit biases in terms of goals, such as maintaining a continuous and full-time connection to the workforce (Baker, 1997). Policies differ strongly not just in the degree to which they decommodify and defamilialize, but also in the degree to which they encourage some forms of caregiving and choices in family arrangements over others (Orloff, 2009). For instance, a policy that provides inexpensive childcare might encourage working mothers, while a policy that pays stipends for extended maternity leaves would push mothers to care for children at home.

An extensive analysis of gender across welfare regimes in the late 1990s by Diane Sainsbury showed that countries rarely clustered together along Esping-Andersen's original model, whether exploring childcare provisions, care of the aged, gender biases in taxation, women's labor force participation, or women's earnings (Sainsbury, 1999). Nonetheless, conclusions from Sainsbury's research suggest that understanding prevailing gender ideologies within a country is not enough to fairly classify welfare regimes. She suggests, instead, that welfare states can best be understood as interactions between gender ideologies and the decommodifying and defamilializing of Esping-Andersen's original model.

Though paternity policies were not nearly as pervasive when this research was conducted, it is not surprising that paternity policy may not follow the ideals espoused in the original classification of welfare regimes (O'Brien, 2013). In

addition to exploring whether countries fit into a particular typology based on paternity leave policy, this article attempts to place paternity policy into more general parental leave policy.

Paternity leave policy was selected for review for several reasons. First of all, there is no set international standard by which countries can measure potential paternity policies; therefore nations have a wide range of statutes in place (O'Brien, 2013). Second, since many nations have adopted paternity leave policies within the past five years, little evaluation has been done on the overall range of policy. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, when paternity policy has been evaluated, it seems to create a feedback loop. Once policies have been implemented over a period of time, individual attitudes are changed, bolstering general beliefs in equity.

Compared to women, there have been very few changes in patterns of men's employment in the recent past. Some have suggested that policy which directly attempts to change the ways that men provide care could be the most influential in changing the dynamic of gender equity (Kershaw, 2006). Paternity policies, more so than any other efforts of the welfare state, are geared toward this very target (O'Brien, 2013).

For example, couples in Norway who experienced the designated month of care for fathers (often referred to as a "daddy's quota") reported fewer disagreements over housework than those who did not have a month of fathers providing care (Kotsadam & Finseraas, 2011). In contrast, a study conducted in the United Kingdom (Miller, 2011) found that fathers conveyed desires to participate in daily care activities, but by one-year follow-ups, fathers had reverted to traditional gender roles. These fathers, who did not engage in full-time childcare at any point in their children's lives, had relinquished many of their caregiving responsibilities to their spouses, citing work responsibilities that kept them from their initial plans, despite their best intentions.

Generally, countries distinguish between three types of leave policies for parents. The most common type of policy is aimed only at mothers. Maternity leave is compulsory in some nations for the weeks leading up to and immediately following childbirth. Though paternity leave is less common

than maternity leave, paternity leave policy is specifically designed for fathers. It is usually shorter in duration than maternity leave, and no examples were found in which fathers could take leave prior to childbirth. Most countries specified a restricted period following the birth in which the allocated days could be used. A third type of policy, parental leave, is provided in many countries for a longer duration, and often at a lower wage or as an unpaid leave from work. This leave was found, in general, to be available to either fathers or mothers, but because of the constellation of other policies, was found to be utilized much more frequently by women. Countries vary in the implementation of these policies such that leaves can sometimes be taken by both father and mother simultaneously, and sometimes a single parent can be home at a given time. This paper concentrates on specific types of paternity policies implemented in many countries. However, it also references parity with maternity leave policy and whether parental leave policy uptake is affected by paternity policies.

A Comparison of Paternity Leave Policies

Forty-four nations were evaluated based upon the typology. Selection of these countries was made to present diversity across welfare state types, as well as diversity across future research plans, which are discussed below. The countries of Moldova, Saudi Arabia, and Syria were added to the list to make certain that the instrument would be valid for countries with different forms of government.

Methods: Typology
The policies for all countries were collected from the TRAVAIL legal databases of the International Labour Organization (ILO, 2014). In cases in which a policy was listed as updated more than three years ago, was unavailable through this website, or when the text of the policy was written in an unclear fashion, the original laws were located from each nation's website to confirm the policy. Policies were coded by two reviewers for six countries. When complete agreement was achieved, the remaining countries were each coded by a single reviewer. Throughout the coding process, a

lower code is representative of a more gender-equitable policy and a higher code is representative of a country that does not consider or encourage fathers in parenting decisions.

Duration. Duration of paternity leave was coded to represent the number of days of leave from work guaranteed to fathers by the national government upon the birth of a child. For the purposes of this category, these days could be provided as paid or unpaid days. Countries were given a code of 1 if they provided greater than 10 days of leave for fathers, a code of 2 if they provided 8-10 days of leave, a code of 3 if they provided 2-7 days of leave, and a code of 4 if they provided less than two days of leave.

Parity. Parity of paternity leave was coded to represent whether paternity leave and maternity leave provided by a country were the same. As many countries distinguished between a parental leave for the care of children and paternity and/or maternity leave for the recovery from childbirth, the parity variable differentiates between the types of leave available to parents upon the birth of children. Countries were coded with a 1 if they offered the exact same leave to men and women in terms of both days and pay. A code of 2 designates countries that provided the same number of days and pay for a parental leave, but offered differences between what men were eligible for in terms of paternity leave and what women were eligible for in terms of maternity leave. A code of 3 gave the same in terms of paternity and maternity leave, but distinguished men and women differently for a parental leave after birth. Countries were coded with a 4 if they had different policies for men and women across the board.

Incentive-parental leave. This category was developed to determine if countries implemented any push factors to encourage men to participate in leaves and become involved in childcare. Incentives were coded primarily if they were used to push men toward parental leaves, as there did not appear to be any countries that incentivized paternity days separately. Countries were given a code of 1 if they required a man to take a compulsory leave upon the birth of a child (as some countries do with maternity leaves). A code of 2 was given for what is termed a "father quota," or a set period of time that does not interfere with the mother's time and provides extra

benefits to the family when a father utilizes the leave (Kotsadam & Finseraas, 2011). Countries that kept mothers' and fathers' leaves independent from each other were coded with a 3. Finally, in countries in which there was a shared leave, such that fathers taking leave would reduce the time available to mothers, as well as those countries that offered no parental leave at all, were given a code of 4.

Wage replacement. Wage replacement was coded purely for paternity leave policy. It should be noted that many of the nations examined had separate formulae for compensating individuals absent from work for paternity versus maternity or parental leave. Interestingly, since paternity leaves were frequently extremely short in duration, the wage replacement structure was often most beneficial for paternity leave as compared to any other form of leave. Countries were given a code of 1 if a father was guaranteed his full salary for the full duration of the paternity leave. Countries were coded with a 2 if fathers were given between 51 and 99 percent of their salary for the duration of their leave. There were four exceptions to this rule. Denmark, France, and Spain offered a full salary, but capped the salary level. Belgium provided three days fully compensated, then followed this with seven days compensated at 82 percent of a father's salary. A code of 3 was given if a country paid fathers at the national minimum wage during their paternity leave. Finally, countries were coded with a 4 if they offered no paternity leave or only an unpaid leave.

Job security. Fathers taking leaves have reason to believe that their employment positions may not be held for them. The degree to which countries explicitly stated that jobs must be held were coded as follows. A 1 was assigned to countries that stated that the same job must be held for those who took leave. A code of 2 was assigned to those countries that stated that, at a minimum, some job must be held for fathers who took leave. A code of 3 was assigned if a country stated that money could be provided in place of holding a job, and a code of 4 was assigned to countries that did not explicitly state that jobs would be held.

Qualifying conditions. Countries were also coded as to the conditions that individuals needed to meet in order to receive the paternity benefits described. For countries that identified

no qualifying conditions, a code of 1 was selected. Countries that required only citizenship or residence were given a code of 2. A code of 3 was assigned if benefits were only available to those who had paid into a social insurance system through employment for a specified amount of time, and a code of 4 was given to any country that stated that benefits were only available for individuals who had salaries under a certain level.

Limits on leave. Countries were also appraised on whether they placed limits on the number of leaves that fathers could take over the course of their lifetime. If countries allowed fathers to take as many leaves as they had children, they were coded with a 1. Countries who listed a limit that was greater than four were coded with a 2, limits between one and four were coded with a 3 and countries that either provided no leaves or allowed only one leave were coded with a 4.

Total. The total score across the previous categories was summed for each country, giving each nation a total score. Countries that ranged from a total score of 9 to 13 were grouped as the equitable policy nations. Those nations that ranged from 14 to 19 were categorized as having mid-range policy, and those countries with scores ranging from 21 to 28 were considered not equitable. While there was a clear demarcation between the mid-range category and the high score category, other data about the countries involved helped to inform the decision as to an appropriate dividing line to separate the most equitable nations. For example, with scores of 14, the policies of Colombia and Denmark were carefully examined. While each exhibited some important signs of valuing the contributions of fathers to families, Colombia did not provide any shared leave (ILO, 2014) and Denmark showed very low uptake of shared leave by fathers (Bloksgaard & Rostgaard, 2014), especially when compared to other Nordic countries. This evidence suggested a strong difference between these two countries and for example, France, where a range of family friendly policies combine with eleven days of paternity leave.

High Equity Countries

The countries found in our analysis that exhibit high gender equity provide generous paternity leave policies that

Table 1: Paternity Leave Typology

Country	Duration	Parity	Incentive-parental leave	Wage Replacement	Job Security	Qualifying Conditions	Limits on leave	Total
Code 1	> 10 days	Same	Compulsory	Salary replace (100%)	Same job	No conditions	No limit	Range (9 exhibits equity to 28 exhibits little equity)
Code 2	8-10 days	Same parent Diff pat/mat	Father quota	Salary replace (51-99%)	A job	Citizenship/ Residence	> 4 leaves	
Code 3	2-7 days	Same pat/mat Diff parent	Leaves independent	Minimum wage	$ in lieu of holding job	Paid into SI	1-4 leaves	
Code 4	< 2 days	All different	Only shared/ no par leave	Unpaid leave	No guarantee	Salary limits/no paternity	1 leave/ no paternity	
Australia	2	2	4	3	2	3	1	17
Austria	4	2	4	4	2	4	4	24
Belgium	3	2	3	2	1	3	1	15
Brazil	3	2	4	1	1	3	1	15
Canada	3	2	4	1	1	3	1	15
China	4	2	4	4	1	4	4	23
Colombia	2	2	4	1	1	3	1	14
Czech Republic	4	2	3	4	4	4	4	25
Denmark	1	2	4	2	3	1	1	14
Estonia	1	2	3	1	2	2	1	12
Finland	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	11
France	1	2	3	2	1	3	1	13
Germany	4	2	2	4	1	4	4	21
Greece	3	2	3	1	1	3	1	14

Guatemala	3	2	4	1	2	1	1	14
Hungary	3	2	4	1	1	3	1	15
Iceland	1	1	3	2	1	3	1	12
India	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	28
Ireland	4	2	3	4	1	4	4	22
Israel	4	2	4	4	4	4	4	26
Italy	4	2	2	1	1	4	1	15
Japan	4	2	4	4	2	4	4	24
Luxembourg	4	2	4	4	2	4	4	24
Mexico	4	4	4	4	1	4	4	25
Moldova	4	2	4	4	4	4	4	26
Netherlands	3	2	4	1	1	3	1	15
Norway	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	9
Peru	3	2	3	1	1	1	1	12
Poland	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	10
Romania	3	2	4	3	1	3	1	17
Russia	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	28
Saudi Arabia	4	2	4	1	4	3	1	19
Slovak Republic	4	2	4	3	1	4	4	22
Slovenia	1	2	3	2	1	3	1	13
South Africa	3	1	3	1	1	4	4	17
South Korea	3	2	3	1	1	1	1	12
Spain	1	2	3	2	1	3	1	13

(continued next page)

Table 1: Paternity Leave Typology, continued from previous page

Country	Duration	Parity	Incentive-parental leave	Wage Replacement	Job Security	Qualifying Conditions	Limits on leave	Total
Code 1	> 10 days	Same	Compulsory	Salary replace (100%)	Same job	No conditions	No limit	Range (9 exhibits equity to 28 exhibits little equity)
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Code 3	2-7 days	Same pat/mat Diff parent	Leaves independent	Minimum wage	$ in lieu of holding job	Paid into SI	1-4 leaves	
Code 4	< 2 days	All different	Only shared/ no par leave	Unpaid leave	No guarantee	Salary limits/no paternity	1 leave/ no paternity	
Sweden	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	9
Switzerland	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	28
Syria	4	2	4	4	4	4	4	26
Taiwan	3	2	3	1	1	1	1	12
United Kingdom	1	2	3	2	1	3	1	13
United States	4	1	3	4	1	4	4	21
Uruguay	3	2	3	1	4	3	1	17

emphasize parity and encourage use by fathers. These countries include Estonia, Finland, France, Iceland, Norway, Peru, Poland, Slovenia, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Taiwan, and the United Kingdom. It is not surprising that the typically progressive Scandinavian nations of Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden appear on this list. Policies in these countries encourage fathers to participate in leaves with financial bonuses and with longer leaves when both parents take leaves. In Sweden, for example, both parents receive a sum of money for each day that they share equally of leave. As Kotsadam and Finseraas (2011) find, cultural norms seem to support these policies. Fathers in these nations have relatively high levels of uptake for leaves, and take longer leaves on average than fathers in other countries (Brandth & Kvandt, 2014; Duvander 2014; Salmi & Lammi-Taskula, 2014).

In France (Fagnani, Boyer, & Thévenon, 2014), Poland (Michon, Kotowska, & Kurowska, 2014), Slovenia (Stropnik, 2014), Spain (Escobedo, Meil, & Lapuerta, 2014), and the United Kingdom (O'Brien, Koslowski, & Daly, 2014), fathers took advantage of the very generous paternity policies at high rates as well. These well-paid, relatively long leaves were eleven to fifteen days in duration. In contrast, though, to the Scandinavian countries on this list, the parental leaves in these countries were shared with mothers, and not incentivized for fathers. In these countries, as well as in Estonia (Pall & Karu 2014), where fathers enjoy a fourteen day paternity leave, but no parental leave, fathers tended to take paternity leave only.

Leaves in Peru (four days), South Korea (three days), and Taiwan (three days) were relatively short for the high equity countries, but still high across nations overall. A paucity of data was available about the remainder of the policies in these nations, but Peru offers no parental leave, South Korea a shared parental leave with only minimal pay, and Taiwan offers an independent but unpaid leave (ILO, 2014).

Midrange Countries

These countries take steps to encourage fathers' involvement, but did not provide as much motivation as the first set of countries. Leaves were either shorter, or lower in pay than the previous set of countries. Australia (10 days), Colombia

(8 days), and Denmark (14 days), for example, provide long leaves, but Australia provides only minimum wage as reimbursement. Colombia, on the other hand, specifies workers have to pay into the social security system for a significant time to receive benefits (ILO, 2014). Denmark provides a full salary, but only if a person's earnings are below a figure about equal to $36,000 (USD) per year, the maximum benefit amount paid to an individual (Bloksgaard & Rostgaard, 2014). None of these countries incentivize leaves for fathers. Australia has a shared unpaid leave, while Colombia has no parental leave available. Uptake data for Australia showed that less than half of fathers took the paternity leave, and those who did often used less than the two weeks offered (Whitehouse, Baird, Alexander, & Brennan, 2014). In Denmark, only about a quarter of the fathers took paternity leave. No uptake data were available for Colombia or Saudi Arabia (Bloksgaard & Rostgaard, 2014; ILO, 2014).

Most of the countries in this category offered between two to five days of paternity leave, including Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Greece, Guatemala, Hungary, Netherlands, Romania, South Africa, and Uruguay (ILO, 2014). Saudi Arabia offered the shortest paternity leave, at only one day in duration, with no supplemental parental leave (The World Bank Group, 2015, p. 6). Some of these countries, notably Belgium, Hungary and Greece, offered flexible work schedules to both mothers and fathers to help balance work and family. Belgium is the only one of these countries to offer an independent, paid leave (Merla & Deven, 2014). Both Greece and the Netherlands offer independent, unpaid leaves (ILO, 2014).

Hungary offers a number of different options for parents to collect allowances to help with child support, whether working or not. Options, though, are shared by the family and not particularly aimed at fathers staying at home, though some might encourage mothers to work (Korintus & Gábos, 2014). Romania has a well-paid shared leave, but evidence shows that it is primarily mothers who collect the funds. Canada's policies differ depending on the province or territory, but federal policy is a shared, unpaid leave (Doucet, Lero, McKay, & Tremblay, 2014). There are no parental leaves offered in Brazil, Guatemala, South Africa, or Uruguay (Moss, 2014, pp. 19-21).

Non-equity Countries

Some countries offered minimal to no paternity leave, and if offered, parental leave is poorly incentivized. Not surprisingly, when these countries offer parental leave, it is rarely the fathers who take the leaves, placing the full burden of childcare upon the mother. In fact, in Israel, unused portions of maternity leave can only be used by fathers if a mother signs over a portion officially, or in the case of her death. Not surprisingly, the majority of the countries in this category had no parental leave, or a leave that was shared with mothers (Moss, 2014, pp. 19-21).

China (ILO, 2014), India (Moss, 2014, pp. 13-14), Mexico (Moss, 2014, pp. 13-14), Switzerland (Moss, 2014, pp. 13-14) and Syria (The World Bank Group, 2015) did not provide any paternity or parental leaves. If fathers want to spend time away from work when their children are born in these countries, they need to have vacation time available.

In the countries of Austria, the Czech Republic, Germany, Israel, Luxembourg, Moldova, Russia, and the Slovak Republic, there is not a paternity leave, but there is shared parental leave. In all of these countries, the nature of the leave lends itself well to mothers taking the vast majority of time (Gornick & Meyers, 2008). The leaves are paid at a minimal rate, not related to prior salary, and would be unlikely to meet the needs of the primary wage earner of the family. Moreover, since mothers are offered maternity leaves, they are more likely to continue their separation from the workplace than to switch with a partner after a short leave, especially given cultural norms surrounding men and childcare (ILO, 2014; Moss, 2014, pp. 18-21).

Ireland, Japan, and the United States offer no paternity leave, but offer independent leaves that do not draw from the mother's leave. Italy offers one day of fully paid paternity leave, but this was just introduced in 2013 (Addabbo, Giovannini, & Mazzucchelli, 2014). Parental leaves in Ireland (Drew, 2014) and in the United States (Gabel, Waldfogel, & Haas, 2014) are unpaid, while in Italy (Addabbo, Giovannini, & Mazzucchelli, 2014), parents receive thirty percent of their salary while on parental leave, and in Japan (Nakazato & Nishimura, 2014) parents receive forty percent of their salary. Fathers in these

nations do not take leave at high levels upon the birth of their children.

Discussion

This comparative study addressed the diversity with which governments support families, in particular, fathers and their children. The study first examined the unique attributes of paternity leaves across a wide range of countries, and then compared how these paternity leaves fit into a constellation of legislation aimed at addressing the needs of working families. With equity at the center of concerns around responsibility for care work, it is important to place even the most comprehensive paternity leave policies in the context of parity with programs offered to mothers. This approach allows for an understanding of the orientation toward fathers of each country examined, though true motivations must be sought through direct investigation of those who created these policies.

It is not surprising that findings showed few similarities with the clustering of welfare regimes originally proposed by Esping-Andersen (1990). In the twenty-five years since publication of his conceptualization, many of the critiques of this seminal work have centered around the ways in which this model insufficiently accounts for differences in the ways families are formed and cared for (e.g., Orloff, 2009). While many of the social democratic countries (exemplified by Scandinavian countries in Esping-Andersen's model) remained clustered together due to the high value placed on equity within these nations, countries like Denmark did not score highly based on this typology. Data on uptake seemed to support this, suggesting that Denmark lagged behind other Scandinavian countries in terms of fathers taking leaves, and in terms of the cultural values of involved fatherhood (Bloksgaard & Rostgaard, 2014).

In a second example, Esping-Andersen identified France as a conservative welfare state. According to this typology, the extremely generous leave afforded to fathers along with high wage replacement outweighed the lack of parity to mothers in France to place this nation among the highest equity nations. Nonetheless, fathers in France were found to take their ten day leave and return to work, providing little residual help in the

care of children according to prior studies (Fagnani et al., 2014). Since France was originally classified, however, significant changes have been made to organization of its welfare state. Legislation has been passed to establish a shorter work week, in part motivated by a desire to increase the total number of jobs available. Thus, in France there is greater parity between women who have more access to part-time jobs and men who work shorter weeks (Fagnani & Letablier, 2004).

Table 2: Countries Grouped by Type

Equity Countries	Midrange Countries	Non-Equity Countries
(Score 9-13) All have at least 3 days of paternity leave	(Score 14-19)	(Score 21-28) All have at less than 2 days of paternity leave
Estonia	Australia	Austria
Finland	Belgium	China
France	Brazil	Czech Republic
Iceland	Canada	Germany
Norway	Colombia	India
Peru	Denmark	Ireland
Poland	Greece	Israel
Slovenia	Guatemala	Japan
South Korea	Hungary	Luxembourg
Spain	Italy	Mexico
Sweden	Netherlands	Moldova
Taiwan	Romania	Russia
United Kingdom	Saudi Arabia	Slovak Republic
	South Africa	Switzerland
	Uruguay	Syria
		United States

Findings regarding France stood in stark contrast, for example, to Germany. In Esping Andersen's study, these two countries shared much in common. In our research on paternity leaves, though, Germany lags far behind France in terms of equity. Germany offers no paternity leave and only offers a shared parental leave, to which mothers often enjoy a stronger claim. Recent reforms have included the addition of a two

month leave extension for families in which fathers take part in the parental leave. This has increased the number of fathers who engage in parental leaves significantly (Blum & Erler, 2014). Nonetheless, the low wage reimbursement for this leave acts as a deterrent.

Classified as a liberal country, the United States' corresponding minimal policies and lack of federal involvement in paternity leaves led to classification as a non-equity country, despite the complete parity between mothers and fathers. Despite the government's lack of involvement to this date, recent trends suggest growing interest in paternity leave within this country. A summit on working families was held in 2014 in which the U.S. President and U.S. Secretary of Labor both spoke about parental leave policy. At this summit, initiatives to fund feasibility studies on the introduction of state-level leave policy were introduced (The White House, 2014). In addition, research shows that younger fathers, particularly those of the millennial generation, value paid paternity leave and may be more likely to choose employers who share these values (Harrington et al., 2014). With new emphasis on developing paternity leave policy, this classification could soon change.

While Sainsbury (1999) suggests that gender-based policy follows a different regime, analysis suggests that care-related policy follows several different typologies. The categorization of this particular typology did not fit perfectly with Sainsbury's (1999) categorization of childcare policy, eldercare policy, maternity policy, or other gendered workplace legislation. This suggests that paternity leave policy stands independent from other policies. This research provides additional evidence that gender-based policy falls outside the realm of other issues welfare regimes tackle, and that these gender-based issues do not necessarily follow one consistent message. A large number of the paternity policies studied were implemented within the past two years, and could potentially be modified as countries respond to utilization data and other feedback from citizens. This is in part why uptake data from fathers are not available from all countries. It is also important to note that within this typology two weeks of paid leave was considered as a comparatively generous policy. This further highlights the low

standards for equitable policy across nations.

This typology does more than comment on welfare regimes and expectations for father involvement in carework. This typology offers a tool for future research on the ways in which policy that promotes equity in families could affect family well-being in other ways. Future studies may employ this typology to compare income, health, and family balance across countries with differing paternity leave policies. By focusing on which types of countries value equity most strongly, in the future we hope to determine if equity-related policy influences other aspects of family well-being.

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The Cost of Free Assistance: Why Low-Income Individuals Do Not Access Food Pantries

KELLEY FONG

Department of Sociology
Harvard University

RACHEL A. WRIGHT

Sacred Heart Community Service

CHRISTOPHER WIMER

Columbia Population Research Center

Non-governmental free food assistance is available to many low-income Americans through food pantries. However, most do not use this assistance, even though it can be worth over $2,000 per year. Survey research suggests concrete barriers, such as lack of information, account for non-use. In contrast, qualitative studies focus on the role of cultural factors, such as stigma. Drawing on interviews with 53 low-income individuals in San Francisco who did not use food pantries, we reconcile these findings by illustrating how the two types of barriers are connected. Reasons for non-use such as need, information, long lines, and food quality were rooted in respondents' subjective understandings of those for whom the service was intended, those perceived to use the service, and the service's respect for the community. Increasing non-profit service utilization requires attention to how potential users relate seemingly objective barriers to subjective interpretations.

Key words: *poverty, food pantries, food assistance, service use, nonprofits*

Hunger is a substantial problem in the United States. More

than one in seven households in the country is "food insecure," meaning that the household had difficulty providing food for all of its members at some time during the year due to a lack of resources. Levels of food insecurity rose by approximately 30% between 2007 and 2012 (Coleman-Jensen, Nord, & Singh, 2013). Food assistance programs aim to combat hunger and food insecurity. In addition to government food assistance, such as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP, previously food stamps), nonprofit food assistance forms a critical part of the social safety net by distributing food directly to people who choose to access it. This nonprofit assistance includes local food pantries, typically supplied by central warehouses known as food banks, which distribute groceries at churches, community centers, and other neighborhood sites.

Food pantries are a ubiquitous, yet underutilized source of food for households in need. Reflecting the increasing role of local nonprofits in social service provision, food pantries emerged in the 1980s to play a key role in providing food assistance, following the reduction of government food benefits during the Reagan administration (Daponte & Bade, 2006). Nearly 34,000 food pantries operate nationwide (Tiehen, 2002), and increasing numbers of people are turning to food pantries for assistance (U.S. Conference of Mayors, 2012; Weinfield et al., 2014). For low-income households struggling to put food on the table, this assistance might seem like a clear benefit, yet most in this situation do not avail themselves of it. According to a recent national study by Nord, Andrews, and Carlson (2006), 78% of food-insecure households, and 71% of those with very low food security, did not receive food from a food pantry. Even among food-insecure households that knew of a food pantry, 67% did not use it.

As the value of this free food assistance can exceed $2,000 a year, food pantry non-use is a puzzle with serious policy and social welfare implications. Understanding why individuals decline local nonprofit assistance such as food pantries despite financial need is critical to serving people via the increasingly privatized and localized social safety net (Allard, 2009).

This article uses qualitative interview data from 53 low-income non-users of food pantries to investigate why some low-income households do not utilize free food assistance in

their communities. We extend previous research on nonprofit service use, and food pantry use more specifically. Survey research finds that non-users typically say they do not need food pantry services, do not know about it, or cannot physically access it. In contrast, qualitative research focuses on the stigma non-users associate with nonprofit services. Our study resolves this apparent contradiction by highlighting how subjective, cultural understandings shape respondents' conceptions of concrete, "objective" impediments.

Conceptualizing Non-use of Nonprofit Food Assistance

Despite the availability of government and nonprofit food assistance, many needy people do not use it. Although SNAP take-up rates have increased in recent years, more than one-fifth of those eligible in fiscal year 2011 did not receive benefits (Cunnyngham, 2014). Even of those receiving SNAP in the previous year, 52% continue to be food insecure (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2013). Moreover, when facing hardship, most households receive little to no assistance from nonprofits (Guo, 2010; Wu & Eamon, 2007). Although calculating a precise take-up rate of nonprofit assistance is difficult, there exists a population in need that is not receiving services. Why not?

Most research focuses on government programs such as SNAP (Blank & Ruggles, 1996; Issar, 2010; Ratcliffe, McKernan, & Finegold, 2008), but nonprofit assistance is different in ways that likely impact reasons for non-use. First, research on government assistance programs, such as SNAP, Medicaid, and childcare subsidies, focuses on the transaction costs of complex eligibility requirements, paperwork, and administrative hassles (Coe, 1983; Currie, 2006; Daponte, Sanders, & Taylor, 1999; Gordon, Kaestner, Korenman, & Abner, 2011; Martin, Cook, Rogers, & Joseph, 2003; Remler & Glied, 2003; Shlay, Weinraub, Harmon, & Tran, 2004). These barriers are typically absent or much reduced in nonprofit assistance like food pantries. Additionally, unlike SNAP, which gives people a near-cash benefit to be utilized at grocery stores alongside those not using assistance, nonprofit assistance provides food that users must pick up at a particular place and time. Therefore, perceptions of the space and its associated clientele may be more central in decision-making around nonprofit assistance.

Survey research focuses primarily on logistical barriers to government and nonprofit food assistance, such as reported lack of need for food; lack of information or knowledge about assistance; and lack of access, including transportation issues (Coe 1983; Currie, 2006; Daponte et al., 1998; Daponte et al., 1999; Duffy et al., 2002; Martin et al., 2003). However, this research does not consider the meaning of these barriers to potential service users. For example, what constitutes lack of need, and how do individuals define those in need as opposed to not in need? We argue that concrete, seemingly objective barriers are rooted in subjective judgments. Thus, a full understanding of these barriers must take into account how individuals define and construct these concepts. As Kissane's (2003, 2012) research shows, perceptions of need for social services may be subjective, anchored by self-perceptions, perceptions of users, and one's understanding of the purpose of private assistance.

Qualitative research can help us probe the subjective meanings attached to concrete barriers. Although little research focuses specifically on food pantry utilization, qualitative research on service use finds that potential users feel using social services is stigmatizing, humiliating, and shameful (Dodds, Ahlulwalie, & Baligh, 1996; Edin & Lein, 1997; Fothergill, 2003; Kissane, 2003, 2012; Sherman, 2013). Low-income individuals want to distance themselves from service users, whom they view as dependent and needy. This work largely focuses on how nonprofit use is stigmatized due to perceptions that it violates broader American cultural ideals of self-sufficiency and independence. Some research shows how stigma also relates to the context and experience of social services. A survey of patients at community health centers in 10 states found an association between the length of time individuals waited at the welfare office and feelings that the welfare office treats people with disrespect (Stuber & Schlesinger, 2006). Currie (2006) suggests that lengthy applications requesting personal information may increase stigma associated with means-tested government programs. Such relationships between stigma and program context should be explored as they relate to nonprofit services.

As the qualitative research suggests, cultural attitudes about service use are important to understanding

decision-making. Yet this diverges from survey research, which finds concrete barriers more commonly reported than stigma (respondents' reports of embarrassment, pride, or discomfort). How can these seemingly contradictory findings be reconciled? We contend that the two types of barriers coexist simultaneously and that fully understanding reasons for non-use requires examining how symbolic understandings and concrete barriers reinforce one another. Stigma is not only an additional "cost" to be considered separately alongside others, such as learning about the program, but interacts with these other costs and barriers to shape non-use.

Previous research suggests that aspects of nonprofit service provision often considered concrete barriers are evaluated subjectively by potential users in ways that shape decisions about service use. Exploring the cultural construction of a specific concrete barrier, Kissane (2010) shows how a nonprofit's location is not solely an objective obstacle for potential users, reflecting physical distance or ability to travel to the organization. Rather, potential users interpret the barrier of location through judgments about neighborhood safety and the people who live there, uncovering the subjective understandings underlying respondents' conceptions of place. Our study applies this approach to other supposedly concrete barriers in the context of local food pantries, in order to better understand how cultural constructions shape these barriers.

Other research shows how potential users understand their own need relative to those they feel are needier, and, in doing so, assert their identity as self-sufficient, moral individuals (Kissane, 2012). Specifically relating to food pantries, SNAP recipients interviewed said they avoided food pantries because others needed the food more (Edin et al., 2013). Similarly, in interviews with 371 household heads in Toronto, 12% of food pantry non-users distanced themselves from food pantry users, seeing food pantries as intended for other groups, such as homeless and unemployed individuals; of those who said they did not need the food, some described their level of need as not severe enough to warrant food pantry use (Loopstra & Tarasuk, 2012). This research points to the role of potential users' perceptions of food pantry users in decision-making around accessing assistance.

We build on this work to focus in depth on the relationship between concrete barriers and cultural understandings across several concrete barriers to food pantry use identified by non-users, utilizing in-depth interviews focused specifically on food pantry non-use. Examining how these barriers relate to one another reconciles findings from survey and qualitative research regarding the role of cultural factors in decision-making about accepting assistance. Moreover, it provides insight into how seemingly concrete barriers are culturally constructed, as well as how feelings of stigma may be shaped by specific features of the nonprofit service experience.

Data and Methods

We interviewed 53 low-income individuals in San Francisco, California. Because we wanted to understand non-use for those with direct access to a pantry operating within their community, as well as non-use more generally, we recruited from three different target populations: low-income, primarily unemployed individuals from across the city; residents of a public housing project; and parents of children at an elementary school where nearly 90 percent of children qualify for free or reduced lunch. We selected the housing project and school purposively based on the San Francisco Food Bank's (SFFB's) perception of low utilization rates of pantries in those communities relative to the "objective" need in the population. We recruited individuals from across the city through a brief survey posted on a classified ads website frequently used by unemployed and underemployed individuals in San Francisco. We recruited respondents from the housing project in person at a community event and through door-to-door outreach. At the elementary school, we recruited respondents at a community event, through a flyer sent home to parents with children at the school, and through an outreach coordinator at a local health clinic.

We wanted to understand non-use among low-income individuals experiencing financial difficulty that might lead to food insecurity. Food pantries generally do not have eligibility requirements for people utilizing services except, in some cases, proof of address in the area where services are provided.

SFFB uses income below 185% of the federal poverty level as a basic guideline indicating need, though pantries do not check income or screen people based on this criterion. Our sample includes 53 respondents (18 recruited from the online survey, 17 recruited from the housing project, and 18 recruited from the school). All reported an income below 185% of the federal poverty level for households of their size, and all reported experiencing recent financial hardships but did not avail themselves of food pantry assistance. One-third (18 respondents) had recently skipped a meal or eaten less for financial reasons, and two-thirds (35 respondents) had experienced financial troubles in the past six months such that they had been unable to make ends meet.

Thus, food pantries could provide a substantial benefit for these respondents. SFFB, drawing on an Independent Auditors' Report provided to Feeding America, estimated the value of food pantry benefits at approximately $40 per week. This comes to over $2,000 per year if a household used the food pantry weekly. For households under 185% of the federal poverty line, this is approximately equivalent to the median food spending for one household member (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2013), and approximately one-fifth of the median income of our sample of respondents.

Table 1 provides demographic information about all respondents. Although this sample is not necessarily generalizable to all low-income non-users experiencing financial difficulty or food insecurity, it represents a broad assortment of non-users who vary along a number of key characteristics, such as age and number of children.

Interviews were conducted between November 2011 and May 2012 and typically lasted about 45 minutes. We conducted most interviews in public locations, including cafes, libraries, fast food restaurants, and local organizations. We audio-recorded all but two interviews with the respondents' permission. In non-recorded cases, we took extensive notes during and immediately following the interviews.

In interviews, we asked respondents about their household's eating habits, as well as their general financial situation and what they did when they encountered financial difficulties. The latter part of the interview focused specifically on

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

	n=53	%
Annual household income		
Less than $10,000	24	45
$10,000 - $20,000	16	30
$20,000 - $30,000	5	9
$30,000 - $40,000	1	2
$40,000 - $50,000	1	2
Missing	6	11
Female	39	74
Race or ethnicity		
White non-Hispanic	12	23
Black non-Hispanic	21	40
Hispanic	11	21
Asian	2	4
Other/Multiple races	4	8
Missing	3	6
Number of children in household		
0	20	38
1 or 2	19	36
3 or more	8	15
Missing	6	11
Age		
22-30	18	34
31-40	7	13
41-50	7	13
50-64	12	23
65 and over	3	6
Missing	6	11
Household benefits receipt in the previous six months		
SNAP	18	34
Women, Infants, and Children	11	21
Subsidized housing	27	51
Subsidized healthcare	29	55
Subsidized childcare	8	15
Unemployment benefits	11	21
Temporary Assistance to Needy Families or General Assistance	9	17
Supplemental Security Income	19	36

food pantries. We asked open-ended questions about respondents' thoughts about food pantries: what they knew about them, any experiences they had, their perceptions of

accessibility, and their perceptions of food pantry clientele. Qualitative interviews enabled us to probe how respondents constructed particular barriers.

After transcription, we read each interview multiple times and coded using Dedoose, a qualitative data analysis program, for both theorized themes, such as lack of knowledge, and emergent themes, such as the emotional toll of use. Through this analysis, we identified the most prevalent barriers to use. We then reread the transcripts to analyze which barriers were mentioned by which respondents and how they were described. By "concrete barriers," we mean barriers rooted in supposedly objective observations about one's relationship with the pantry, including lack of information, physical or health challenges, scheduling issues, long lines, and poor quality food. (As we discuss below, such observations are not purely objective, but interpreted subjectively.) "Cultural barriers," on the other hand, refer to barriers emerging from symbolic understandings and subjective meaning-making, including a sense that the pantry was intended for others; racial tensions; disorganization or drama; emotional toll; staff issues such as favoritism; and a sense that people take advantage of the service.

Results

Consistent with survey research, almost all respondents discussed concrete barriers that kept them from using food pantries. All but two respondents (96%) mentioned one of the following barriers: a lack of need (42%), a lack of information (47%), physical or health challenges (11%), timing issues (25%), long lines (40%), and poor quality food (32%). Most mentioned more than one of these barriers, and none stood out as a predominant reason for non-use. Despite the ubiquitous reporting of concrete barriers, an analysis that rests there is incomplete. In our interviews, concrete and cultural considerations together emerged as salient. We argue that as these concepts are connected, they should not be considered in isolation. In eight cases (15%), concrete barriers alone, such as schedule conflicts, directly impacted decision-making. For others, however, whether concrete barriers impeded

utilization was modified by cultural interpretations of the barriers.

We focus on three ways in which concrete barriers interacted with subjective beliefs. First, perceptions that food pantries were meant to serve those with greater need shaped how non-users thought about their own need and their inclinations to seek out information about the pantry. Second, concerns about long lines were about more than one's time or ability to stand in line, but about distaste for certain racial groups, behavior, and values associated with those in line. Finally, for some respondents, negative comments about the food at the pantry indicated not only distaste for the food, but also a threat to their sense of self-respect. Taken together, respondents' articulation of concrete barriers formed part of a larger project of distancing themselves from perceived pantry clients and maintaining self-respect.

Relative Need and Conditional Information-Seeking

Non-users frequently said they did not need the food and/or did not know about the pantry. However, no respondent assessed her "need" for food pantry services according to objective markers, such as income, the gap between food expenses and available resources, or food insecurity standards. Underscoring the subjectivity and ambiguity in assessing need for food assistance services (Lipsky & Smith, 1989; Pimpare, 2009), this complicates the concept of "need" as something individuals construct relative to their perceptions and definitions of those for whom the food pantry is intended. Despite their own financial hardship and food insecurity, respondents felt the food pantry was intended for those even needier. Believing it would be inappropriate to utilize food pantry services given their resources, abilities, and personal situations, they felt a moral imperative to abstain. For some, this perception of need affected their inclination to seek information. Barriers often taken at face value—lack of need and lack of information—in fact signify subjective understandings of those for whom assistance is intended.

When discussing the intended clientele for food pantries, respondents invoked vulnerable populations seen as unable to take care of or help themselves, in situations different from

their own. Seven respondents talked about children and adults who had the responsibility of caring for many children. Other respondents distinguished themselves from those who were unable to work or could not find work. Sarah, a 29-year-old woman renting a room from another family, referred to another population in special need: "Many times I see the mentally ill that are homeless… They couldn't operate and function. The pantry is made for them." Sarah did not identify with those whom the pantry is "made for," saying, "I know that I've got people [who could help me], but I also know that there are some people out there that have nobody and have nothing. The pantry's made for them."

When respondents discussed need as a barrier to pantry use, they did not talk about food security, but instead emphasized their own lack of severe food insecurity compared with people they perceived as needing the food pantry. As Ned, a white man in his 50s, said:

> My sister-in-law says, "Well, go down to the food bank." I'm thinking to myself, I don't really have to. There's a lot of people that are in worse strikes than I am… There are people out there much worse off than I am, than we are.

Ned had been unemployed for nearly a year and his wife was also unemployed and receiving disability benefits. He repeatedly used the interview to solicit employment prospects and was under considerable financial distress, yet he declined to consider food pantry assistance because others were "worse off."

Miriam, a 27-year-old white woman living with her parents and her two children, also attributed her non-use to lack of need, even though she frequently skipped meals to save money and ensure that her children were fed. Miriam said she would go to a food pantry "if I was in a place where I didn't have anything to feed my kids." Seeing the food pantry as intended for those with nothing, she did not identify with that dire level of need, even though she said she was "struggling." By setting such stark restrictions on the appropriate level of need for utilizing a food pantry, respondents closed off the possibility of self-identifying as potential food pantry users.

Understanding food pantries as intended for those needier than and/or different from themselves, some respondents did not conceive of the food pantry as a potential option. As mentioned above, lack of specific information about a local food pantry constituted a major barrier to pantry use in our sample, consistent with the literature. However, lack of such information was conditional. If low-income individuals do not see themselves as "pantry users," they may not think to seek out the information. As all respondents knew about the existence of food pantries in the abstract, the barrier of lack of knowledge—mentioned by almost half of respondents as a deterrent—was often rooted in the fact that respondents did not think such knowledge was relevant to them.

For example, Paula, a 33-year-old woman living with three roommates, said she was "really broke" two months prior to the interview and had trouble covering her expenses. Although she did not know where any food pantries were, she said she could search online. She had heard about food pantries, but did not have specific information because she did not perceive herself as a potential user: "There are some people that are like, you know, you can get free food over there. It doesn't always register. It's just like, oh, that's nice. I don't really think about it because I'm not that hungry." Paula's lack of information was shaped by perceptions about food pantry clientele as different from herself, experiencing a level of hardship beyond her own.

Similarly, June, a 31-year-old, unemployed white woman, attributed her lack of knowledge to her own resistance to identifying as a food pantry client. When asked if she knew of any food pantries nearby, she said:

> No, and that's just my own [not searching]… I probably qualify for something like food stamps or food pantries for a couple years now, but I feel like, I don't know. So far it's like I've had the ability to go work, so it's like I don't feel like I'm in a position to take stuff for free.

Even though she is currently unemployed, she has the ability to work—a characteristic that she felt distinguished her from those "in a position" to use food pantry services.

Distinctions based on need not only led respondents not to identify with food pantry users, but also to abstain based on moral judgments, as in Kissane (2012). Because they felt the food was intended for those in greater need, it would be immoral for them to partake. June, in the excerpt above, linked her inclination to seek out information about food pantries to her sense that she ought to abstain. Despite material hardship and food insecurity, respondents did not identify as needy relative to others in the community. This led them to conclude that food pantries were not for people like them, and, often, to choose not to seek information or use a pantry. Thus, although lack of need and information may seem like objective barriers, subjective definitions of the needy figure prominently in decisions about non-use.

Behavioral and Racial Difference in Long Lines

Negative comments about the pantry's long lines—cited by two-fifths of respondents—and other perceptions of the food pantry experience often reflected judgments about pantry users' behavioral and racial differences. Respondents who drew on direct experiences observing food pantry lines often associated the racial "others" they saw in line with uncouth and immoral behavior that they contrasted to their own. Melvin, a 59-year-old black man living with his sister and his three grandchildren, described a recent experience:

> It's about a month ago. I was gonna use [the pantry]—we needed some bread. We were low on funds. I thought about using one of the what they call food banks or one of the things like that, but when I approached the line, it was so many Asians out there that would outnumber us, no offense, I'm not prejudiced or nothing, I just couldn't do it … It's just, God, the hours would have killed me to stand out there.

Alongside Melvin's perception of the long line as a concrete "cost" in terms of his time, Melvin's distaste also related to his observation of food pantry patrons as a group of "others." Although Asians were not the only people to use the pantry, many non-Asian respondents focused on this characteristic with which they did not identify.

Connected to but also beyond issues of race, respondents distanced themselves from the disorderly behavior they associated with food pantry users, referencing the pushing and rudeness they remembered from visits years ago. Janet, a single mother of three, said:

> I got discouraged because it's like there'd just be so many people like—well the Asian people and they come, you know what I'm saying. They cut in line. They had a friend hold their spot. Then they bring five people in front of you. You know, it's just frustrating. Then you've got to wait three hours sometimes. It's like, I mean, it was so frustrating, I just said, I can't do it. I mean, even though it is free food, you know what I'm saying, vegetables and whatever and stuff but I was like my sanity. You know, I mean, they're just like, just cutting and they're pushing and they're coughing all over you, ooh, I'm like, don't get me wrong, I'm not prejudice in any kind of way, you know what I'm saying.

Janet's distaste for the line reflected frustrations with the rude behavior of those in the line. The economic cost of her time in line combined with signals of racial difference and undesirable behavior to deter food pantry use.

Behavioral and racial distinctions sometimes became moral distinctions. As discussed above, respondents saw the food pantry as intended for those in the greatest need. Thus, to use the pantry otherwise was an abuse of the system, which conflicted with respondents' senses of morality. Five respondents drew distinctions between the historically black community the pantry was intended to serve and the Asian users who frequented it. Arlene, a 60-year-old black woman living with her two nieces, attributed the long lines at the food pantry to people from outside the neighborhood and labeled such behavior "greedy and disrespectful":

> The line is around four corners. No, and see I get an attitude. I start having panic attacks when I see them people, and I'm not racist, I'm not prejudice. It's just that's greediness… This is our community. This is our

> neighborhood. This is where kids go to school, church, the whole nine yards. Why should we come after a person that don't live in our neighborhood?

In San Francisco, many local pantries are supposed to serve people who live within certain zip codes, so associating someone with a different community suggested they were cheating the system. Our data cannot confirm that individuals who were not residents of the community were accessing or monopolizing services. Nevertheless, when explaining why they did not use the pantry, some respondents linked long lines at the pantry to perceptions that those in line were taking advantage of the system.

Although Asians were the primary racial group mentioned by respondents, racial and behavioral distinctions were not limited to this group. Nan, an Asian mother living with her husband and two children in the housing project, said people at the food pantry lack "a good education," so she worried about arguments leading to violence. She commented that the people in her neighborhood who use the pantry are "really different," noting their "drug problem[s]" and illegal behavior. These behavioral differences she perceived deterred her from accessing the pantry.

Similarly, Bettina, a Hispanic mother of four, referred to the people in line as "crack heads," "dirty," and drug users. She also drew racial distinctions when discussing the lines: "To be honest, you know why I don't go? [Interviewer: Why?] Because first thing in the morning it's a crowd in there, okay? Because they're from here, they're black, it's like they barge in." For Bettina, the crowd reflected broader symbolic issues of racial and behavioral difference.

Terrence, a 24-year-old black man who had barely eaten the day of his interview because of lack of money, said he felt "overwhelmed" by the "huge crowds" of rude, disrespectful Asian patrons whom he all but accused of using the pantry in an immoral manner:

> [I]t's bad enough you're standin' out there in the line and stuff like that because you need that support. The last thing you wanna have to deal with is the people in line that aren't as appreciative as you are about the

> stuff and they're not there for the same reasons that
> you are there for the stuff. You're there to get the things
> so that you can cook 'em and that you can eat 'em and
> that you can, ya know, enjoy 'em and that they can help
> you survive and get by and make ends meet.

As these comments suggest, respondents' understandings of who is in the line, how they behave, and why they are there are central to their conception of the line as a barrier. Non-users perceived users as unruly and greedy, in contrast to their own identities as polite and restrained. Other studies may have attributed this kind of response to stigma or to concrete barriers like the inconvenience of long lines, but we show how the two are connected. Lines and crowds, often interpreted in the literature as a physical barrier or an economic cost, constituted a threat to personal identity that influenced the decision not to use the pantry.

Food Quality and Respect

For some respondents, concrete concerns about the food pantry indicated a sense of disrespect. Specifically, comments about poor food quality—mentioned by about one-third of respondents—often represented more than respondents' feelings about the food itself. For some respondents, this perceived poor quality contributed to the low sense of self-worth associated with going to the food pantry and indicated a lack of respect on the part of the food pantry. Drawing on what she had seen from friends who frequented the pantry, Mary, a 52-year-old white woman living by herself, contrasted "the same stupid government cheese and beans and potatoes" and food "from the bottom of the barrel" at her local food pantry with the "good" and "real" food at another food pantry that no longer operated. She saw the type and quality of food offered as second-class, which reinforced her sense that going to the food pantry was akin to receiving government handouts rather than shopping for "real" food.

Bettina found the food on offer dehumanizing. When she moved to the housing project nine years earlier, she went with a friend once: "[T]hey gave me some roast beef that was expired … I mean how come you gonna give away to the community food that is expired?... I mean come on? Are these

community pet animal? Not even the animal should eat something bad." For Bettina, who said earlier in the interview that utilizing the food pantry would be "lowering" herself, accepting this poor quality food was to lose some basic human dignity. She also interpreted the food quality as indicative of the pantry's preferences and respect for her, commenting that food pantry volunteers give better food to "their own people … the best for the blacks and less for Latinos."

Carol, a 58-year-old black woman, contrasted the food offered—"nothin' but some vegetables or some eggs"—with what the food pantry provided years ago, when she volunteered there:

> When we did it—me and [another woman]—we made sure that the community had what they wanted… During those times we gave away water—you know the water filters—and bleach, soap powder, shampoo, conditioner … pastrami, salami—we're talkin' about deli meat—all different types of canned goods, not like what they give away over here.

After noting that the food at the food pantry was not "quality" or "fresh," she said, "I'm sayin' serve the community a little bit better. If they wanna help 'em, help 'em a little bit better than that." Thus, the type and quality of food at the food pantry dissuaded respondents not only because of the food itself, but because of the statement such low-quality food made about their position in society and the respect they felt from service providers. Declining the food was part of an effort to maintain their sense of self-worth and self-respect.

Implications for Practice

Although some food pantries may be overwhelmed by demand for assistance, they are not reaching a population of eligible and food-insecure people, for reasons other than resource capacity. Our findings illustrate how understanding the perceptions of potential users could help providers improve service delivery to reach more individuals in need. Although the implications we describe below may be specific to the local context we studied, they highlight broader issues for food

pantries to consider, related to outreach, delivery method, and benefits offered. Moreover, our results emphasize the need for all service providers to consider their policies and practices from the perspective of potential users, in addition to donors, volunteers, staff members, and current users.

First, we found that many people who could have benefited from pantry services thought they were for people even needier. This perception may come from pantry marketing, which is consumed by both potential donors and potential users. These messages can have unintended consequences for potential users, deterring them by communicating a dire need for donations to support the most destitute in the community. Respondents were under the impression pantries did not have enough resources, perhaps due to news stories about increased demand for food pantries and marketing campaigns emphasizing hungry citizens, especially children, in need of assistance. This perception may have shaped beliefs that the resource should be reserved for more needy people. However, in the Great Recession, donations to food banks in America's largest cities have almost universally increased, in some cases quite dramatically (Reich, Wimer, Mohamed, & Jambulapati, 2011), generating the potential to reach more people. In 2013, two-thirds of food banks surveyed by Feeding America reported having enough or more than enough food to meet clients' needs (Weinfeld et al., 2014).

Although many food pantries do struggle with limited resources, reaching as many people as possible may require a shift in messaging. Service providers might also emphasize the diversity of service users in outreach materials, to change the perception that the food pantry is only for those with children or with disabilities. Highly publicized campaigns geared toward donors and funders that characterize service users as needy or as victims may drive away potential users if those in need do not identify this way. Outreach efforts could also highlight the way in which accessing food pantry food represents resourcefulness rather than dependence or receiving a "handout."

Second, long lines or large crowds were often the most noticeable feature of the pantry, making a strong impression on passers-by who drew behavioral, racial, and moral distinctions. Providers should strive to reduce the disorderly crowds

that dissuaded potential users from accessing the pantry. Operating a farmer's market or supermarket style pantry open for longer periods of time might reduce lines and chaos, as well as the opportunity for people to draw conclusions about the types of people who use pantries. Pantries should consistently enforce eligibility rules, such as residence in the neighborhood, to reduce perceptions of fraud.

Finally, when the food is not of the type or quality desired, users or potential users interpret this as a sign of disrespect from the provider. Many food pantries distribute surplus food from local producers and retail providers, which decreases food waste and enables pantries to provide more food given resource constraints. Although this may reduce the pantry's costs, it increases the costs to potential users' senses of self-worth. In addition to ensuring that users do not receive expired or rotten food, pantries might seek input from potential users regarding the types of food they want. This would better inform potential food donors, as well as reduce food waste by providing individuals with food they want and will eat.

Implementing each of these shifts in practice necessitates increased support for public and private food assistance. High levels of unmet need (U.S. Conference of Mayors, 2012) mean that food pantries are more than occupied meeting current demand. Although focusing on outreach, increasing hours, consistently enforcing rules, and improving the food offered will require additional resources, these efforts may be critical to increase food pantry utilization and ultimately reduce food insecurity. Service providers need to consider not only the experience of those who utilize their services, but also of those in need and eligible who do not. Taking this broader view, non-users become clients whose needs must also be met.

Conclusion

Our study shows how the concrete barriers to service use emphasized by survey research are constructed subjectively, providing insight into how cultural ideals of self-sufficiency, morality, and respect crystallize to influence service non-use. Respondents' perceptions that the pantry was intended for those needier than themselves shaped their identification as potential users and their inclination to seek out information.

Observations of long lines and poor food quality at the pantry were connected with distaste for the food pantry environment and a threat to their sense of self-respect. We argue that taking these cultural understandings into account is necessary to understand how concrete barriers matter for non-users.

Although we conducted informal observations of three food pantries to provide context for our analysis, we do not attempt to compare respondents' perceptions of the food pantry experience or food pantry users with any "objective" reality, as we focus on respondents' interpretations of the food pantry. Additionally, we cannot compare our respondents' perceptions with those of food pantry users to establish whether the barriers mentioned by our sample were present for them. For example, food pantry users may also perceive the pantry as a site of racial and behavioral difference from which they wanted to distance themselves, but may use the food pantry nonetheless due to a higher level of food insecurity.

Future research should investigate the racial and group dynamics of social service use. Since we did not anticipate that race would be an important factor, due to its absence in the literature on service use, we did not design our study to explore this systematically. We recommend that future research on service participation take ethno-racial differences and perceptions as a central area of study.

Concrete logistical barriers, from inconvenient times to long lines, do keep many low-income Americans from patronizing food pantries. However, as social service providers such as food pantries seek to reach those in need, they should consider how these concrete barriers may be manifestations of cultural perceptions. In our study, respondents' discussion of concrete barriers related to their failure to identify with food pantry users, desires to distance themselves from these users, and feelings of disrespect from service providers. Although cultural perceptions may not change overnight, neither are they fixed. Because concrete and cultural considerations are tightly intertwined, making concrete changes may, over time, shift cultural perceptions. If changes in policy and practice are to make a difference in service use, they will do so not only by removing concrete impediments, but also by transforming cultural understandings.

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Toward Housing Stability:
Exiting Homelessness as an Emerging Adult

Jeff Karabanow
Dalhousie University

Sean Kidd
Centre for Addictions and Mental Health

Tyler Frederick
University of Ontario Institute of Technology

Jean Hughes
Dalhousie University

This paper explores the lives of formerly homeless young people as they transitioned towards housing stability. The study employed a longitudinal design involving 51 street youth in Halifax, N.S. (n = 21) and Toronto, ON (n = 30). This paper sheds light upon the pathways through which young people transitioned away from homelessness using the developmental lens of emerging adulthood: a stage involving numerous developmental struggles (identity, in-stability, self-focus, feeling in-between) but also an age filled with hope and possibilities. There are numerous interrelated factors at play that allow participants to regain a sense of citizenship with mainstream society. While housing in itself did not shape these young people's sense of stability, it influenced feelings of health, happiness and security. Yet, our participants, as a particular segment of the youth population who have transitioned out of basic homelessness, continue to describe their current lives in terms of fragility and instability. For most, opportunity for experimentation and identity exploration was often curtailed by processes outside of their control and struggles with the consequences of profound disempowerment —past trauma with family and/or current struggles with public sector structures and services. As a result, many felt abandoned and stigmatized by the very resources whose mission it is to assist.

Key words: Street youth, homelessness, housing stability, emerging adulthood, youth identity

This study explores the lives of formerly home-less young people as they transitioned towards housing

stability. The study employed a longitudinal design involving 51 street youth in Halifax, N.S. (n = 21), and Toronto, ON (n = 30). The 'why' and 'how' of youth engagement with street life have already been extensively explored and documented throughout Canada (see for example, Hagan & McCarthy, 1997; Hughes et al., 2010; Karabanow, 2004, 2006, 2008; Kidd, 2006; Kidd & Scrimenti, 2004; MacLean, Embry, & Cauce, 1999; Molnar, Shade, Kral, Booth, & Watters, 1998; Ringwalt, Greene, & Robertson, 1998). What remains less well understood are the paths through which young people transition away from homelessness. In addition, little attention has been given to how their transition affects their developmental stage, emergent adulthood (Arnett, 2006a, 2007), or how it is used to understand their experiences and inform their journeys from being homeless to the experience of being stably housed.

Street-exiting Pathways

Youth are considered to be one of the fastest growing segments of the homeless population (Gaetz, Donaldson, Richter, & Gulliver, 2013; Laird, 2007). It is well established that the financial, health and social costs of youth homelessness are high. Homeless youth suffer from poor physical and mental health (Hughes et al., 2010; Karabanow et al., 2007; Kidd & Scrimenti, 2004; Whitbeck, Hoyt, & Bao, 2000; Yoder, 1999), and have extremely high mortality rates (Roy et al., 2004; Shaw & Dorling, 1998). In addition, they are a very visible reminder in our cities of the shortcomings of our service and support systems, with more than half spending time in jail (Public Health Agency of Canada, 2006) at a very high cost to the state. Indeed, while shelter costs run between $30-40,000 per year to house a young person, detention costs total $100,000 per year to house a youth (Raising the Roof, 2009).

In this context, there exists a crucial need to understand the transitional processes of youth who are experiencing some success in street exiting. To date, only a small body of evidence has been accrued in this area. One area of focus has been identifying the factors that influence the ability of youth to maintain housing after they exit homelessness. A number of factors have been found to be associated with difficulties exiting homelessness and maintaining housing stability. These

include substance abuse problems (Aubry, Klodawsky, & Coulombe, 2012; Berzin, Rhodes, & Curtis, 2011; Rhule-Louie, Bowen, Baer, & Peterson, 2008; Rosenthal et al., 2007; Roy et al., 2011), psychological problems (Rhule-Louie et al., 2008), and a history of being abused or arrested (Eastwood & Birnbaum, 2007). Those with a longer duration of homelessness have more difficulty achieving housing stability (Hyman, 2010). In contrast, involvement in supported transitional housing has been found to improve housing stability which, in turn, improves the likelihood of school engagement, particularly for women (Hyman, Aubrey, & Klodawsky, 2011). However, two areas have received little attention in this area of research: the long-term effects of exiting homelessness and maintaining housing stability, and consideration for the developmental stage of this age group. Therefore, we incorporated a longer-term design and compared our findings with a developmental framework.

This study was undertaken to consider the exiting process from a developmental perspective, employing one of the most rigorous investigations to date with this population. We interviewed youth over the course of a year and found that their stories reflected that the transition away from homelessness is part of a broader transition—a developmental stage in which one figures out who one is and establishes a meaningful life for oneself. Understanding the broader processes of this developmental stage and its link to the transition process out of homelessness has important implications for how we address the issue of youth homelessness and support youth through the transition process.

The transition we examined took place during a critical developmental stage, emerging adulthood, which begins in the late teens and continues until the mid-to-late twenties (Arnett, 2007; MacLeod & Brownlie, 2014). This a newly defined developmental stage falls between adolescence and young adulthood and is deeply focused on identity explorations, instability, self-focus, feeling in-between, and exploring possibilities (Arnett, 2004; Reifman, Arnett, & Colwell, 2007 [cited in Arnett, 2007]). In addition to these normative features, emerging adulthood is also noted for its heterogeneity. It is a time when the lives of these young people are least likely to be structured by social institutions (Arnett, 2007). Such features are in direct

contrast with previous generations in which those in this age group transitioned directly from adolescence to young adulthood and followed a predictable course of structured activities: school completion, choosing an occupation, finding a life partner, and having a child (Arnett, 2007).

In contrast, life today for this age group is far more likely to be unstructured and unstable than for past generations. It takes much longer today for them to achieve a stable living situation. Indeed, most are ambivalent about reaching adulthood and prefer to assume responsibilities gradually (Arnett, 2006b). However, while this new developmental stage may be accommodated well by those who have access to full supports, those who have experienced homelessness and are now street -exiting are required to focus on specific structured activities, regardless of whether they have the skills or supports required to do so. Arnett (2011) now stresses the idea of multiple emerging adulthoods, or variations within the concept of emerging adulthood (Mitchell & Syed, 2015); however, others (e.g., Hendry & Kloep, 2007) have suggested that the experiences of many youth diverge substantially from emerging adulthood theory, thus threatening Arnett's (2000) conceptualization of this time period as a life stage. We set out to explore this challenge.

Methods

In this study we interviewed youth who had a recent history of homelessness and were now housed. We interviewed those who consented four times over the course of a year, using a mixed-methods design of sequenced, multi-site, integrated qualitative and quantitative inquiry. In this paper, only the qualitative data are considered. The longitudinal nature of the data provided an opportunity for examining stability and instability at a process level, albeit in a circumscribed way in that no pathways were completed in this relatively short time frame.

We wanted to know about the lived experiences of homeless youth as they negotiate their changing identities among the individual, sociocultural, and economic tensions of transitioning out of homeless and street contexts and cultures.

Fifty-one youth consented to participate in the study.

Twenty-one young people were recruited from Halifax, Nova Scotia, a medium-sized maritime city on Canada's East Coast. Thirty young people were recruited from Toronto, Ontario, Canada's largest city. The study had an overall retention rate of 78% (n = 40), and 73% (n = 37) of our respondents completed all four interviews at roughly 3 month intervals throughout the year. To be eligible for the study, youth must have been homeless previously for a period of at least 6 months total (either all at once or periodically over time), and in "stable" housing (defined as anything other than shelter, street, or couch-surfing and other transient living spaces) for at least 2 months, but no more than 2 years, immediately prior to the first interview. The criteria were chosen to ensure that participants were in the process of transitioning away from homelessness, but were still in its early stages. Youth needed to be between the ages of 17 – 25 years, the most common age span for youth services. The demographic characteristics of the sample (i.e., time off the streets, age, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation/identity, housing arrangement, characteristics of neighborhoods and services accessed, and interactions with institutions such as the criminal justice system, schools, and employers) are presented in Table 1.

Participants were invited to engage in four in-depth, semi-structured face-to-face interviews that lasted approximately one hour, following which they received a $40 honorarium. Interviews were iterative, starting with 'grand tour' questions about life experiences on and off the street and moving conversationally towards a more focused inquiry concerning personal coping strategies; services/interventions/supports that helped or hindered transition; processes of transition; and explorations into changes concerning sense of self, community, home and relationships. Interviews two, three, and four used a similar framework but were grounded in events and changes that had taken place since the last interview. Interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed verbatim (removing identifiers), and analyzed using a qualitative thematic approach (Boyatzis, 1998; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Thematic analysis involved identifying core themes and data patterns, developing codes that helped explain the themes, and interpreting the information and themes in the context of our theoretical frameworks (Boyatzis, 1998). Our

analysis also involved building conceptual narratives from the data through open, axial and selective coding structures which allowed for the fracturing of the data into conceptually-specific themes and categories. We rebuilt the data in new ways by linking primary categories and auxiliary themes into a path analysis and constructed narratives shaped by data integration and category construction (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Findings

The qualitative data provided a comprehensive view of young people's transitions from homelessness and varied experiences with housing. Again, exploring housing as a series of "pathways" helped to illuminate that a home is more than just a shelter. We also wanted to explore whether and how the pathways into housing were connected with the developmental stage of emerging adulthood, ensconced within the locally-situated paths and conditions of street exiting.

Identity Explorations
A key element of emerging adulthood involves identity explorations. This is the only developmental stage in which explorations in the areas of love, work, and worldviews become identity-based (Arnett, 2000). For the first time in life, occupational explorations are matched with abilities and interests (what job would I find satisfying for the long term, Arnett, 2000), and partner explorations are matched with the hopes for a life-long relationship (given the kind of person I am, what kind of person do I wish to have as a partner through life? Arnett, 2000) (Arnett, 2007). These explorations are a way of obtaining a broad range of life experiences before making a commitment to adult responsibilities (Arnett, 2000). It is important to recognize that our participants engaged in the same types of identity explorations as their mainstream counterparts. Rather than viewing them as "street kids," "delinquents," or "problems," we understood that they were attempting to carve out identities and were full of hope in ways that fit their philosophical lenses. As such, we understood their paths in the same way as we understand mainstream, non-street youth.
However, embedded within this humanistic perspective, we need to acknowledge that these young people are also

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics of Participants (n = 51)

Variable	n (%)
Gender, male	24 (47)
Race, White	24 (47)
Education	
Less than high school	27 (53)
Completed high school	14 (27)
Attended trade/technical school	3 (6)
Completed trade/technical school	2 (4)
Attended university, not completed	4 (8)
Missing	1 (2)
Sexual Orientation	
Heterosexual	29 (56)
Gay	5 (10)
Lesbian	2 (4)
Bi-sexual	9 (18)
Other	5 (10)
Missing	1 (2)
Children	25 (49)
Employment Status	
Student	19 (37)
Employed Part time/Casual	8 (16)
Volunteer	3 (6)
Unemployed	21 (41)
Living Situation Time 1	
Supportive housing, lives alone	6 (12)
Supportive housing, lives with others	18 (35)
Independent housing, lives alone	9 (18)
Independent housing, lives with others	13 (26)
Lives with parents in private dwelling	3 (6)
Missing	1 (2)
Months Homeless	25.1 (27.5)
Months Housed	8.8 (7.4)
Income or Disability Subsidy	32 (64)
	mean years (SD)
Age	20.9 (2.2)

different from their mainstream colleagues—they have been exposed to traumatic events within their families, in their relationships with child welfare institutions and within their street careers. The vast majority of participants (and the homeless population in general) come from trauma—very disadvantaged and dysfunctional family lives ripe with diverse forms of abuse, neglect, drug misuse and mental health ruptures—all characteristics well documented in the street youth literature and research to date. On the street and within the shelter systems, they again experience a sense of alienation, marginalization, exploitation and victimization.

Further, while emerging adulthood brings engagement in "risk" behavior for all young people, unlike their mainstream counterparts, the notion of risk often is captured in the form of stories of significant adversity for those who have been homeless. Indeed, lacking support and care from adults, being abused and exploited, living in very poor and disadvantaged environments, and being let down, both by personal (family, friends) and system structures of care (school, child welfare, social assistance), are just some of the "risk(ier) infused" pathways that these youth travel. Despite the progress that many participants made towards mainstream goals, they wrestled with a continued sense of marginalization, primarily in terms of frustrations with formal system bureaucracies such as Income Assistance, Disability support, service agencies, and the mental health system. This left the young people with a feeling that "the system just doesn't care."

> And it was like trying to take care of two people with bad anxiety and mental health issues living together… and not have…any help, just like, expecting we'd fill out a form and like, where people and places give random paperwork to you, expect you to be able to, or like would say like "oh you should go on disability" but not knowing how to navigate that minefield at all. (Halifax)

> And, you would think your first graduation and after going to school for five years you would be extremely honored, happy, taken out for supper, or pictures taken or spend time with family and basically I was dropped

off at my house by myself until I went to pick up my son. So, I had a little crying spree. (Halifax)

Unlike their mainstream counterparts, our participants travelled a very different risk pathway and were abandoned in time of need by both formal service resources and family support. While our study participants were definitely involved in identity exploration, their explorations were far more challenging than for their mainstream counterparts. Indeed, their explorations were often not celebrated by those whose support most mattered (family), or they were confronted with major obstacles by the very structures of society designed to assist them (government services)!

A Time of Instability

Emerging adulthood is a time of instability for all youth, one in which they frequently change plans/interests, jobs/ education, residence, roommates, etc. With each change, they learn something about themselves and hopefully take a step toward clarifying the kind of future they want. However, the experience is not the same for all (Arnett, 2007). Indeed, the experience of instability for those who have been homeless is often volatile. Subjectively, their layers of trauma are deep, reoccurring and rarely treated—a characteristic that truly differentiates these youth from their mainstream counterparts in terms of the typical formation of individualization and identity construction (Côté & Levine, 1987, 1988). It is important that we understand street youth within both the lenses of "normal development of emerging adulthood" and "victimization." As Geldens and Bourque (citing Greene & Ringwalt, 1996, p. 283) observe, "The implications of bearing non-normative identities are well understood and the repercussions of such formations can be immediate and insurmountably oppressive."

Here, it is helpful to disentangle concepts of individualization from the psychological concept of "individuation." As Côté and Schwartz (2002) observe, individuation refers to the mental "separation–individuation process" that begins in early infancy when the boundary is established "between the 'me' and the 'not-me'" (p. 32). The term denotes the cognitive developmental processes involved with gaining of self and identity,

and eventually identity formation. Conversely, "individualization" is the complex set of social processes whereby individuals attempt to compensate for a lack of collective support from their community and culture. As Côté and Schwartz note:

> The term individualization thus refers to the extent to which people are left by their culture to their own devices in terms of meeting their own survival needs, determining the directions their lives will take, and making myriad choices along the way, whereas 'individuation' refers to the basic process of developing a sense of self. (2002, p. 573)

In our study, we see both concepts expressed through the youth's experiences of their local conditions. Through a complex interplay of individual agency-level contexts, amidst a host of broader socio-political contexts, both individuation and individualization couple to re-fashion the youth's identities as they struggle down exiting pathways off the street to becoming stably housed.

> Actually, my last place was the first time I was actually able to hold down housing, and I lived there for six years *(note: she lived there for the winter and would travel and rejoin street culture for spring and summers)*. But, I'm also, like, I'm twenty-five, right? Before that I had two different apartments, but because I lived on the street for so long, I got really bad anxiety, especially cause I was underage… I don't know how to explain it, but going from sleeping outside to doing all that, you know what I mean, and, being aware of everything around you and then moving into an apartment, even though it sounds great; it sounds awesome, it's really, it's hard…. I'm bipolar and I've, I've got, you know, really bad anxiety issues and shit, and for some reason sitting in a apartment alone, by myself, was too much for me. I couldn't deal with it, you know. (Halifax)

When we push the raw, real, and actual lived experiences of our research participants up against this mainstream literature on identity formation, we gain a fuller appreciation for the scope of these young people's lives, both subjectively and

structurally speaking, as it relates to the dual processes of individuation and individualization.

> So, it would have been towards the end of grade ten … I just turned sixteen, so it was around sixteen. At that point, like, my dad had beaten me a lot, and before this he beat me once so bad that my brother just watched and no one did anything, and at that point it just made me decide that no one could ever care about me and no one would ever protect me, so I had to be the person to protect myself. And that gave me a strength and a reserve, and a resourcefulness, that I believe to this day is what saved my life, because it taught me that, in the end of the day the only person that can save you, the only person that can even care, and do something for you is you, you have to be in charge of your life. (Halifax)

Both youth were abandoned by society and family at early ages but engaged in resilient behavior to overcome adversity and form a sense of self. Once again, while our participants experienced a great deal of instability, the challenges with which they were confronted were beyond their control and went past those described within the developmental stage of Emerging Adulthood. Further, while institutional supports, such as government housing programs, provided some assistance, they often lacked wrap-around services necessary to enable young people to cope with their profound sense of disempowerment.

A Self-Focused Time

Emerging adulthood is a self-focused time, in that it is the stage least subject to institutional control regarding family obligations, where to go, what to do, who to be with, how to spend money, what to eat, etc. (Arnett, 2007). And while mainstream emerging adults thrive on this freedom, those who have come from family trauma and homelessness experience more vulnerability. Their circumstances offer them little choice—they must be self-focused, regardless of whether they like it or are ready for it (Arnett, 2007). Our participants shared eloquent stories of struggles and conflicts within their families, group home settings, youth shelters and finally independent housing

environments. Within such pathways, there were common themes of abuse or neglect, deep tensions with family members, feelings of marginalization, and the ongoing relationships to both mental health struggles and or drug/alcohol misuse.

Having a place to stay was not sufficient for all participants. Indeed, for several in our sample, their current living space was not "home" but rather "a roof over their head." They felt the strain and anxiety of being independent—looking after bills, having to find work, deal with budgeting, housing/landlord issues and arranging one's social life. In particular, individuals who continued to deal with deep mental health and/or addiction issues did not experience a sense of security and contentment. While independent living did provide an escape from the external world and a place to heal and recover, some individuals were not yet at a stage to take advantage of such stability. Instead, these individuals tended to feel very disconnected from their environments and somewhat angry/frustrated with their position in life. For many, the first apartment brought out many feelings of insecurity regarding how to live independently, such as questions about how to shop, budget, have friends, or deal with neighbors. There was a genuine fear of taking "on too much" at such a young age.

Deeply anchored within all of these findings is the confirming evidence that, unlike their stably-housed counterparts, youth transitioning off the streets are forced to address the challenges of emerging adulthood while also trying to overcome current and/or past trauma, and they do so without supports. Indeed, our participants have undergone deep and consistent trauma in their short lives and are now "pushed" out much too early to become adults. As one Halifax participant noted, she struggled with "not being ready" and not "having the supports" needed. These young people are describing lives where they had to grow up much too fast. They have experienced episodes of violence, abuse, neglect, and exploitation that have robbed them of childhood, forcing them to abandon some worlds to survive in others.

The majority of these young people have had to survive on the street, find formal and informal supports, seek out employment and subsequently locate stable living, predominantly on their own. There is also a deep contradiction within such a developmental pathway. While they have been

forced to move beyond the developmental tasks of emerging adulthood and become adults in terms of survival, they continue to be perceived by civil society as adolescents. Participants spoke to feeling overwhelmed and disrespected by the myriad rules and structures at shelters and supportive housing settings that infantilized them and ignored their developmental realities. Moreover, landlords and employers rarely took them seriously due to their ages and inexperience. Ironically, being forced to become an adult too soon places these youth at risk, and when they are ready to become stable, formal systems struggle to accept them because they are not yet adults. As one participant described it, "they hope eventually you'll slip and you won't meet all the bars and that you'll fall down" (Halifax). For this participant, having these feelings critically amplified the experience of being a single mother.

A Time of In-Between

A critical feature of emerging adulthood is the feeling that one is neither an adolescent nor an adult but somewhere in-between, "on the way to adulthood but not quite there yet" (Arnett, 2007, p. 156). However, contrary to common assumptions about what emerging adults view as critical markers of the transition to adulthood (completing school, engaging in full-time work, marriage, etc.), evidence shows that the most important markers identified by this age group include, "accepting responsibility for one's action, making independent decisions, and becoming financially independent" (Arnett, 2007, p. 157).

One of the formal criteria for inclusion in our study was that participants be six months off the street, and be in what they perceived as 'stable living' (i.e., supportive housing and or independent market accommodations). As such, this is a group who have taken on the difficult tasks of making personal decisions to achieve housing stability and reconstructing their street identities into non-street senses-of-self. Having a stable place to live was often described as bringing forward a renewed sense of security, safety, peacefulness and hopefulness. For the majority of participants, having their own place translated into feeling healthier (both physically and psychologically), happier, and more "human." For many, their present

living arrangements felt like home. While providing a sense of freedom and independence (especially for those who have lived in shelters and supportive housing structures), apartments also allowed them to feel more like people and less like "street kids." Having a stable space also empowered young people to reflect more upon their future and reassure themselves that they were on "the right track." One Halifax participant saw her apartment as "an anchor." Another participant stated that, "It's weird, like, it really just goes from feeling like a box that you can hide in to a place that you can explore outwards from" (Toronto).

Notwithstanding external supports, many participants spoke to an internal and deeply personal decision making process that signaled "being ready" to get off the street and live independently, a finding also noted in Karabanow's (2008) previous study on street exiting. For others, the process was not so intense and they spoke of coming to the realization that they were now taking life more seriously and were "willing to change" (Halifax). They transitioned from short-term and impulsive thinking to thoughtfulness and delay. In other words, participants began to build self-control, a critical feature of social and emotional learning proven to improve health, wealth, and public safety over time (Moffitt et al., 2011).

> I was trying to build my life on these broken blocks and it kept on caving in, and now I have this stable environment and, like, help when I need it and it's… this flat platform that I am finally building a house on, and I feel good about it. (Toronto)

> Yet, it is probably the most difficult part of the transition … it was such a on/off, on/off, like you know, I'd be stable for a little bit and then I'd go back to the shelter. I'd be in school for a little bit then I couldn't do it anymore. And then have to go back to working or, like, you know? Just like got chaotic. Like crazy, crazy, crazy. I was coming into myself as well. (Toronto)

In terms of supports from family and friends, we found that the movement towards stability improved family relationships for some participants; however, for others, the process of transitioning required letting go of their families

because continued rejection and abuse was just too emotionally challenging. In addition, we found that making new friends was difficult for those who needed to distance themselves from their old friends during the transition to stability. Those who transitioned with their street friends often also found the changes and shifts in their relationships difficult, as they came to terms with the drifting apart that is typical of this stage.

> I can do anything I want to do but, like, the liquor stopped me for seven or eight years so, I just learnt that, I got to stay away from the liquor, be around positive people and just concentrate on work. Because work is … I kind of think of work as school now. (Toronto)

Two additional elements of emerging adulthood played critical roles in the lives of our participants as they transitioned out of homelessness: physical and mental health. While they usually described an initial improvement in their physical health as the result of improved eating and sleeping habits, many also were dealing with persistent physical impacts of homelessness (e.g., unidentified physical illness, back pain, and HIV) that interfered with their education and employment activities. Mental health also proved to be an ongoing challenge for a number of the participants in our study. In fact, transitioning did not necessarily mean an improvement in mental health, as new stresses and challenges were constantly presenting themselves. In addition, youth encountered numerous mental health system challenges involving access to treatment, continuity of care, and inter-personal incompatibility which is typically the result of a top-down, overly clinical approach to care.

What seems extremely telling within this orientation is that even as "success stories," these youth are struggling daily to maintain the basic structural stability on which their identity reconstruction hinges. The majority of our sample remain stably housed, but just barely. Indeed, one of the core themes of our work is that most remain in a very fragile state during their transitions to becoming non-street emerging adults. Boydell (2000) thoughtfully articulates this complex entanglement of identity, noting that:

> Homelessness means a loss of social identity—loss of permanent address, work, school, relationships, and place to call one's own. On a personal level, homelessness can mean a loss of self. Homelessness involves much more than not having a place to live. Individuals often lose their sense of identity, self-worth, and self-efficacy. (p. 26)

However, being housed can also be a shaky experience. This fragility of this state has much to do with their in-between status. They are not certain they are fully clear of street life and are by no means comfortable, nor accepted, within mainstream civil society. In this fragile state the participants struggled with a sense of self and questions about who they are, what they desire, where they are going, and what they need. Of course, while these existential questions are endemic to the general emerging adult population, it becomes more amplified when one is working without the benefit of a subjective or structural safety net and there is the ever-present risk of ending up back in shelter, falling back into addiction, or facing a sudden decline in mental health. Once again, what becomes so very clear is, rather than having time to sort through how best to make personal decisions about their futures and accept responsibility for their actions, our participants were continually forced to manage challenges set by the very service structures whose mission it is to assist.

Many of our respondents feared losing their market rent apartments or supportive housing units if they "messed up," becoming ineligible for social assistance or disability allowances if they entered the formal or informal job market, or not having the personal and professional supports in place that could prop them up in times of despair. As noted by one participant, he feels like he is "treading water" throughout his day and currently perceives life as "one step forward, two steps back" (Toronto). For many, there is a consistent fear that they will once again be homeless if and when certain issues arise (such as addictions, mental health flare ups, losing employment, losing assistance, etc.). Moreover, there was a sense from numerous participants that their current lives could change at any moment—that they had little control around

maintaining present stability. One Halifax participant explained that, during a past bus strike in her town, she was not only highly susceptible to falling behind with school but losing her subsidized daycare spot for her child, since she lived far away from both school and daycare and system regulations stipulated that she could not miss more than a few sessions within both systems. Another young woman from Toronto highlighted the unlucky combination of having a disability and consistently being 'stuck' in casual low-paying employment.

> That's one of my biggest worries is that if I try … to get a job or try to get off disability I'm just going to screw myself over … I have … all my medical bills to pay and so it's just, like, not something that easy that I can just get off … it's not like I can just live off what dumpstering and live in a closet, like, I have, like, few hundred dollars a month in medical bills to pay for being diabetic. So, like, I really, like, want to be able to get a job in the future that does pay, that does have benefits, have a health plan. (Toronto)

It is these feelings of insecurity that underlie our participants' daily lives. As many participants suggest, instead of having opportunity to gradually test out decision-making processes and learn from the outcomes, their stability can change overnight and, as such, there is little in terms of feeling in control over one's life. This results in a layer of disempowerment that shapes their day-to-day existence, as described below:

> I'm just scared that it's gonna, like, I don't know, something's gonna give out, I just, I always have this feeling something's gonna give out, like, it's gonna happen again. I'm just gonna get homeless again or something bad's gonna happen, I'm put in a situation, something's gonna happen, you know? (Toronto)

> I'm just so always close to it, this lovely anxiety that I'm just … even like when I lost my birth certificate I was like, so now I can't cash my check. My disability check, and that was just kind of like this "oh god, it's all

gonna happen again." And like, I just have this major fear if I lose, like I said, losing my wallet, could end up … like could actually kill me, and that's like a fear. Like as soon as I go back to it and like just slowly don't take care of myself that I'm gonna get sick and die. And it's just like somebody with severe anxiety in this system it's just constantly trying to catch up and not be drowned in it. (Halifax)

As such, one of our core narratives is that, despite this population being perceived as successes once they find housing, they experience themselves as highly stressed, strained, overwhelmed, and fragile. Indeed, while being perceived by service providers and the general public as less at risk, new layers of (individualized and individuated) risk emerged as a consequence of their shaky transitions towards stability. In addition, the new risk often was triggered more by public structures and institutions than by the developmental stage of emerging adulthood.

From Basic Stability to Finding the Mainstream:
A Time of Possibilities
Emerging Adulthood is a developmental stage full of possibilities. It is a time when people have the greatest opportunity to change their lives in a potentially positive direction (Masten, Obradovic, & Burt, 2006, as cited in Arnett, 2007), and a time of great expectations and high hopes for the future (Arnett, 2000, as cited in Arnett, 2007). While our participants have endured much trauma and are far more vulnerable than mainstream youth, many of them recognized this time in their lives as one of great opportunity, as well. Further, despite the uncertainty and fragility of transitioning, the process of acquiring and sustaining housing did give many of the young people in our sample access to a new subjectivity. Surprisingly, many participants showed extraordinary resilience and retained a strong sense of hope and determination—dreaming of finishing high school, entering university/college, finding a meaningful job, buying a house and starting a family—all very middle class mainstream ideals, as described by a participant below:

because I would like to have a place to rent where

> maybe there's like a piece of grass I can play with my kid on and like a street where they can ride their bike down the street or things like that, you know what I mean. Just normal shit that people take for granted, but I mean, that's basically what I'm striving for at this point. (Toronto)

The type of housing that young people had was important to how their transition unfolded. Supported housing with roommates was helpful because the price was affordable and formal supports were available, but organizational rules and conflicts with roommates often pushed youth to make premature exits into the more costly and less secure market rent. On the other side, however, supportive housing can also lead youth into a holding pattern in which they find it difficult to move beyond basic stability in terms of realizing personal goals and mainstream markers of success.

We found that the most effective supportive housing coupled support and guidance with some leeway and room for mistakes. Living in market rent alone was rare because it was expensive, leading most youth in market rent to have no other choice but to secure roommates. Once again, this strategy was most common among youth who were disconnected from the very service agencies designed to assist. Further, it was the least stable because of conflicts with landlords (who could often be exploitive) and generally resulted in trouble with roommates.

> It was good, however, it turns out that the roommates I had, there was bad credit all this stuff and, like, it just wasn't working out. They were ready, one of them in particular just started being, like, late for the rent and, rent is dirt cheap. Come to figure out that that person is just a pathological liar all together … Eventually, he was just not there. (Toronto)

Establishing basic stability was essential for moving towards mainstream goals, and the loss of housing often completely derailed any forward momentum that youth may have established. Having a place to stay had important psychological benefits, particularly for those moving into housing for the first time since being on the street or in the emergency

shelter system.

But having a place to stay was not sufficient for all participants. Indeed, for several in our sample, their current living space was not "home" but a rather "a roof over their head." They felt the strain and anxiety of being independent—looking after bills, having to find work, deal with budgeting, housing/landlord issues and arranging one's social life. In particular, individuals who continued to deal with deep mental health and or addiction issues did not experience a sense of security and contentment. While independent living did provide an escape from the external world and a place to heal and recover, some individuals were not yet at a stage to take advantage of such stability.

> I find it's more like my mental health is what really defines what goes on in the physical. You know what I mean? Like if I'm happy, then most likely everything kinda falls together on its own. If I feel safe and independent and secure, I'm more likely to go pursue better things like jobs and do more positive, constructive things. You know what I mean? As opposed to if I'm f—g pissed off or sad or, you know what I mean, just down and out and like obviously, like I find that that is where, like … 'Cause you know I can have a place on my own, but if I'm constantly stressed out and pissed off or whatever, most likely things are gonna fall apart, right? (Toronto)

Numerous young people highlighted the importance of the mundane, such as having furniture, food in the fridge, the ability to take a shower or make a cup of coffee, having technology such as video games, internet connection, and a phone, as a way to feel "normal" as well as "connected." Also, the importance of routines surfaced repeatedly among participants, particularly for those who seemed to be the most settled in their "new" lives.

> I like the routine … it grew onto me; it's like I don't know what I would be doing now if I didn't have a routine. Probably be all over, I'd be lost, I'd be all over the place, but the routine it makes me more focused on what I'm looking at, right? What I'm watching for, what I'm trying to get at. (Toronto)

In addition, it appears that notions of routine not only tie into feelings of stability and security, but in turn build a secure foundation and momentum from which to build or take on new opportunities and responsibilities. Unlike mainstream youth, for many of our participants, this was the first time in life that they had a routine of any kind and one that they could design and build on their own.

At the same time, the mundane was not without its challenges. Another key component in the transition process was a young person's life skills and comfort with the basic skills of independence. For many, the first apartment brought out many feelings of insecurity regarding how to live independently. There was a genuine fear of taking "on too much" at such a young age. One young man in a Toronto supportive housing program described wanting to take the next step, but not "having a clue what people pay for like their normal house shit."

Education and employment were similarly conflicted areas. Most respondents were in school or had plans to attend. However, as a group, the youth we interviewed have complicated lives (family stress, friend/partner drama, poverty, and mental and physical health issues) that make focusing on education very difficult. Other barriers include learning disabilities and a dislike for school stemming from a history of bad experiences within the system.

Employment is also a critical component affecting transition toward stability. Those with a steady work history tended to be particularly self-motivated and self-disciplined. However, the most common type of work for most youth in the study involved low wage service. These jobs tended to be low paying and "boring" (Halifax), and for participants, were difficult to maintain given their complicated lives.

> And so, because I had to make really tough decisions, like, do I work full-time so I can retain my livelihood or do I try to keep going to school and just hope it figures out or something. Stay on OW [social assistance] … so there was a lot of tough decisions around that. And I still hope to keep doing my school and go to, like, take courses. (Toronto)

The management of friendship networks was also complex. One of the common struggles in our participants' lives involved their numerous attempts to distance themselves from street life and street communities. Removing themselves from street activities such as drug misuse and petty thievery was important to maintaining, or developing, a non-street status. One participant stated, "I don't know what it is, it's just, they want to do the same things that we did back then, and I don't want to do those anymore" (Toronto). Forging new friendships not of the street was seen as an important marker to stability and "positive influences" in their new lives.

A significant take away from the study regarding relationships is that those who do feel safe and supported had one key individual in their lives who was consistent, present, and who provided unconditional love. Having someone in your life that can remain present with the "ups and downs" inherent in growing up was extremely significant to feeling stable and healthy. Interestingly, the majority of these young people had such an individual, and these individuals tended to be family members. This was most visible with our young mother participants and their relationships to their respective mothers. As they began to realize that their own experience often mirrored that of their parents, a re-bonding of generations started to build that provided participants with a significant source of support and stability. At the same time, these relationships often remained complex, fragile, and strained, given that the dynamics and traumas that pushed the youth to the street in the first place were often still present.

Finally, romantic relationships involved a complex terrain for the young people in our study. Having experienced neglect, abandonment, and abuse, the young people we spoke with often struggled with trust with in their romantic unions. In addition, these relationships were further complicated by the fact that the romantic partners were often individuals who also had experienced trauma or were themselves transitioning away from homelessness.

> I had met somebody in … the shelter system, at that time when I went to Vancouver as well … and then we got together and ... At first we were separate, kind of

doing our own separate things and finding our own places and everything like that. And then eventually both our situations fell apart. And then we came together and got a place together and, yeah, became a full-fledged relationship and … that was a problem and a half. (Toronto)

Conclusions and Reflections

Interestingly, our participants, as a particular segment of the youth population who have transitioned out of basic homelessness, continue to describe their current lives in terms of fragility and instability. Clearly, while housing in itself does not shape these young people's sense of stability, it definitely influences feelings of health, happiness, and security. There are numerous interrelated factors at play that allow participants to regain a sense of citizenship or a fit with mainstream society. However, the complex and nuanced pathways from "street" to "mainstream" are fraught with uncertainty and struggle.

The journey occurs during emerging adulthood—a stage involving numerous developmental struggles (regarding identity, instability, self-focus, feeling in-between)—but also an age filled with possibilities. Indeed, for many of our participants, it was a time in which they had reached, as Arnett (2008) describes, the potential for handling responsibility, skill development, and self-understanding. And while most mainstream youth proceed through this stage fully engaged in experimentation and relatively uninfluenced by institutional structures, for most study participants opportunities for experimentation and identity exploration were often curtailed by processes outside of their control and struggles with the consequences of profound disempowerment. Indeed, their past trauma with family and/or current struggles with public sector structures and services interfered with or shut down opportunities to focus on normative developmental issues. As a result, many felt abandoned and stigmatized by the very resources whose mission it is to assist.

For service providers, regardless of philosophy, mandate or mission, our study findings reinforce the critical need for their resources to be known, accessible, integrated and navigable for youth during their transition from street life to housing acquisition. In addition, evidence shows that agencies and services

need to be specifically tailored to homeless youth and to have care providers trained to understand the developmental needs and histories of this particular population (Hudson, Nyamathi, & Sweat, 2008). Generally, this can be achieved through targeted outreach and follow-up programs and services, along with caring staff, a nonjudgmental atmosphere, and flexible policies (Garrett et al., 2008). More specifically, there seems to be a need for the creation and testing of developmentally-informed interventions. Through forums like psychotherapy, arts involvement, spiritual supports, and other individual and group activities, transitional youth might be supported in constructing a new life narrative. In such spaces they could explore who they have been, who they want to be, and safely test ways of being in supportive and creative environments. Connection with peers might also help in this framework, as other young people who have successfully made the transition can provide hope and ideas about pathways out of homeless spaces, cultures, and self-concepts through credible narratives.

For policy makers, we hope our findings can focus renewed attention on the growing evidence that diverse housing stock catering to young people has proven to be a significant facilitator for successful street exiting. Evidence highlights a number of critical problems within current public policies directed toward vulnerable youth in transition: eligibility criteria that exclude youth from services that might benefit them, inadequate funding for transition services, a lack of coordination across service systems, and inadequate training about young-adult developmental issues for service professionals (Osgood, Foster, & Courtney, 2010). Clearly, what is needed is a developmentally appropriate and socially inclusive system of support for vulnerable youth as they move from adolescence through emerging adulthood. For all of us, understanding the resilience and struggles of this population can provide hope that it is possible to escape homelessness and take action to build healthier lives.

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Engaging Employers as Partners in Subsidized Employment Programs

SARAH TAYLOR
California State University, East Bay

SARAH CARNOCHAN
University of California, Berkeley

GINA PASCUAL
La Clinica, Inc.

MICHAEL J. AUSTIN
University of California, Berkeley

The majority of studies of subsidized employment programs for public assistance recipients and low-income, unemployed individuals have focused on employment and earnings outcomes for participants. As employers are key stakeholders in a subsidized employment program, engaging them effectively is essential. This paper reports on interviews with 81 employers in four Northern California counties regarding their experiences in working with employees in a subsidized employment program. The findings focus on marketing, program structure, and suggestions for program improvement.

Key words: *subsidized employment, public assistance, welfare-to-work, qualitative research*

In the midst of the last recession, the American Reinvestment and Recovery Act (ARRA) of 2009, also known as the federal stimulus bill, funded the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families Emergency Fund (TANF-EF), that created subsidized employment opportunities for low-income, unemployed parents and TANF recipients (Pavetti, Schott, & Lower-Basch, 2011). The subsidized employment program supported low-income individuals and employers by generating job

opportunities and assisting employers in filling positions during the recession. Nationally, over 28,000 people were employed through this subsidized employment program (Farrell, Elkin, Broadus, & Bloom, 2011). Though the funding available through ARRA ended in 2010, similar subsidized employment programs continue to be offered in many states.

Subsidized employment (SE) programs are situated within a historically problematic political and economic context. The eligibility, payment structure, and types of work available through a subsidized employment program determine where on the continuum from workfare to fair work a program exists (Rose, 2001). Workfare programs are typically stigmatizing, and assume that the participants are "lazy" and "undeserving." Characteristics of workfare include mandatory participation, below-market wages, and employment in less desirable settings. In contrast, fair work programs are voluntary, offer market-rate pay to employees, and place employees in more desirable settings (Rose, 2001).

The subsidized employment programs that formed the basis of our study were closer to the fair work end of the continuum. Participation in these programs was voluntary, although the programs were situated within the broader context of work requirements for TANF recipients. Efforts were made to match participants and employers with mutual interests, but participant choices were sometimes limited by the availability of employment settings (Carnochan, Taylor, Pascual, & Austin, 2014). Participants were paid the minimum wage or better, in jobs similar to those who might be employed competitively.

The majority of studies of subsidized employment programs for public assistance recipients and low-income, unemployed individuals have focused on employment and earnings outcomes for participants. Few studies have examined employer experiences and perceptions. As employers are key stakeholders in a subsidized employment program, it is important to understand how to engage them effectively. The purpose of this exploratory study of 81 employers in four Northern California counties was to describe employer experiences in working with employees placed through the subsidized employment program, as well as with the county staff supporting the placement process.

Literature Review

In most governmental work programs, employment opportunities are constrained by regulations intended to prevent interference with the free market (Rose, 2001). Given this concern, supporting participants in transitioning to competitive employment is a goal of most subsidized employment programs. However, research suggests that subsidized employment programs may not necessarily increase the likelihood of transition to competitive employment, particularly for individuals from "hard-to-employ" populations (e.g., former offenders, those with very limited skills, and youth) (Bloom, 2010). Subsidized employment programs do have positive indirect outcomes, including reduced recidivism, ability to pay child support, and increased access to the Earned Income Tax Credit (Bloom, 2010).

A key challenge in creating subsidized employment positions is that the work should be in a real world setting, where productivity is expected, while offering support to individuals with limited experience. Employers may not have the time or skills to serve as mentors or job coaches (Bloom, 2010). Effectively engaging and supporting employers is essential to developing successful subsidized employment programs.

Relatively few studies have focused on employer experiences in working with employees placed through subsidized employment programs, and most of these studies were published over a decade ago, with two notable exceptions (Farrell et al., 2011; Roder & Elliott, 2013). Many studies were completed in the late 1990s–early 2000s, as researchers were evaluating the impact of the 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act (PRWORA). PRWORA replaced the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program with Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF), which instituted rigorous work requirements and time limits on receiving assistance. Three of the older studies are discussed here, followed by a review of the more recent research.

Holzer (1998) focuses primarily on labor market demand for individuals receiving public assistance in brief phone interviews with 900 employers in Michigan. He asked employers whether they would hire an individual receiving public assistance who had neither a high school diploma nor recent work

experience. Employers indicated that they would be willing to fill 9% of their open positions in the next year with applicants similar to those presented in this hypothetical situation. Using this data, Holzer (1998) analyzed potential job availability by geographic location, proximity to public transportation, and type of business (e.g., retail, service, manufacturing, etc.). He concluded that many of the potentially available jobs were likely to be inaccessible to some recipients of public assistance, due to historical likelihood of discrimination in some suburban areas and to lack of proximity to public transportation. Holzer and Stoll (2001) expanded on Holzer's (1998) study to include 750 employers in Chicago, Los Angeles, Cleveland, and Milwaukee and found many of the same trends.

Lane and Stevens (2001) presented a longitudinal analysis of administrative data from the State of Maryland. The authors used state databases of workers and employers to identify companies that hired recipients of public assistance, and also to explore characteristics of the recipients who were hired. The authors found that certain employer characteristics were associated with the likelihood of an employee making a successful transition to work. The type of employer influenced the success of the match, with health, public administration, and social services having a higher match success rate than other types of employers. Another employer characteristic associated with successful matches was previous experience in hiring recipients of public assistance. Though this cannot be assessed directly with the administrative data, the authors hypothesized that with experience, employers are better able to support employees with limited work histories and job skills.

All three of the studies above (Holzer, 1998; Holzer & Stoll, 2001; Lane & Stevens, 2001) note that employers appeared to be relatively accepting of recipients of public assistance, and suggest that this openness might be attributable to the tight labor market in the late 1990s. These studies indicate that in a recessionary environment, employers may need more extensive outreach and/or incentives to consider hiring individuals with limited education and experience.

Our research builds on two recent studies (Farrell et al., 2011; Roder & Elliott, 2013) regarding employer experiences of subsidized employment. Farrell et al. (2011) completed

a national study of subsidized employment, including outcomes for participants as well as perspectives of employers and program administrators. They interviewed 21 employers recommended by state program administrators for participation in the study. Roder and Elliott (2013) focused on employers, program participants, and program administrators in four states: California, Florida, Mississippi, and Wisconsin. Within California, where counties have a leadership role in developing and implementing services, Los Angeles and San Francisco counties were selected as study sites. Across the four states, brief telephone surveys with 633 employers were completed.

In both of these studies, employers reported overall high levels of satisfaction with the subsidized employment program and/or with the work of program participants. The two main reasons for employer participation in the program were a sense of altruism that compelled them to support individuals seeking employment, and the subsidy itself, which served as an attractive financial incentive. Though some of the findings presented in this paper confirm recent research, the present study uses a larger, randomly selected sample than in Farrell et al.'s (2011), and more in-depth, open-ended interviews than in Roder and Elliott (2013).

Methods

This qualitative, exploratory study, involving phone interviews with 81 employers that participated in four county-subsidized employment programs in the San Francisco Bay Area, consisted of in-depth, open-ended interviews and thus builds on the existing literature. The study was conducted in partnership with an eleven-member consortium of county welfare-to-work directors who sought rich and regionally relevant information that could inform subsidized employment program design and strategies in the future.

The subsidized employment programs included in the present study were operated for approximately one year, from late 2009 through September 30, 2010 (while program initiation dates varied, all programs concluded at the same time). Two of the counties were large, primarily urban counties, and two were small, suburban/rural counties. All of the counties provided up to 100% wage subsidies for employers

participating in the program. Employers were expected to contribute in-kind services, such as job training, to participants, as well as payroll taxes. Eligible employee participants were county residents, with dependent children under 18 years old and incomes below 200% of the federal poverty level. The smallest county placed approximately 150 employee participants and the largest county placed 3,600.

Program participants performed a wide range of jobs, including construction, janitorial work, food preparation, customer service, clerical support, special event planning, and childcare. The county programs varied in the amount of support offered to program participants. Some made the match and then provided an opportunity for the employer and employee to work together with little intervention; other programs provided more direct support to employees, including case management and problem-solving.

Study Sites and Sample

The four county social service agencies provided lists of all employers who participated in their program, to ensure that employers with positive and negative experiences would be included in the sample. The research team informed employers that the researchers were not employed by the county, but rather by a university, and that employers would not be notified as to which employers participated in the study, nor what any individual employer shared.

Random sampling with replacement was used to draw samples, with a total sample size of 81, including 26 and 25 employers in each of the two large counties and 15 employers in each of the two smaller counties. Employers were contacted by phone and/or e-mail to invite them to participate in the study. There was a high rate of sample replacement. Reasons for replacement sampling included change in employers, such that the employer who supervised the SE employee was no longer working with the company, invalid contact information, employer non-response to repeated messages inviting them to participate in the study, and employers' declining to participate due to limited time. Despite this high rate of sample replacement, the final sample included good representation from various types and sizes of employers, including

for profit (n = 32), government (n = 9), and nonprofit (n= 40) companies.

Table 1. Selected Interview Questions

Question	Probes
Please tell me about your company's involvement in the SE program.	How did you hear about it?
	For how long did your company participate?
	What kind of positions did you fill?
	How did you personally become involved?
	Have you participated in other SE programs in the past? If so, please describe them and your experience with them.
What aspects of the program made it a positive experience?	Did you gain any new insights about your company as a result of participating in the program?
	What has been the biggest reward?
	Did the program save you time and/or money by helping with your employee recruitment efforts?
Did you have any negative experiences? If so, please describe them.	Program rules?
	Paperwork?
	Receiving timely payments?
	Communication with the county?
	Difficulties with employees?
Please describe one or two successful employees that you have had through this program.	What were the employee characteristics that made them successful?
	What were some of the supportive services that helped these employees be successful?
	What were some employee incentives that helped?
	Did you hire this person after the subsidized employment period ended?

Data Collection

The telephone interviews were conducted by three social work graduate student research assistants, using a semi-structured instrument. The research assistants were provided with training, including readings related to qualitative interviewing (Rubin & Rubin, 2005) and classroom-based discussion of interviewing and note-taking techniques. The interview guide topics included: (1) description of the employer;

(2) employer involvement in the SE program; (3) positive experiences; (4) negative experiences; (5) incentives to participate in SE program; (6) experiences with employees; (7) interactions with the county agency; and (8) recommendations for improving the SE program. The interview guide used broadly worded, primarily open-ended questions in order to allow the participating employers the widest latitude to introduce issues and concerns. Interviewers were instructed to use the suggested probes only if participants did not spontaneously provide the information when responding to the overarching questions. Interviewers were encouraged to ask additional follow-up questions within the purpose and scope of the study, to elicit rich and detailed information from each participant. Figure 1 includes selected interview questions and probes.

Interviews lasted between 30 and 60 minutes. The interviewers took extensive notes during the interviews, supplemented immediately following the interview with additional notes to provide a comprehensive record of the interview. In addition, the interviews were recorded (but not transcribed), in order to provide a verbatim record in the event that the notes were unclear or incomplete, and to provide accurate text for quotes used to support the analysis.

Data Analysis

The data were analyzed using Dedoose (www.dedoose. com), a web-based, qualitative analysis software platform. Throughout the data collection period, the project staff and leaders met weekly or bi-weekly to discuss themes as they emerged in the interviews. To inform these meetings, the research assistants drafted analytic memos outlining suggested themes and offering supporting data. Following the completion of data collection, the research assistants and project leaders (first and second authors) worked collaboratively to develop the coding manual based upon the interview topics, analytic memos, and team discussions. The codes developed focused primarily on overall positive and negative experiences, hiring process, reasons for participation, employee and employer characteristics, program features, and suggestions for improvement. Using the code-by-code table in Dedoose, we were able to "cross-tab" the codes as needed, allowing us,

for example, to examine data excerpts coded as both "positive experiences" and "hiring process."

Inter-coder reliability was established through multiple rounds of test coding, until a kappa score of .70 was achieved, indicating 70% agreement between members of the coding team, even when correcting for chance agreement. The research assistants were the primary coders, with additional coding and review conducted by the project leaders.

A preliminary set of findings were shared with our agency partners (e.g., welfare-to-work division directors, research and evaluation staff, and agency directors) who participated in the interpretation of the findings and identification of practice implications. This discussion was a form of peer debriefing, which supports the validity of the findings (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Findings

The findings are organized into four themes related to employer engagement, as noted in Table 2: (1) marketing the program; (2) program structure; (3) economic climate; and (4) suggestions for program improvement. In reporting findings, "few" refers to less than 10% of the sample, "some" refers to 11-20% of the sample, "many" refers to 21-50% of the sample, and "most" refers to more than half of the sample.

Marketing the Program
Decisions to participate. There was considerable variability in employer responses regarding how they came to participate in the program. Some were actively recruited by county staff members who marketed the program and invited participation. Other employers learned of the program through colleagues or at conferences, and initiated contact with the county.

A substantial number of employers described being approached in person by someone involved with the program and being invited to participate. For example, one employer noted that someone from the subsidized employment program came into her office and described the program. The employer was appreciative because she had a special event coming up and needed assistance. Some employers described learning about the program through a network or association in which

they participated (e.g., Chamber of Commerce or a social service/government network). A few employers described a chance experience in which an employee, colleague, or client informed them about the program. One employer learned about the subsidized employment program while attending a conference and called the county offices to find out how to participate.

Table 2. Overview of Themes

Primary Themes	
Marketing the program	Decisions to participate
	Altruistic and financial motivations
	Benefits of participation
	Overall satisfaction
	Preferred subsidy duration
	Preferred subsidy amount
Program structure	County interactions
	Hiring process
	Program features
Economic climate	Impact of the recession on hiring practices
	Social service agency budget cuts
Suggestions for program improvement	Employer services and supports
	Recommended program features

Altruistic and financial motivations. Employers identified both altruistic and financially-oriented reasons for participating in SE programs. The altruistic motives included helping individual employees and benefitting the community (e.g., "Being able to participate in a program that is one that we believe really does make a difference in the community and it makes a difference in the lives of the people that are participating with it.") Some employers expressing altruistic motives, particularly those working in non-profit social service agencies, saw the connection between their organizational mission and the mission of the SE program. As one employer stated:

> The mission of [our agency] is to help families get back on track and this really fits our mission … We have kids who come from families who can't get a leg up, so we

really see participation in this program as contributing and helping out those same families and kids that we come in contact with.

With regard to financial motivations for participating in the SE program, employers identified the following considerations: (1) replacing employees on medical or maternity leave; (2) staffing time-limited projects (e.g., scanning documents or organizing one-time events); and (3) expanding capacity with minimal financial risks in the midst of the recession.

Benefits of participation. Some of the benefits from participating in the SE program included the opportunity to see employees develop skills and confidence on the job, presence of additional administrative support, the capacity to extend hours of operations, improvement in the quality and quantity of services, and reduced stress related to financial instability. One employer noted that "The SE program allowed us to fuel and run programs to serve many more kids, support families and provide parent trainings and advocacy." Many employers commented on the benefit of being able to test out an employee without the up-front hiring commitment, as well as acquiring a valuable employee. Several employers commented on the new energy, enthusiasm and constructive feedback displayed by young new employees.

Overall satisfaction. Using a scale of 1-5, (with 5 being the most positive and 1 being the least positive score), employers rated the program very positively (mean score of 4.19 and median score of 4.5). There was some variation in rating by employer type, with government employers giving a mean rating of 4.8, and non-profits and for-profits giving a lower rating of 4.1. Nearly half of the sample gave the program the highest rating of 5, and one noted that, "Mine was definitely a five. I hope the program gets up and going again, I really do. I think it's valuable." In contrast, an employer who rated the program a "2" felt his expectations were not met:

The structure was there, [but the] candidate pool and the support were lacking … [in] private sector employment you get paid for delivering value to the company. You may be getting paid hourly, but if that

is not helping increase revenues, decrease costs, or increase cash flow, there is no point in having it.

Program Structure

Preferred subsidy duration. Employers were asked to state the subsidy duration that would be most helpful for them. The most frequently selected subsidy duration was 12 months or greater, with 24% of respondents choosing that option. However, 18% of respondents suggested a duration of four to six months, and 12% selected one to three months. Overall, 30% of respondents stated that they would participate in SE programs that lasted for six months or less. Non-profit employers wanted a longer subsidy duration than government or for-profit employers, with more responses in the 7-11 month range than in the 4-6 month range. A number of employers noted that the need for a longer subsidy was related to the investment they had to make in training the employee. The issue of subsidy duration is related to the needs of the employees for extensive soft skills training in areas such as attendance, punctuality, dress, and communication (Carnochan et al., 2014).

Preferred subsidy amount. Employers were asked to specify the percent subsidy of the employee's salary that would be most helpful to them. The most commonly stated preference was for a 50 percent subsidy (45%), followed by a 100 percent subsidy (12%) and an 80% subsidy (11%). The mean desired subsidy amount varied by employer type, with government employers wanting a higher subsidy amount, followed by nonprofit employers, and then for-profit employers. Many employers stated that the preferred subsidy amount would depend upon financial condition of the organization at the time of the program. A few employers said they would be willing to participate even without a wage subsidy (e.g., "If the subsidy isn't there, even the pre-screening of staff would help us a lot.") For organizations with high employee turnover, the county's assistance with candidate recruitment and matching was very much appreciated.

County interactions. Employers varied widely in their experiences in working with their respective counties, from very positive interactions to continuing challenges.

Positive interactions. With regard to positive experiences,

employers frequently noted consistent and regular communication with the county or placement agency, particularly regarding the initial paperwork for hiring an employee. The amount and type of communications varied (e.g., frequent to occasional phone, e-mail, or in-person contact) and the most positive interactions emerged from the support of county staff in the hiring process (e.g., check-in after placement, reduced paperwork, and an accessible county contact). Employers also appreciated the role of the county staff in addressing employer needs. Many employers felt supported by the county liaisons, and some felt they did not need to reach out to the county because the program functioned so effectively. Many employers who had positive experiences described their ongoing, mutually beneficial relationship with county staff.

Negative interactions. Negative county interactions related primarily to difficulties in the recruitment process and with bureaucratic paperwork requirements. Some employers felt the county staff were unclear about payments, employee eligibility, timesheets, and employer requirements (including responsibility for background checks). Employers felt frustrated by the delayed start and abrupt ending of the program, which created unanticipated issues for employers and employees. Some employers described poor communication with the county, including identifying employer responsibilities, coordinating employee services, and not being notified of a change in their county contact person. A few employers felt that the county did not properly handle their concerns related to the challenges they were experiencing with employees placed through the subsidized employment program. Some employers stated that they were unsure about who in the county was responsible for certain aspects of the program. A few employers noted that follow-up contact after the initial placement could have occurred sooner: "It seemed like a long time into the placement before the first formal check-in, so a check-in a little sooner into the placement would have been nice. This could even just be a phone call."

Hiring process. Two main issues emerged related to the hiring process: (1) the roles played by the county and the employer in the hiring process; and (2) candidate preparation and screening.

County and employer roles in the hiring process. The majority of employers described a joint process in which the county conducted the initial recruitment and screening and then referred a pool of candidates to the employer for interviewing. In a few cases, the employer recruited and screened a candidate independently and then approached the county agency for approval. Several employers reported that they were referred only one candidate and were not offered a choice. Being offered a choice was seen as a positive feature of the program, and a lack of choice generated negative perceptions of the program. A number of employers reported that they did not remember the details of the hiring process.

Candidate preparation and screening. Some employers reported that the county offered inadequate training and job preparation, particularly in relation to soft skills. Some employers felt the job developers had misrepresented employees by inflating the resumes of prospective employees; this often left employers unprepared for potential problems. Some employers reported that they would have preferred a pool of more qualified candidates, as well as to hire and screen their own applicants. Some did not understand or agree with the eligibility requirements.

Program Features

Positive features. While not surprising, employers reported greatly benefiting from the financial subsidy. Many employers identified county support and employee training as valuable features. Employers perceived training, case management, employee resources (e.g., childcare, transportation vouchers,) and employee screening as valuable features of the program. Most employers noted that the county was very accessible when it came to technical and clerical support (e.g., employee payment procedures) and were comfortable utilizing these services as needed. Employers greatly valued the financial flexibility provided by subsidized employment, as it enabled them to expand or recover from the recession. In some cases, employers reported receiving tax credits for hiring employees.

Negative features. Negative experiences emerged out of bureaucratic issues related to employee placement. Some employers described registering or learning about the program

as difficult and were troubled by long delays in hiring, placement, and payment processes. One employer stated that he could not have participated in this program during the worst of the financial crisis because of the amount of upfront cash needed and the long delays in reimbursement.

Economic Climate

Many employers referred to the recession at some point during their interview. For example, one retail shop owner described "slow times" in which potential customers "had less disposable income." Several non-profit and government employers talked about budget cuts in their organizations, resulting in the reduction or elimination of programs and services. A few employers described the economic situation in the Bay Area as being particularly challenging because of the high cost of living for their employees as well as themselves.

In the context of the economic climate, many employers expressed their appreciation of the subsidized employment program. As one employer noted, "The subsidized employment program offered us a program where we would get reimbursed for the employee's wages. A couple of years ago at the height of the recession we were really struggling and were open to whatever would help us out." However, some employers showed concern about offering work to people with such limited job skills when people with advanced degrees were unemployed. One employer noted that he received over 600 responses to an opening for a receptionist position.

Finally, some employers wondered whether working with the county social service agency may have been complicated by the county government's experience with recession-based budget cuts. Employers felt that there were an insufficient number of county employees to process the paperwork and provide support. One employer stated, "It might have been hard to concentrate on subsidized employment participants when the employment caseworker's own job was in the balance."

Employer Recommendations for SE Program Improvement

Employer services and supports. The most frequently requested service for employers was better applicant screening. For a

few employers, the ability of the applicants to pass a Livescan or other criminal background checks was critical to the success of the placement. Some specific suggestions include the increased use of aptitude tests to match employees with job opportunities. A few employers commented that they would appreciate more opportunities to network with similar businesses involved in the subsidized employment program, as well as receive more publicity for their business. Other suggestions included the need for more help with human resources issues, more support for rural employers, more employer training related to growing a business, more public recognition of the efforts of employers to support SE employees, and use of additional office space (e.g., for small and growing businesses).

Recommendations related to program features. The most frequently recommended program improvement was the need to develop a more streamlined, efficient process with less paperwork. As one employer noted:

> God, less paperwork. Signing up for the program is a bear, tracking all of that stuff. You are dealing with 4 groups of people, not an exact number, but you have different agencies who don't talk to people. I remember calling a different person for payroll, oversight. It was just awful. I want a point person and I want them to take care of the rest of it.

The second most frequently cited recommendation was to expand, continue, and/or increase funding for the program. Many employers also wanted better communication about timelines for enrolling, hiring, processing payments, and program termination. One employer suggested that a web-based employer orientation would be helpful. Many employers wanted more support in dealing with challenging employees, and some requested that the program include a probationary period, in order to determine if the placement was appropriate for the employee. As one employer commented:

> I think I would have more focus on a process for when a new hire is less experienced than we anticipated and an explicit process for managing that. I don't know

whether it would be more support for that person so that we keep them or a quicker response regarding 'this person is really not ready for this position.'

Several employers suggested that the county needed to do a better job of marketing the program as a way to engage more employers and thereby create more diverse job opportunities that might be a better match with employee interests. They suggested that the SE program document success stories and use these for marketing, as well as develop a better web presence to attract employers. A few employers wanted a continuing relationship with the county so that they could take advantage of future subsidized employment opportunities. Some employers recommended more flexible eligibility requirements to include any unemployed individual, and not just those receiving public assistance.

A few employers indicated that they wanted to be involved in program design and evaluation related to defining goals and criteria for success in partnership with the county. For example, a few employers speculated that the pressure to offer permanent positions to SE employees might have decreased the likelihood that employers would participate in the program. They suggested that temporary employment be viewed as a positive training experience.

Summary and Discussion

This paper describes the experiences of 81 employers in the San Francisco Bay Area that participated in county-based subsidized employment programs. Employers commented on how they learned about the program, their interactions with the county-based employment specialists, and recommendations for program improvement. Similar to other recent studies (Farrell et al., 2011; Roder & Elliott, 2013), our research suggests that employers are motivated to participate by altruism as well as the financial incentive of a subsidy and have positive experiences while engaging with the programs.

The current study not only adds to the literature regarding employer engagement, but also explores these issues during a very different economic climate than many of the previous

studies on employer experiences (Holzer, 1998; Holzer & Stoll 2001; Lane & Stevens, 2001). In the late 1990s, the economy was experiencing its longest expansion in U.S. history (Hatch & Clinton, 2000). In contrast, the subsidized employment period for this study was from late 2009 through the end of 2010, thus corresponding with the recession of 2007-2009, during which 63,000 businesses closed and the unemployment rate reached 10% (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2012). It is notable that although our interview protocol did not include direct questions about employer experiences as related to the economic climate, several employers spontaneously commented on how this context influenced their experience with the subsidized employment program. A few employers noted that the availability of many unemployed, highly-skilled individuals made it difficult to justify employing someone with limited work experience (e.g., the employer who commented that he received over 600 applications for a receptionist position paying $10 per hour.) Many employers suggested that the financial challenges of the recession made them more open to working with employees receiving a wage subsidy (e.g., "With budget cuts and lack of resources, the program gave us the support we needed … It was an opportunity to experiment with a different kind of employee without paying for the extra payroll.")

These employers' comments reflect the workfare-fair work continuum and the tension inherent in the government's interest in promoting work while supporting a free market. During the recession, the high unemployment rates among highly qualified as well as low-wage workers created social pressure for the government to assume a more interventionist role in promoting employment, perhaps in part to prevent social and political instability (Piven & Cloward, 1971). Equity-based concerns about providing employment supports to the "undeserving poor" may have been further allayed by the eligibility requirements, allowing participation by adults heading families up to 200 percent of the poverty line.

The strengths of this study include its substantial sample size, inclusion of four counties in a major metropolitan region, random selection of employers, and diversity of employers, representing the non-profit, government, and for-profit

sectors. The limitations include the retrospective design that required employers to recall their interactions with employees and social service agencies over a year after the program ended. This contributed to the high rate of sample replacement, since some employers reported that the employee with the most knowledge of the subsidized employment program no longer worked with the organization, and declined to participate in the study.

Implications for Practice

The numerous ways that employers learned about the program has important implications for expanding subsidized employment programs in the future. The fact that some employers learned about the program in a random manner or by actively seeking out information on their own initiative suggests that social service agencies need to do more outreach to engage with employers. Outreach could include presentations to Chambers of Commerce and professional associations, collaboration with temporary placement agencies that have connections to multiple employers, and social media campaigns.

Some employers who had a positive experience with the county social service agency noted that they continue to enjoy a mutually beneficial relationship with the agency. This finding underscores the importance of maintaining clear communication and minimizing bureaucratic hurdles so that employers will want to develop and maintain their engagement with the social service agency. A few employers expressed interest in being involved in setting goals and evaluating the subsidized employment programs, a process that could be supported by creating employer advisory boards to provide timely program feedback on an ongoing basis.

Implications for Research

Promising directions for future research relate to the effects of economic growth and recession on employer hiring decisions, and the influence of economic climate on the role of altruism versus financial incentives. Research is also needed to identify effective strategies for informing employers about opportunities to participate in subsidized employment

programs. Questions to explore in this area include the type of information that should be provided in recruitment materials, how information should be delivered, and marketing strategies for specific employer groups (e.g., non-profit and for-profit, small and large businesses).

The elements of effective, long-term, cross-sector relationships between for-profit employers and public sector employment specialists also merit further investigation. Small, in-depth qualitative studies of successful long-term collaborations between employers and social service agencies would help to identify the factors that contribute to a mutually satisfactory working relationship that meets employer needs and subsidized employment program goals. Similarly, retrospective case studies of several successful employer advisory boards would be useful for understanding how to establish, maintain, and expand a more formalized relationship with a select group of employers.

Finally, given the variation in responses related to the desired length, duration, and amount of subsidy, a quasi-experimental study design that offers several different subsidy levels could be useful in identifying a program structure that maximizes employer engagement while providing support to the greatest number of individuals receiving public assistance.

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Book Reviews

Anthony B. Atkinson, *Inequality, What Can be Done?* Harvard
    University Press (2015), 400 pages, $29.95, (hardcover).

Inequality is clearly back on the agenda. After having
been banished from polite discourse since the 1980s, a spate
of recent books on the subject have attracted a large reader-
ship and challenged the notion that that income and wealth in-
equalities are unimportant as long as the problem of poverty is
addressed and opportunities to improve living standards are
available to all. Euphemistic terms, such as "social exclusion,"
that were popularized in the 1990s to offer an alternative con-
ceptualization of inequality, are giving way to a more decisive
commitment to deal with inequality directly. The question,
of course, is how an egalitarian agenda can be implemented
in the face of vigorous opposition from those who enjoy the
power and privileges arising from entrenched income and
wealth inequalities.

Atkinson seeks to answer this question in his wide-rang-
ing book on the subject. Long recognized as a leading scholar
of both poverty and inequality in Britain, where he serves as
Professor of Economics at the University of Cambridge, he
takes an optimistic view, claiming that policymakers can be
persuaded to adopt measures that will reduce inequality. He
lays out a persuasive case showing that there are sound reasons
for pursuing egalitarian policies. These transcend moral and
humanitarian arguments and focus on the economic and po-
litical costs of inequality. Entrenched income and wealth in-
equalities, he contends, impede economic growth and foster
the concentration of political power in the hands of a few.
Unless checked by policies that promote greater equality, the
very basis of democracy is threatened.

The bulk of Atkinson's book offers a range of policy pro-
posals that can promote greater income and wealth equality.
Five chapters outline these proposals in depth recommending,
for example, that policymakers regulate technological change
in ways that increase employment, introduce a national pay

policy, provide a statutory minimum wage and seek to reduce and prevent unemployment. To promote egalitarian asset accumulation, government should offer national savings bonds with a guaranteed real rate of positive interest and establish a public investment authority to operate sovereign wealth funds, which can build up national assets. Like most writers on the subject, he also discusses the role of progressive taxation in reducing inequality. A particularly interesting chapter for social policy scholars is a discussion of the role of income protection (or "social security" as these programs at known in Europe) in reducing inequality. Atkinson believes that social insurance has historically played an important redistributive role and he recommends that it should be strengthened. He is less sympathetic to social assistance, which he believes has perverse consequences that limit their redistributive impact. In addition to stigmatizing recipients, they are often meager and coercive. Although his proposals are primarily directed at Britain and other Western countries, he concludes by recommending that international aid flows directed at low income countries should be increased. The author helpfully provides a summary of these proposals at the end of the book.

The final chapters discuss whether the book's proposals are affordable and politically feasible. Challenging those who believe that governments are limited by the pressures of global competition as well as domestic economic realities, he optimistically concludes that it is possible to build on past achievements to implement an egalitarian agenda that fosters opportunities and well-being. In the years following the Second World War, he argues, governments purposefully adopted economic and social policies that reduced income and wealth inequality and raised the standards of living of many millions of families. The sharp increases in inequality that have characterized social conditions in recent years are also, he contends, the result of deliberate policy choices. Accordingly, the solution to the problem of inequality "lies in our own hands."

This is a readable and stimulating book, which will appeal to many readers of this journal, even though it is unlikely to persuade everyone that proposals to promote an egalitarian agenda are needed. Although time will tell whether Atkinson's arguments will have wider political appeal, the book contains

a wealth of information on the subject. In addition to its policy proposals, the author's mastery of the empirical complexities of defining and measuring poverty and inequality will be of interest to social policy scholars and other social scientists. His optimism is infectious and his proposals are persuasive. This engaging and informative book deserves to be widely read.

James Midgley, School of Social Welfare,
University of California, Berkeley

Kathryn J. Edin & H. Luke Shaefer. *$2.00 a Day: Living On Almost Nothing in America.* Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, (2015), 240 pages, $28.00 (hardcover).

What happens to poor people when the federal safety net is ripped apart? That's the fundamental question addressed by Kathryn Edin and Luke Shaefer in *$2.00 a Day*. In 1996, the U.S. Congress abolished Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), a New Deal-era cash assistance program, and replaced it with Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF). TANF is a block grant program that mandates work, imposes a five-year lifetime limit, and allows states considerable administrative discretion. Initial reports were mostly positive: employment by mothers previously on AFDC increased substantially, not only in the booming late 90s economy but on into the 2000s. Politicians trumpeted welfare reform as a resounding success.

Even before the financial meltdown of the late 2000s, signs had emerged that the picture was not as bright as advertised. Scholars found that a poor mother's transition from welfare to work hardly increased her family's well-being. Most available jobs simply paid too little and were too insecure. It was clear, however, that the mothers preferred to work and that the 1993 expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit had, in fact, provided a significant benefit to those finding formal employment. Yet, not everyone could find and keep jobs, and the Great Recession led to much suffering.

Two Dollars a Day provides a richly detailed, moving, and comprehensive picture of those left behind in the pitiless political and economic environment of the early 21st century. The

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   Two Dollars a Day provides a richly detailed, moving, and comprehensive picture of those left behind in the pitiless political and economic environment of the early 21st century. The

authors deploy both quantitative and qualitative methods to tell a complex story. Edin, who had researched the lives of poor people for many years, noticed in 2010 that some of the poor families she was interviewing had no income at all [Disclosure: Edin served as outside adviser for my doctoral thesis]. She then asked Shaefer, an expert on the national Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP), to help her investigate this phenomenon. For the analysis they used the World Bank's $2 a day standard for global poverty (less than one eighth of the U.S. poverty line for a family of three) and found, in 2011, that 1.5 million households—with 3 million children—had incomes below that threshold. The number of destitute households, half of whom were white, had doubled since TANF replaced AFDC fifteen years before. Not coincidentally, the number of poor families relying on cash assistance had fallen drastically. By 2014, just 3.8 million people received TANF—one quarter of the peak of 14.2 million on AFDC in 1994. The Supplemental Nutrition Assostance Program (SNAP, or food stamps) participation expanded, and most very poor families receive it, but in-kind benefits do not offer the flexibility and convenience of cash. In short, the safety net of last resort is failing.

In light of these disturbing findings, Edin and Shaefer sought to better understand the lives and struggles of those living on less than $2 per day. In four urban and rural communities across the nation, they conducted in-depth ethnographic studies with desperately poor families. Their book provides startlingly intimate portraits of their suffering, hopes, and resilience. How does a a family get by on nothing? Survival strategies included trading discounted food stamps for cash, trading sex for rent, redeeming bottle deposits, and selling plasma. Homeless families relied creatively on public libraries and private charities. Almost all of their informants had extensive work histories and wanted to work, but the low-wage job market treats employees as disposable, replaceable parts.

Be an exemplary retail cashier for years, lose track of twenty dollars once, and you're out of work. Take a Dickensian job cleaning foreclosed houses (no heat, no water) in the dead of winter, aggravate your asthma, miss work, and your hours are cut to next to nothing. Regarding the possibility of applying for welfare, most informants have heard that "they aren't

giving it out anymore." Edin and Shaefer vividly describe the dilapidated homes of their informants. In one of them, twenty two people subsist. Several of those interviewed have no teeth.

The fact that such destitution exists in the United States is alarming, and the book's compassionate portrayal of good people scrounging just to survive will stay with the reader for years. What to do? The authors offer detailed suggestions for subsidizing jobs for the poor, strengthening TANF, refining the EITC, raising the minimum wage, and inducing/requiring employers to offer predictable and stable work schedules, although the important role of labor unions in improving low-wage work is not discussed. *Two Dollars a Day* is a short, beautifully written book that will open the eyes and hearts of all readers, and one hopes its powerful punch will galvanize a public campaign that says simply: this is unacceptable.

Edward U. Murphy, Department of Global Studies
and International Relations, Northeastern University

Elaine Chase & Grace Bantebya-Kyomuhendo (Eds.). *Poverty and Shame: Global Experiences.* Oxford University Press (2015), 336 pages, $90.00, (hardcover).

Poverty has consequences beyond material scarcity. As social creatures, human beings can and do experience a range of harmful social psychological effects of poverty. These effects are best encapsulated by the concept of shame, a state of feeling profoundly inadequate compounded by real or imagined negative social appraisal. As such, shame and poverty have a strong relationship. Adam Smith's attention to this is evident in his assertion that every person has the right to appear in public without the shame of visible poverty: a linen suit and leather shoes, standards of dress during his time. How is the shame of poverty produced and reproduced in everyday life, and what are the variances and consistencies across nations? These are the questions that Chase and Bantebya-Kyomuhendo answer in *Poverty & Shame: Global Experiences*. Their examination of the "poverty/shame nexus" builds upon several overlapping literatures, including recent ethnographic work on the lived experiences of people who are poor, Amartya Sen's

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Poverty has consequences beyond material scarcity. As social creatures, human beings can and do experience a range of harmful social psychological effects of poverty. These effects are best encapsulated by the concept of shame, a state of feeling profoundly inadequate compounded by real or imagined negative social appraisal. As such, shame and poverty have a strong relationship. Adam Smith's attention to this is evident in his assertion that every person has the right to appear in public without the shame of visible poverty: a linen suit and leather shoes, standards of dress during his time. How is the shame of poverty produced and reproduced in everyday life, and what are the variances and consistencies across nations? These are the questions that Chase and Bantebya-Kyomuhendo answer in *Poverty & Shame: Global Experiences*. Their examination of the "poverty/shame nexus" builds upon several overlapping literatures, including recent ethnographic work on the lived experiences of people who are poor, Amartya Sen's

capabilities approach and other work that advances multidimensional measures of poverty, and literature on social exclusion and social psychology. Moreover, the book fits within a trilogy of companion books, namely work that advances the theory that poverty and shame are co-constructed (Walker, 2014), and an edited book on policy prescriptions to ameliorate the coexisting conditions of shame and poverty (Gubrium, Pellissery, & Lødemel, 2014). Published most recently, Chase and Bantebya-Kyomuhendo's book is best read nested in the middle of this group.

To understand the relationship between poverty and shame, a sizable team of researchers examined texts and videos and conducted interviews in Uganda, Pakistan, India, China, Great Britain, South Korea, and Norway. Given that these countries have a considerable range of economies, types of poverty (absolute vs. relative), policies, cultures and religions, they were chosen by the authors precisely to examine the experience of shame and poverty within divergent contexts. The book is formatted in three sections (cultural conceptions, lived experiences, and the role of the media), and evidence from each of the seven countries is examined. This configuration allows the reader to read deeply in one conceptual category and compare findings across countries. Readers who are interested in a particular geographic area would benefit by choosing a country and skipping across each conceptual section. An examination of the material by country grants a certain amount of continuity when the story of an individual country unfolds in its expressions of shame and poverty, and may make for a more authentic experience for the reader.

It should not be a spoiler that the authors do indeed find global continuity that the condition of poverty, no matter how it is measured, produces harmful shame that is felt internally and expressed and reproduced through social mechanisms. The book not only advances a universal theory of poverty and shame, impressive given the comparison between the Global North and South, but it also provides nuanced accounts of how this relationship is co-constructed between and among systems and individuals. The depth of these findings is truly impressive. That said, might it be true that if one goes looking for something, one will find it? The strongest counter-narrative

is the finding that shame is not necessarily always negative, as it can promote social cohesion in some contexts. Luckily, the text offers clues on how to deconstruct the shame/poverty nexus when it does cause harm, and it makes a considerable contribution to understanding a meaningful sphere of human existence.

Mary A. Caplan, University of Georgia, Athens

Eric Tang, *Unsettled: Cambodian Refugees in the New York City Hyperghetto*. Temple University Press, (2015), 220 pages, $24.95 (paperback); $70 (hardcover).

Researching and writing *Unsettled,* Eric Tang could not have predicted the 2015 refugee crisis, which makes his work oh so timely. Tang spent fifteen years as a community organizer in the Northwest Bronx's refugee neighborhoods, and his experiences permeate the pages of the book. Importantly, though, the knowledge produced through this political engagement with the subject matter only intensifies the bite of his research. The book offers readers an evocative look into an earlier refugee crisis, that of the thousands of people who fled Cambodia at the conclusion of the Southeast Asian War.

In the first part of the book, Tang offers a history of how the Southeast Asian War, in particular the U.S.'s widening of the war through a massive bombing campaign in Cambodia that destroyed the livelihoods of thousands of peasants. He points out that President Richard Nixon ordered the carpet-bombing of eastern Cambodia. From the late 1960s into the early 1970s, the U.S. dropped nearly 2.8 million tons of explosives there, "exceeding the total tonnage of such devices used during the six years of World War II and rendering the tiny nation the most heavily bombed in history" (p. 30). Individuals who survived this raining death then suffered through the horrors of the Khmer Rouge, years in refugee camps, and a new kind of confinement in cities across the U.S. that became home to refugee populations. Between 1975 and 1994 approximately 150,000 Cambodian refugees were settled in the United States; some 10,000 of these refugees arrived in the Bronx.

Unsettled describes and sharply analyzes how Bronx

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Cambodians fared, while closely following one woman and her family for several years as they make their way in what the author calls the *hyperghetto*. A site of extreme isolation, punishment, and confinement, refugees become captives in late-capitalist urban America. The majority of refugees were resettled in inner cities where violence, unemployment, and lack of opportunity were endemic. "Racialized geographic enclosures, displacement from formal labor markets, unrelenting poverty, and the criminalization of daily life" awaited the Cambodian displaced (p. 5).

Ra Pronh, the book's central subject, escaped the Cambodian genocide in 1979, lived in refugee camps in Thailand and the Philippines for six years, and moved to the Bronx under the direction of a resettlement program. The popularized story of resettlement depicts, in Tang's words, "a transition timeline from immigrant to permanent resident, to citizen, with each phase supposedly bringing greater stability" (p. 4). The generalizable Cambodian refugee story and Pronh's specific story are far from such idyllic imaginings. A mother of seven, she moved numerous times and was forced to contend with poor housing, bad landlords, and several negligent housing agencies. With each such displacement, the resettlement agency "failed to move Ra and her family to another neighborhood with better housing, and less violence, and merely relocated them to the next vacant apartment in the same troubled area" (p. 70).

Thus (un)settled, Pronh worked at home for fifteen years to supplement her inadequate welfare income in the home-based garment industry, a throw-back to how turn-of-the 19th century immigrants made a living. She and others engaged in the work, were paid 90 cents per dozen for scrunchies, $1.50 per dozen for hair bows, and $2.00 per dozen for hair clips. Home workers sew and assemble hair accessories under exploitative conditions, sometimes even sewing "Made in China" labels onto products, perhaps to mask the fact the fact that such domestic sweatshops exist. This reminded me of Lewis Hine's photographs of tenement homeworkers and Jacob Riis's images of immigrant sweatshop labor in late 19th century Lower East Side walk-ups.

Tang believes his book poses questions relevant to the

present moment about living and working in a part of the U.S. where numerous refugee populations reside. I agree. It is the case that, for the first time since the Southeast Asian refugee crisis of the late-1970s and 1980s, migrants are risking their lives in significant numbers in search of safety and stability. Refugees produced today as casualties of wars on terrorism and drugs:

> are immediately cast as threats, not victims. Today's refugees are construed as an entirely unique racial problem that reflects the public's anxieties over national security and is managed by practices such as racial profiling, surveillance, and detention, rather than humanitarian resettlement. (p. 176)

What Tang has given us with this book is a clear warning that refugee resettlement, if practiced as usual, will not offer the new refugees what they so desperately seek and what indeed they ought to have: safe resettlement.

Robert Forrant, History Department,
University of Massachusetts Lowell

Patricia Fernandez-Kelly, *The Hero's Fight*. Princeton University Press (2015), 422 pages, $21.00 (hardcover).

I come to this review of *The Hero's Fight* from a unique vantage point. Soon after I met Fernandez-Kelly in 1994 when I joined the Johns Hopkins faculty (where she still practiced), we became friends, and that meant learning to keep up with this very active, vivacious woman who spent a good deal of her time traveling around the city in a cab driven by D. B. Wilson (Chapter 1). I observed her first-hand interacting with the urban black families in a way I had never seen—maintaining a professional and scholarly posture, while all the while displaying close-up compassion in a myriad of ways. Now I fully understand the excellence of her ethnographic method: rich field notes on each and every encounter in the field that has ultimately resulted beautifully here in "ethnographic narratives while honoring theoretical analysis" (p. 13). The final product is also an accurate description of the world of West

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Baltimore that I, too, witnessed first-hand.

Why, she asks, does deep poverty among urban blacks persist in a nation of such wealth as this? Fernandez-Kelly strongly believes that the answer lies in a clear understanding of "the relationship between the American state and the urban poor" (p. 1). And therein lies the strength of this text: its explication of a broad range of macro structures and processes that hide the truth of what is disposing of people on the ground. Further, the "great ideological divide" highlights the limitations of public policy that has been mired in backward thinking about causes and effects. While the nation overall has progressed tremendously over the centuries, even through rough recessions, the "persistence of impoverishment over time is a blotch in the otherwise luminous trajectory of the nation," due to an insistence among many that the poor are fundamentally different from the rest of the good folks. Such a condemnation ignores the structural problems that have plagued the urban poor and would have plagued any other group under the same conditions in places like Baltimore.

Fernandez-Kelly does a masterful job of implicating a number of societal missteps in the dilemma: the decline of manufacturing; the undermining West Baltimoreans in race, gender, and class specifics; the trajectory of urban development; the close scrutiny of poor people by government agencies—i.e., the work of "distorted engagement" and "liminal institutions" (Chapter 6); and the crippling of the poor by specific government agencies, such as child protection agencies (Chapter 8). Her argument is made all the more potent by her craftsmanship in interweaving the personal stories of those poor families she has come to know in West Baltimore and who exemplify what is wrong with our system.

Fernandez-Kelly also spends careful time theorizing at a level that helps us to understand how and why these individuals have suffered so throughout the course of their lives. Among other things, she ponders: what role does social and cultural capital truly have in why some individuals have managed to rise above the fray while others have been crushed? She suggests that while things like opening up opportunities for young urban children to receive structured mentoring is vitally important, so too is relieving the gross racial

segregation and government intrusiveness that cripples such urban spaces. Further, she looks deeply into how the poor evoke religious faith as a means of projecting their humanness and their sense of honor and respect for themselves and others.

Lastly, in a chapter that I personally had some difficulty integrating into the whole, Fernandez-Kelly offers a somewhat unique parallel concern for urban blacks and their drive for entrepreneurship. She offers that entrepreneurship could be a fruitful way to lift many urban blacks, particularly men, out of their poor circumstances, if only they were given a chance to adequately compete for the important resources that are necessary to start and advance a business endeavor. These men, as well as their neighborhoods, are bound to thrive with financial support, wealth circulated locally, and a strong community for everyone's benefit.

Every teacher of race, gender, or class (the poor) will find this book extremely instructional, and their students will very likely renew their concerns for or finally find good reasons to care for their black urban poor neighbors.

Katrina Bell McDonald, Department of Sociology,
The Johns Hopkins University

Ben Lazare Mijuskovic, *Feeling Lonesome: The Philosophy and Psychology of Loneliness.* Praeger (2015), 203 pages, $60 (hardcover).

Mijuskovic's book adds an existential philosophical perspective to theory and research on loneliness. Loneliness has been studied from many other perspectives including the social psychological, neurobiological, epidemiological, and psychoanalytic (Cacioppo & Hawkley, 2009; Spira, Richards, & Lynch, 2013; Weiss, 1973; Wilson & Moulton, 2010). Certainly, the findings of sociologists, social psychologists, neurobiologists, epidemiologists and psychoanalysts provide useful insights for social welfare policy makers and field workers because they demonstrate the impact of loneliness on mortality and morbidity, emotional well-being, self perceptions and the formation of social bonds. For example, psychoanalytically-oriented attachment theorists such as John Bowlby can inform child welfare policies by pointing to the lack of a secure home

segregation and government intrusiveness that cripples such urban spaces. Further, she looks deeply into how the poor evoke religious faith as a means of projecting their humanness and their sense of honor and respect for themselves and others.

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base and emotional difficulties later in life. Similarly, social psychological studies of social isolation attest to the existence of social ties and supportive social networks in assessing individual and family dysfunction and in sustaining emotional health. Does Mijuskovic provide equally useful insights?

In Mijuskovic's view, "all human existence is … innately lonely … and … the psychological drive to escape loneliness is the most insistent motivator in all mankind" (p. 2). He rejects the view that human beings are innately social and opposes the primacy of social groups in individual development as well as a definition of loneliness as a feeling of isolation from social ties.

Mijuskovic also rejects that infant psychological development takes place in a reciprocal relationship with a caretaker from which a sense of being a separate person emerges and also rejects the definition of loneliness as a longing for the presence of an attachment figure. For Mijuskovic, loneliness is primary and we must study it "intrapsychically as opposed to interpersonally, psychologically as opposed to sociologically" (p. 3). It is "the preexisting condition … for only after experiencing a sense of isolation do issues concerning intimacy, friendship and all other strategies of 'socialization' follow as solutions to the original problem which is always dependent on an awareness of loneliness" (p. 3).

He supports his point of view by turning to the writings of many ancient and contemporary philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Kant, Hegel, Husserl, and Sartre. Later, he joins the psychological and philoshophical perspectives by citing Irving Yalom, an existential psychotherapist. Yalom sees loneliness as one of the "four essential concerns of the human condition" (p. 174).

Mijuskovic's philosophical exploration of loneliness brings a new perspective to the study of this universal and painful human experience and may of be interest to academics from other disciplines. There appears to be a deep fault line dividing those of us who regard human beings as innately social and who view psychological development as always taking place in an interpersonal field from those who share Mijuskovic's intrapsychic perspective. To argue his point of view, he extrapolates from Harlow's experiments with infant rhesus monkeys

that those who were deprived at birth of any attachment figure were a prioi in a state of existential loneliness. However, as they matured, this particular group of monkeys behaved quite differently from those who were given an opportunity at birth to bond to a secure attachment figure. Instead of a successful socialization strategy, they exhibited a notable deviation with regard to group participation and mating behavior.

Finally, although Mijuskovic concludes that our connections to other people only come about through an awareness of loneliness, it is just as likely that, "as a perquisite of being human" as Bowlby suggests, we are wired to seek proximity and connection. Bowlby observes, "as long as these bonds remain intact, we feel secure in our world" (cited in Weiss, 1973, p. 39). Yes, there will always be attachment failures that impede establishing trust, allaying anxiety and forging secure bonds, as field workers in child welfare no doubt encounter everyday of their working lives. But, because human beings seek connection to other people throughout life, attachment failures can be repaired and loneliness dispelled.

Nancy Goldner, Ph.D., LICSW and author of
Living Solo: A Practical Guide to Life on Your Own.

Corresponding Authors

Justin E. Lerner
justinlerner@nyu.edu

Gordon Limb
gordon_limb@byu.edu

Kelley Fong
kelleytyfong@fas.harvard.edu

Jeff Karabanow
Jeff.Karabanow@Dal.ca

Azize Aslihan Nisanci
anisan2@uic.edu
aanisanci@29mayis.edu.tr

Catherine M. Giroux
cgiroux898@community.nipissingu.ca

Karie Feldman
kef3@case.edu

Sarah Taylor
sarah.taylor@csueastbay.edu

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(Revised December, 2015)

JSSW welcomes a broad range of articles which analyze social welfare institutions, policies, or problems from a social scientific perspective or otherwise attempt to bridge the gap between social science theory and social work practice.

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Articles should be typed in a 12 point font, double-spaced (including the abstract, indented material, footnotes, and references), with one inch margins on all sides. Please number pages and disable the right justification. Tables may be submitted single-spaced. Please provide a running head and keywords with manuscript. Include tables and figures in the same document as the narrative. Due to space considerations, no more than five tables or figures can be included in an article. Please keep in mind that the tables must fit into a 4" x 6" page when printed, and adjust the size accordingly. Keep identifying information out of the narrative. Put identifying information (author names) in a separate document with full contact information and any acknowledgments. Aim for approximately 18 pages, not counting tables and references. Avoid footnotes and endnotes if possible. Overall style should conform to that found in the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association, Sixth Edition, 2009.

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Please use gender neutral phrasing. Use plural pronouns and truly generic nouns ("labor force" instead of "manpower"). When dealing with disabilities, avoid making people synonymous with the disability they have ("employees with visual impairments" rather than "the blind"). Don't magnify the disabling condition ("wheelchair user" rather than "confined to a wheelchair"). For further suggestions see the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association or Guide to Non-Sexist Language and Visuals, University of Wisconsin-Extension.

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