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JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WELFARE

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New Themes in International Social Welfare: Introduction

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This introductory article provides a brief overview of developments in international social welfare paying particular attention to the major themes which have characterized the field. It summarizes the new themes reflected in the contributions to the special issue, noting that they are indicative of future directions for international social welfare investigation.

Although this special issue of the *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare* is concerned with new themes in international social welfare, the field itself is hardly new. Social welfare institutions in different societies have been analyzed and compared for many years. However, much comparative social welfare research has been undertaken by sociologists and political scientists who have been more interested in testing theoretical propositions and reviewing cross national statistical trends than examining social welfare interventions. Comparative studies in the applied social welfare field are still relatively underdeveloped.

In recent years, those working in the applied fields of social policy and social work have become much more active in international research. Comparisons of different approaches to social policy, different types of human service provisions and different forms of intervention are now undertaken with greater frequency than before. Until recently, very little had been published on social work education and practice in different countries, but more literature on the subject is now available. In social work, attempts have been made to foster the internationalization of the professional curriculum and there is a greater interest in learning from the experiences of colleagues in other nations (Estes, 1992; Healy, 1993; Hokenstad, Khinduka & Midgley, 1994; Midgley, 1990).

These developments suggest that an international perspective is becoming more widely accepted in social policy and social work. Once regarded as an exotic activity practiced by a few hardy adventurers, many more social workers and social administrators now have international knowledge which they incorporate into their professional activities. Similarly, the expansion of international activities has also engendered a greater awareness of cultural diversity issues, fostered a tendency to compare policies and practice approaches more critically, and generally facilitated the positive exchange of ideas and experiences.

The Field of International Social Welfare

International social welfare research is multifaceted, dealing with many different issues. The range of topics covered is substantial. As the entry in the most recent issue of the *Encyclopedia of Social Work* (Midgley, 1995) revealed, international social welfare research has dealt with issues as varied as comparative social expenditures, the cross-cultural replication of practice approaches in social work, the need for a developmental perspective in social policy and the role of international agencies in promoting global social welfare.

A large number of countries and regions of the world have been covered by this research. Sometimes, one society is used as a case study; in other instances, two countries are compared and sometimes data for a large number of nations are analyzed. In the past, international social welfare research tended to focus on the Western industrial countries and frequently comparisons were made between the United States, Britain, Sweden and a few other European nations. Today, many more societies are included and studies of social policy and social work in many different industrial countries are available. These studies increasingly transcend the descriptive case study approach which characterized much formative research in the field. Today, social policy studies often cover several nations examining broad aspects of social policy (Cochrane and Clark, 1993; Friedmann, Gilbert and Sherer, 1987; Gould, 1993; Jones, 1985). In addition, since the 1980s, several studies of social policy in the developing countries have been published (MacPherson, 1982; Hardiman and Midgley, 1982; MacPherson and Midgley, 1987; Jones, 1990).

Because of its complexity, attempts to excavate the themes embodied in this research are faced with formidable difficulties. So many issues, problems and topics are covered that any attempt at classification is likely to be incomplete. Midgley's (1995) review of the major themes in international and comparative social welfare identified five topics which have preoccupied investigators working in the field. These topics include first, a concern with assessing social need in different societies; second, comparative studies of the social services in different countries; third, attempts to construct typologies of welfare states; fourth, studies of the origins and functions of social policies and fifth, speculative commentaries on the future of the welfare state. In addition, applied research is now undertaken more frequently than before. There have been more studies of social work practice and educational trends in different countries; greater efforts to collaborate internationally in social welfare; and renewed interest in social development as an internationally useful approach to social welfare.

As this review suggests, research into international social welfare can be divided into descriptive, theoretical, normative and applied domains. Much comparative social welfare research has been descriptive in that it has sought to provide useful narrative accounts of the way the social services in different countries are organized and operated. Descriptive research has led the way to normative evaluations of the way social welfare institutions function and of their effectiveness in meeting social welfare goals. Explanatory studies have tested theoretical propositions about the origins of social policies and social service provisions, their functions in society and their relationship to wider economic and political institutions. These studies permit generalizations abstracted from the experience of one society to be tested more widely. Applied international social welfare research has been concerned with the application of findings to policy planning, program implementation, social service delivery and similar issues.

It has already been noted that applied research is now more popular in international social policy investigation. A primary purpose of this research has been to utilize the experiences of other countries for the purpose of introducing new social provisions or modifying and improving existing provisions. Previously, a good deal of applied social welfare research resulted

in the uncritical replication of western approaches in the developing countries. However, as critics exposed the inappropriateness of this practice, more discerning transfers have taken place (Martinez-Brawley & Delevan, 1993; Midgley, 1981, 1984). With appropriate care, applied international social welfare research can bring real benefits as countries engage in positive reciprocal exchanges of information and experiences.

New Themes in International Social Welfare

Despite the expansion of international social welfare research in recent years, there is considerable scope for the further enhancement of the field. The progress made in extending the geographic scope of international studies needs now to be augmented by a commitment to expand into new subject terrains. As in other academic fields, there has been a tendency among international social welfare investigators to perpetuate existing lines of inquiry. While much knowledge builds incrementally on previous research, a relatively new field of endeavor such as international social welfare can benefit from more adventurous excursions into neglected areas.

This idea formed the basis for this special issue of the journal. By publishing material on new themes in international social welfare, the journal hopes to encourage original thinking and the dissemination of new ideas. As far as possible, submissions were selected for making an innovative contribution or for emphasizing some aspect of recent trends in the subject. While some of the articles may be judged by readers to be more novel than others, all deal with issues that will expand the field or take international social welfare research in new directions.

The new themes reflected in the articles in the special issue deal with issues as varied as the cross-national diffusion of innovations, the neglect of the Third World in comparative social policy research, minorities and cultural diversity issues, feminist and gender perspectives in international social welfare, the need for a developmental approach in social policy and social work, and the growing significance of market-based social policy interventions.

The electoral successes of the political right in many countries today has had a major impact on social welfare. One consequence

of this change is the growing role of market-based provisions. Today, the social services in many countries are being privatized and contracting out for services is now commonplace. Two articles in the special issue deal with this trend. Wes Shera examines the role of the market in health and mental health care in Britain and the United States while Morgan Tracy and Martin Tracy review the impact of the new market economy on social security in Poland.

As was noted earlier, the developing countries have traditionally been neglected in international social welfare. Before the 1980s, most studies were pre-occupied with comparing the Western industrial countries and particularly those in North America and Western Europe. This issue is discussed in some depth by Kwong Leung Tang in his article on the marginalization of social welfare in the Third World and the relevance of theory in explaining this phenomenon. A greater focus on the Third World in international social welfare has also fostered an interest in developmental roles for social policy and social work. James Midgley refers to the Third World experience in his attempt to articulate a developmental model of social policy which will transcend the increasingly outmoded debate between residual and institutional approaches. Joyce Kramer and Claude Johnson extend this discussion by considering the relationship between the concepts of sustainable and social development as policy approaches in the new global economy. Shanta Pandey looks at the growing problem of de-forestation, suggesting that it provides an opportunity for social workers to become more involved in developmentally relevant social work practice.

It is only in recent years that gender and minority issues have gained prominence in international social welfare. Since the 1980s, when the first major feminist social policy studies were published, gender issues are now more frequently analyzed. This is also true of research into cultural diversity and minority concerns. Four articles in the issue stress the need to pay adequate attention to gender and minority concerns in international social welfare. Patricia Spakes examines equality and family policy in different countries arguing that a feminist theory of the state is needed to frame the debate. In similar vein, Lena Lundgren-Gaveras examines the work and family needs of single parents with reference to social policy in Sweden and the United States.

Christina Pratt discusses the efforts of Israeli and Palestinian women to respond to ethnic conflict in the Middle East while Miriam Potocky writes about policies for re-settling refugees, many of whom are minorities and the victims of ethnic violence.

Finally, Maria Julia and James Billups discuss the issue of technology transfer in social welfare. Although this issue has long been neglected, much more has been written about the subject in recent years. The authors offer an inclusive overview of the debate and show how appropriate collaboration between social workers can enhance international social development efforts.

The articles in this special issue do not, of course, cover the spectrum of new themes in international social welfare but they show how scholars in the field are addressing previously neglected concerns. The topics addressed in the articles also indicate the future directions research in international social welfare may take. The new themes in international social welfare discussed here will undoubtedly require more discussion. Hopefully, this will further enhance the subject and insure its vitality and relevance in the future.

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Market Mechanisms and Consumer Involvement in the Delivery of Mental Health Services: A UK–US Comparison

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Both the United Kingdom and the United States Are in the midst of health care reform. By focusing on services for the severely mentally ill this paper compares recent developments in managed care in the U.S. and care management in the U.K. It particularly focuses on the use of market mechanisms and consumer involvement in these reforms.

Both the United Kingdom and the United States are in the midst of health care reform. A critical issue in these reforms is the increased emphasis on market economics in the delivery of health and social services. Managed care, managed competition and a mixed service economy are but a few of the terms being used to describe the current reforms. The intent of this article is to: identify the assumptions underlying the introduction of market mechanisms in health and social care; review some of the evidence and research regarding these assumptions; discuss the unique nature of social markets; and explore means of moving forward. The article does focus primarily on how these developments are unfolding in the delivery of services for persons who have a serious mental illness.

Market Mechanisms in the Human Services

Rationale for Social Markets

Similar arguments have been used in both the U.S. and Britain to support market mechanisms in the delivery of health and social services. Managed competition in the U.S and the mixed economy in the U.K. are the two terms which best describe the market mechanisms being promoted in these two countries. It is assumed that

independent providers would overcome excessive bureaucracy, remove political constraints, make the system more responsive to consumer needs, make providers innovative and responsive and increase quality and efficiency (Propper, 1992).

Central features of these mechanisms in the U.S. include contractual arrangements with selected providers to deliver a set of services at a negotiated price, financial incentives to guide patients to providers within the plan, and ongoing accountability through quality assurance and utilization review (Arnould, Rich, White & Copeland, 1993). Mayo (1994), in an attempt to unravel the myths surrounding the mixed economy, identifies the most frequently asserted benefits of market mechanisms.

1. The private sector and/or the voluntary sector can be more cost effective than public-sector provision.
2. Increasing the mix of provision within the mixed economy of care increases consumer/client choice.
3. State provision is inherently bureaucratic, whereas private and/or voluntary provision can be less bureaucratic and paternalistic, which allows for greater innovation and flexibility.
4. The welfare state has reproduced patterns of inequality in terms of race and gender. Alternative forms of provision have therefore been essential as part of strategies to combat these structured inequalities.
5. More generally, voluntary welfare structures outside state provision, and self-help schemes, in particular, have a role in wider political strategies to promote active participation and democracy. (p. 27).

Are They Working?

Paton (1994), in a recent book on competition and planning in the National Health Service in Britain, asserts that the adoption of the ideas of provider markets and the internal market draws on a misguided perception that US health care is moving towards efficient supply-side competition. Further he argues that competition is an American response, and only a partial one, to an American problem. He claims that there is no case for arguing that British planning has failed and that competitive markets are needed in Britain.

A few of the lessons for the U.K. from the American experience are that competition does not occur automatically, that transactions in the market can become bureaucratic and expensive and that very formal purchasing processes are likely to lead to the exclusion of small suppliers (Flynn & Hurley, 1994). Even though we have recently witnessed the demise of President Clinton's Health Security Plan this has not stopped the proliferation of managed care systems for the mentally ill in a growing number of States. Many have decided not to wait for Federal reform primarily because cost containment is a top priority. At least 35 States already have some form of capitated payment system for Medicaid clients with severe mental illness (McFarland, 1994). While Health Maintenance Organizations (HMO's) are taking up contracts to provide services to this population, numerous criticisms to this approach have been voiced. Difficulties include: unrealistic limits on number of units of service; a reversion to a more medically-driven model of care; lack of emphasis on community-based outreach and psychosocial rehabilitation; little information on efficacy of interventions; and the danger of lowest-bid providers. Public sector managed care involves the identification and balancing of a wide range of competing objectives. Hoge, Davidson, Griffith, Sledge, and Howenstine (1994) suggest that efforts to provide accessible, comprehensive, continuous, and effective services must recognize the scarcity of resources and the need for cost efficiency. A new generation of studies is needed to inform us about the most effective ways of organizing managed care for the seriously mentally ill.

In terms of creating a mixed economy of care in Britain the record to date has been very uneven. The development of a mixed economy that produces the cost reductions, quality improvements and expansion of choice as laid out in government policy depends upon an adequate number and range of alternative suppliers of service (Wistow, Knapp, Hardy & Allen, 1994). Factors which have limited this development include too few suppliers, underdeveloped suppliers, barriers to entry, lack of capability or willingness to accept expanded contracts and the diversity of needed services.

Mayo (1994) systematically reviews each of the previously stated assumptions underlying market-driven reforms. Her

major conclusions, many of which are collaborated by other investigators, include that: the non-statutory sector is not necessarily cheaper or more cost effective; it does not provide greater consumer choice; public bureaucracies can provide good quality services; racism and sexism are by no means confined to the public sector; and voluntary organizations are not necessarily more democratic than their public sector counterparts.

Social Care is Different

Some authors suggest that markets in health and social care do not function like markets in the business sector (Flynn & Hurley, 1994). Le Grand and Bartlett (1994) call them quasi-markets since they do differ significantly from traditional markets in both demand and supply characteristics. Not all organizations in social markets are out to maximize profits, most are not privately owned and in most cases it is not the direct user who exercises the choices regarding purchasing decisions (Le Grand & Bartlett, 1994).

It should also be noted that, in terms of the implementation of quasi-markets, there are differences between the health and social care sectors (Wistow, Knapp, Hardy, & Allen, 1994). Social care, seen from a commodities perspective has many characteristics which make it incompatible with an unfettered unregulated market. In the area of services for the mentally ill there are often episodes of unpredicted service need which will not wait for the negotiation or renewal of contracts. Blanket contracts often homogenize rather than individualize service users. On the other hand spot(individualized) contracts do not give providers the funding base that they need to survive. In rural areas of the country one is often fortunate to find one agency willing to provide a needed service.

Many of these issues underpin the resistance to social care market development. Some of the reservations identified by local authorities in the U.K. include the uncertainty of the policy with particular reference to the structure of local government and continued funding; the ideological belief that social care is different and does not lend itself easily to a market mentality; pride in public sector provision; and the limited potential of providers outside the public sector (PSSRU, 1992). Many authorities still believe that the organizational split between purchasers and providers

was an artificial division of work and argue that there should not be a break between assessment of need, provision of service and monitoring and reassessment of need (Flynn & Hurley, 1994). The efforts to develop social care markets in local authorities in the U.K. have been very uneven from virtually none to a few who have done excellent work and have a diverse array of services for their users. Unfortunately the latter are the exception rather than the norm.

In the U.S. the development of various systems of managed care, both public and private are underway and heated debates are occurring both at conferences and in the professional literature regarding the efficacy of these initiatives. In an effort to develop the best possible design for these programs, the Center for Mental Health Services of the Department of Health and Human Services and the National Association of Case Management recently hosted a think tank on managed care for the seriously mentally ill.

Moving Forward

Revisiting the Mission

The recent reforms in community care in the U.K. and managed care in the U.S. have precipitated a so-called cascade of change. On the one hand these initiatives might represent what the Chinese call the "let a thousand flowers bloom approach". Other observers comment that we have moved to an even more chaotic, out of control non-system of care. Still others accuse the central governments of both countries of passing the buck (pound) to lower levels of governance and neglecting their leadership responsibilities. Which ever position one subscribes to it is quite clear that the current mission to provide cost-effective care for the seriously mentally ill will be very difficult to achieve. Critics (Means & Smith, 1994; Seedhouse, 1994; Paton, 1994) have pointed out that the objectives are too ambitious, subject to interest group interpretation, not necessarily mutually achievable, and under-resourced. One could even argue that the costs involved to develop social markets, negotiate and monitor contracts, and facilitate significant and meaningful user involvement is much more expensive than providing good quality public sector services. A major challenge then is to revisit and reality test the mission of

community care/managed care—what is feasible, desirable and acceptable within the currently available resources?

An Holistic Approach to Planning

To encourage collaboration and promote system coherence a systems approach to planning is essential (Turner-Crowson, 1993). In the U.K. local authorities, in collaboration with users, must map out the needs of their area, assess existing and potential (formal and informal) resources, identify priority groups for service and structure their service systems to respond to these needs. This has happened in a number of areas but is not yet common practice. More typically planning and development has been incremental and piecemeal. A critical impediment has been the underresourcing of the planning and market development functions within local authorities. In the area of mental health, recent work by the Mental Health Task Force (1994) is moving in this direction. They have specified the target group as the seriously mentally ill and identified the critical components and functions of local systems of support for this population. It is important to underscore, however, that no one model is appropriate for all areas. It must be tailored to take into account geographical, population, cultural, gender and other contextual factors. Some of the same criticisms prevail in the U.S. scene—many States are involved in a variety of approaches including public sector managed care, private sector carveouts, capitation systems etc. While these are steps in the right direction they too are characterized as insufficiently systemic and do not address other sectors of provision such as income security, housing and vocational rehabilitation.

Market Development

Given the assumption that the emphasis on social care markets will continue, more systematic development and creativity are essential. Market development plans within overall Community Care Plans/State Mental Health Plans are critical. Based on thorough needs and resources assessments, these plans should specify the what, when and how of the mixed economy of care for each area. In the area of contracting various options such as long-term, standard, incentive, and volume-cost are available. These mechanisms need to be used selectively and creatively to

ensure a good quality social care market infrastructure yet sufficient individualization in provision of care—a delicate balancing act! Joint purchasing, decentralized budgets, better information systems and an enhanced community care planning process are central to overall improvement (Wistow, Knapp, Hardy & Allen, 1994). Again one model of market development is not possible, each plan must recognize the limitations of market development in their area by understanding the unique community context within which they provide services. The market mechanism to be used in each circumstance then needs to be tailored to these unique contexts.

Consumer/User Involvement

A critical issue in these reforms is the promotion of user involvement in all aspects of service delivery. The Community Care legislation in Britain places particular emphasis on the involvement of users in the planning, purchasing and provisioning of services. User involvement in the development of social care markets, however, has been very limited. Flynn and Hurley (1994) found that the choice of services had not been improved by the process of contracting, that services were either designed by the purchasers or the providers, with little user involvement and that services were managed by the providers and monitored by the purchasers, with little user control.

While the overall picture is not good, there are a few examples of genuine and significant user involvement such as the Wiltshire Community Care User Involvement Network and the Newcastle Mental Health Consumer Group (Ramon & Sayce, 1993). These groups are not only significantly involved in the purchasing function of services but throughout the care management planning process. This continuing involvement maximizes the quality of their input during the market development and purchasing processes. User forums and evaluations have also provided additional opportunities for input. The degree of user choice and control can also be articulated in contracts.

In the transition to managed care in the United States there has generally been little involvement of consumers, where it has happened is in locations where there was already an infrastructure of

consumer involvement. This includes involvement in Planning Councils (PL 99-660), National Organizations like NAMI, Protection and Advocacy Offices, State and National self-help groups and a variety of agency-based mechanisms for consumer input. We have also seen the growth of consumer-run services such as Mind Empowered in Portland and Mindstar in San Diego. Maximizing consumer involvement in these reforms requires action on a number of fronts. Individualized capitation (spot contracts), flexible funding, more significant participation in Councils and Commissions, consumer-run services, accreditation standards for consumer involvement and innovative approaches for rural areas are only a few of the initiatives that might further consumer involvement in the reform agenda. Finally, users need to be resourced so that they can be significantly and continually involved in the creation and delivery of appropriate services. Their involvement may provide the acid test for markets in the field of social care.

Lessons Learned

What then are the lessons to be learned from this cursory review of the experiences of the U.S and Britain in their efforts to control escalating costs in the delivery of care? Firstly we must be clear about both the direct and indirect objectives of such initiatives. While these reforms are often couched in consumer-responsive language the bottom line is cost reduction. In both countries the lack of resources will impede the range and availability of community-based services and hence we have an exploitation of a community-based philosophy of care to further the cost cutting agenda. Secondly, what is good for one country is not necessarily transferable to another. Transfers must be tailored to the unique context, culture and history of the host country. Thirdly, the legislative mandate in the U.K. on consumer involvement, while subject to interpretation, appears to be stronger than that provided in the U.S. Part of it however may be the swiftness, in the U.S. with which managed care schemes are being put in place while others would argue that the current mechanisms for consumer involvement are themselves ineffective.

Finally, in both countries much more research and evaluation is essential to inform policy debates and improve the quality of

these initiatives. I believe the U.S. has much to learn from the innovative consumer involvement projects in the U.K. particularly in the planning, purchasing and provision of care. Britain on the other hand will find the results of capitation approaches to managed care in the U.S. of use in the future development of their system.

The rapidly growing interest in managed care or care management as it is called in the U.K. has produced some positive outcomes. It is forcing us to critically think about how we provide services and how we can provide the best quality of services to the most people within resource constraints. It also helps workers in the system to realize the importance of documenting what works well for those we serve. The practice wisdom gained through years of providing case management services to the severely mentally ill needs to be captured and utilized in the development of systems of managed care. Policy and service decisions are frequently made by those farthest from the realities of the everyday lives of the severely mentally ill. Even more serious is the charge that consumers of service have had little input into the rapidly developing systems of managed care. Consumers need to be resourced so that they can be significantly and continually involved in the creation and delivery of appropriate services (Fisher, 1994).

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The Impact of Market Economy Transition on Social Security and Social Welfare in Poland

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The development of certain facets of Poland's social protection system since the collapse of state socialism in 1989 is analyzed using a comparative policy process analysis model. Particular attention is given to the programs of social assistance, child-care and family benefits, and old-age pensions in the Polish context. On the basis of the analysis it is argued that policy makers should give greater consideration to Poland's unique historical and cultural experience relative to addressing social issues.

Six years after the collapse of state socialism in many Central and Eastern European countries, the impact of societal transformation on the public social protection systems of these nations remains a pressing issue. During the initial period of transition, economic and political mechanisms have been subject to comprehensive reform, yet many of the social programs inherited from the state socialist legacy continue to be operational (Rys, 1993; Voirin, 1993). These programs distribute vital income support, in-kind benefits, health care, and social services to pensioners, widows and dependents, injured and sick workers, and families. At the same time, new programs have been added to address those contingencies borne by the process of changing to a capitalist economy, such as unemployment benefits. Presently, the fiscal liability of maintaining the previous level of state expenditure on social benefits is often perceived by the new governments as a constraint on their attempt to create conditions for an economically efficient market (Holzmann, 1991; Kopits, 1993). Many

political leaders have accordingly sought to restructure public social systems by limiting their financial and administrative burdens. However, the concurrent development of democracy in Central and Eastern Europe means that any attempt at modifying the social protection system is dependent upon popular consent. Consequently, the governments in Central and Eastern Europe are in a new and difficult situation, one in which they must precariously balance both economic and political considerations in their decisions on social policy (Dziewiecka-Bokun, 1994; Gotting, 1994; Marklund, 1993).

Among the nations of Central and Eastern Europe, social policy reform during the transition has been experienced with greatly differing results, reflecting a significant diversity of cultural environments. For example, Hungary has a historical legacy of mutual benefit societies which flourished before the Second World War, and of the growth of heavy informal economic activity over the last thirty years. Both of these factors have contributed to the promotion of non-governmental organizations and the principle of subsidiarity (policies should always be made at the lowest possible level of government) as prevalent means to address present needs for pensions and social services (Batty, Stumpa, & Kovari, 1994; Kuti, 1994). In the Czech Republic, the tradition of a strong industrial base and highly developed social protection for workers before the communist coup in 1948 has influenced that country's current economic stability and the strong support for insurance principles in social security (Harris, 1994; Potucek, 1993; Mares, Musil, & Rabusic, 1994).

Relative to Hungary and the Czech Republic, Poland has faced greater difficulties in effecting a smooth transition in social policy from a socialist to a capitalist environment. At root of the country's problems are economic difficulties, brought about in part by "shock therapy" marketization measures, which were designed to stimulate capitalist development but which in the process contributed to high unemployment and a substantial decrease in the standard of living (Jonczyk, 1992; Ksiezopolski, 1991). To compound these problems, the governments in Poland during the initial transition generally neglected to respond legislatively to the growth in social need (Ksiezopolski, 1993). As mentioned above, it is argued that government leaders in Poland

can not afford to ignore the political implications of this need nor the economic burden that is being placed on the state socialist social insurance system. Indeed, Polish policy makers are confronted with the challenge to shape social policy that assists the development of capitalism yet engenders public support.

These leaders, however, are in conflict over the course of social policy reform. Influencing their debate are a variety of internal and external agents, each with an abundance of advice. Yet within the general discussion an important element that does not seem to be widely considered is the influence of Poland's historically unique tradition of social protection. This tradition has important implications for the decision-making process and potential effectiveness of changes in social policy. This article analyzes the impact of historical and current forces on three specific areas of social programs in Poland: social assistance, child and family benefits, and old-age pensions.

Methodology

The method of analysis is a comparative policy process framework that has been used to compare social programs among nations at a similar stage of economic development (Tracy, 1992). Comparative process analysis is designed to compare social programs and provisions by analyzing the processes used to address social problems that are shared by one or more nation (Dierkes, Weiler, & Antal, 1987). It examines the conditions under which a given programmatic strategy is chosen by a country to address an identified problem and the consequences of using that strategy. The model borrows from a seminal comparative research methodology developed in the early 1970s which focuses on the stages in decision making and policy formation, including policy initiation, implementation, operation, and impact (Rose, 1973). This model also examines how social issues and policy objectives are influenced by cultural, social, economic and political factors that shape, constrict, and direct government action.

The framework consists of nine points of inquiry, which are not necessarily bound to each other in a specific order:

1. The governments' (national, state, and local) legal responsibility for social programs.

2. The conceptual frameworks that help to determine the nature of government programs.
3. The obstacles and constraints to governmental intervention.
4. The social, economic, and political forces that exert pressure for government action.
5. Service and benefit needs as defined by government programs.
6. Specific government goals, objectives, and strategies relative to social programs.
7. A description of the provisions under existing programs and services.
8. An evaluation of the effects of programs.
9. A synthesis of these factors and implications for future policies.

The Polish Context

The application of this analytical framework to Poland is useful in distinguishing those approaches to social policy that are unique to Poland and those that are shared with the other nations of Central and Eastern Europe that are also experiencing the transition to a market economy. This feature is of no small significance, since identifying country-specific behavior challenges a pervasive perception that the former Soviet Bloc countries were largely homogenous in their social protection systems, and therefore may be considered collectively when discussing the future of social policy. Indeed, this perception is understandable, since each of the nations in question was subject to a Soviet social philosophy, and since each has similarly sought the development of a political democracy and a capitalist economy after the dissolution of Soviet control in 1989.

Unfortunately, these commonalities are often stressed at the expense of recognizing differences. Many advisers have prescribed a standard approach to social policy reform in transition countries with considerable attention to economic development and little consideration for the distinctive social welfare characteristics of each particular nation conducive to social development. Since advisers are in many instances vital in supplying needed financial aid, their recommendations are usually given a high priority in consideration. It is ironic that an emphasis on a universally applicable social policy program approach as a means

of facilitating capitalism mimics in many ways the determination of the Soviets after the Second World War to implement social policies that would unite these same nations in the pursuit of socialism.

The following is an analysis of how the development of particular social programs has evolved in Poland, and what implications current approaches may have for future social policy.

Social Assistance

In Western Europe the concept of a safety net comprising social assistance benefits for the demonstrably impoverished with no other means of protection has been an openly accepted fixture of social policy for many years. However, in Poland any similar historical development was interrupted by the imposition of state socialism after World War II, specifically by the state's obligation to provide full employment. In the Soviet Bloc nations, citizens were encouraged to fulfill their right to work through an explicit connection of social benefits and employment. The state as employer provided access to general provisions such as retirement pensions, and specific state-run enterprises granted special perks such as extra commodities and vacation destinations.

Ideological doctrine proclaimed that people who did not work must be physically unable to do so, through no fault of their own, since the obvious advantages of socialism precluded any other reasons for not participating in the labor force (Butler, 1995; Wiktorow & Mierzewski, 1991). As a result of this ideology, social problems such as substance abuse went largely unrecognized. Furthermore, any benefits outside of the scope of employment that could be comparable to Western social assistance were only provided to physically challenged individuals who had been evaluated by a social worker from the Ministry of Health (Millard, 1992).

In the Polish context, the historical importance of social workers is fundamental to the current debate over reforming the social assistance policy inherited from the socialists. The practice of the profession dates back to before the Second World War, when it was guided by a philosophy of personal interaction in a collective context, particularly in the spheres of family and parish, the cornerstones of Polish society (Constable & Frysztacki, 1994). Social

workers became accepted features of social support networks, and they further defined themselves during the socialist era by giving detailed attention to each client through in-home visits and checkups and personally designed programs of services and benefits.

When socialism collapsed in 1989, the new government sought to reduce the scope of state social insurance and expand that of social assistance. This was accompanied by an elimination of the full employment guarantee which, in turn, led to a rapid rise in unemployment rates, from near zero to 15.7 percent by the end of 1993 (Topinska, 1994). At the same time, consumer subsidies were drastically reduced as part of the program to stimulate capitalism, and many households were unable to supply their needs. Initially many people took early retirement or an invalidity pension to provide income support, spurred in part by the fear of future pension restrictions (Maret & Schwartz, 1994). In fact, eligibility for early retirement and invalidity pensions was only tightened very recently (K. Hagemeyer, personal communication, May 1995).

Others took advantage of the newly introduced unemployment compensation benefit, which was offered without requiring contribution periods, for an unlimited duration, and at a relatively generous replacement rate of one's previous earnings (Ksiezopolski, in press). However, the unexpectedly overwhelming takeup of unemployment compensation convinced legislators to drastically tighten eligibility conditions and benefit duration in 1991. Although this measure solved the financial crisis of the Unemployment Fund, it did not address the needs of those whose joblessness continued after their benefit eligibility expired, a total of 57 percent of all unemployed in August of 1993 (Butler, 1995).

The current solution to meet the needs of the long-term unemployed, as well as others impacted adversely by the transition to a market economy, has been to further develop the system of social assistance, which was reconstructed in legislation during 1990 (Florek, 1994). Eligibility for assistance has been expanded to all who demonstrate their poverty through a means-test and concurrently meet one of ten conditions, including: orphanhood, homelessness, unemployment, physical and mental disability, helplessness in running a household, substance abuse,

prison release, need from motherhood protection, chronic illness, and natural or ecological disaster (World Bank, 1993). However, the determination of social assistance eligibility remains the duty of social workers, who operate out of social welfare centers at the *gmnia* (district) level and continue the practice of evaluating each applicant through an in-home visit and intensive case management. The benefits given can be either cash or in-kind, and either on a permanent or temporary basis. Most cash benefits are known as "commissioned," and are equal to 28 percent of the average monthly wage, plus a supplement of 9 percent of that wage if the applicant meets a further set of criteria, such as being over age 75 or pregnant (Topinska, 1994).

The respect for the authority of the local social worker in the 1990 legislation can in part be attributed to the central government's aim of reducing its role in welfare provision, and thereby relieving an excessive budgetary expense. The law seeks to encourage the development of micro-level support systems, with the social worker helping to coordinate the resources of the community through family, church, and voluntary organizations to address the difficulties of those in need (Constable & Frysztański, 1994; Gammon & Dziegielewska, *in press*).

Although such a scheme might appear to have many advantages, Poland is in fact experiencing difficulties in successfully implementing this strategy. First of all, some voivods (regions) in Poland are experiencing much higher rates of unemployment, and do not have the local resource base to be as generous in the dispensation of social assistance as other voivods. Secondly, many of the administrative units at the regional level lack the expertise to efficiently budget expenses and coordinate programs, since many managers at this level have been used to passively receiving directives from the central government (Butler, 1995). In addition, since all "commissioned" benefits are state-financed, the central government has not succeeded in reducing its financial burden, which now is around 73 percent of all social assistance expenditure. Furthermore, the fiscal strain has progressively worsened, as the number of claimants receiving "commissioned" benefits has increased, especially in the case of temporary payments, whose recipients rose from 53,000 in 1993 to over 1 million in 1993 (Topinska, 1994).

Perhaps the most significant disadvantage of the current social assistance scheme is precisely one of its most commendable points, namely the empowerment of social workers to develop a systems-based approach to problem situations. Since the new composition of applicants draws heavily from the ranks of the unemployed, not all are going to be in need of an intensive case management structure that emphasizes a comprehensive social services program. Obviously, the needs of an unemployed single man are much different from those of a single homeless mother with an alcohol addiction, but currently both cases are exposed to the same degree of scrutiny from a social worker. The integration in Poland of a cultural respect for the social work profession and the impetus to embrace a Western social assistance scheme has clouded the distinction between the functions of income support and social services. Not all who need the former necessarily require the latter.

This discrepancy has been pointed out by several international advisers, and the Polish government appears to be at a crossroads with regard to making its social assistance scheme more efficient. The government must consider proposals from the World Bank which call for introducing a distinct occupation of benefit assessor to deal with applicants that do not need extensive services (World Bank, 1993). This would help to relieve overburdened social workers, who were dealing with an average of 200 clients each in the early 1990s (Ksiezopolski, 1993). In addition, the Bank has also suggested eliminating the process of home visits for some applicants.

In light of both the social welfare consciousness in Poland and some of the problems incurred by social assistance schemes in the West, the Bank's proposals that would enhance the role of social assistance as a basic means of income support are not above a certain degree of speculative criticism. For instance, would the elimination of a portion of social worker home visits help dissuade claimants from identifying the receipt of social assistance with the stigma of having one or more social problems or incapacities? Historically, the public perception in Poland has been that payment depends on the disclosure of a debilitating condition to a social worker. Would takeup be encouraged by a change of application venue to the social welfare center and the presence

of a benefit assessor? On the contrary, it has generally been the experience of Western nations that social assistance applicants feel stigmatized when they must go to an office to complete a benefit application, and that takeup suffers in the process.

Along the same lines, the recommendation to employ benefit assessors would facilitate means-testing on a large scale, although the extension of means-testing to a much broader segment of society would be quite alien to traditional Polish social policy (Beattie, 1993). Furthermore, the implementation of a entirely new bureaucratic class, even if it is more efficient in the long-term, will initially represent a heavy administrative cost in terms of training and staffing, a cost that fiscally strained governments might find difficult to afford.

It might arguably be more sensible, from a fiscal and psychological point of view, for Poland to utilize the already established social insurance framework to disperse basic income support (Zukowski, 1994). In fact, a universal national pension that guarantees a minimum benefit was recently proposed by the Ministry of Labor as part of a three-tiered pension insurance reform. Such a program would appear to preserve the role of the social worker in case assessment for multiple-problem households and community development while ensuring that a minimal level of support existed for all, regardless of locality or circumstance.

However, this option for reforming social assistance also neglects some specifically Polish social welfare traditions. Although public opinion surveys have revealed greater support for income equality relative to other industrialized nations, the idea that only hard work and a desire for self-improvement should merit reward is a core value for many Poles (Butler, 1995; Kolarska-Bobinska, 1992). A universal guaranteed income would seem to directly challenge this supposition.

The Role of NGOs in Social Assistance

An emerging factor in the debate over social welfare in Poland is the mix of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or private not-for-profit voluntary organizations (PVOs) that are responding to needs as the government tries to limit their extent of protection. Volunteer services are not new to Poland, and had been historically strong under the Catholic Church, which

coordinated a number of charitable institutions before the 1950s (Constable & Frysztacki, 1994). However, the state socialist government coopted control over the Church's charities and directed other volunteer groups, including the Association of the Friends of Children, the Polish Red Cross, and the Polish Social Welfare Committee, the latter two of which focused in great part on the needs of the elderly. Membership in these organizations declined after the imposition of martial law in 1981 as many Poles distrusted the administration of these groups by communist party officials.

The transition to democratic principles has facilitated the development of new NGOs and some increase in membership among those that were formerly run by the government. However, the distrust of state authority has inhibited cooperation between the state and the volunteer groups, thereby limiting the scope of their service provision (Anheier & Seibel, 1993; Gammon & Dziegielewska, 1995). Unless the government can bridge the gap with NGOs through financial assistance and social worker cooperation, volunteer services, although successful in micro-level environments, will prove to be insufficient in filling the macro-level social welfare needs created by economic transition and retracting state protection.

As mentioned above, several volunteer organizations are focusing their attention on two particularly vulnerable groups during the time of transition, children and the elderly. The impact of the transition to a market economy on the social protection of these two groups will now be considered in more detail.

Children and Family Benefits

Prior to and following the transition children have benefitted from comprehensive maternity and child care provisions, which include fully replaced paid leave for the period after childbirth (16 to 18 weeks) and for caring for a sick child under the age of eight (up to 60 days a year) (Topinska, 1994). In addition, mothers can take three years of unpaid leave to care for infants. While six years after the transition these provisions remain intact, their effectiveness is questionable. As unemployment has increased, women have suffered redundancies at a higher rate than men,

and employers are generally more reluctant to hire women, as the leave time available to female employees is perceived as a liability (Lado, 1992). There is also a groundswell of popular sentiment that women should return to more "traditional" roles, such as that of a housewife. Consequently, women with children who have been excluded from employment have lost access to many benefits they used to rely upon (with the exception of the lumpsum birth grant, which can be given based on the husband's contributions to social insurance).

This development is consistent with the government's apparent aim to limit social insurance and shift the burden to families and a safety net of social assistance. Yet Butler (1995) has argued that these maternity and child-care benefits actually can strengthen the two parent family and help prevent divorce. Furthermore, it seems that these benefits might also limit the incidence of single mothers needing social assistance.

In addition to these benefits, workers with children were eligible between 1970 and 1988 for a family allowance that varied according to the number of children and the level of household income. This benefit had grown to become quite unpopular before the advent of democracy in 1989, as it was perceived by many as unjustly raising the income of low-wage workers with large families to a level comparable to other workers' families (Butler, 1995). In other words, it offered little incentive to work, since increased earnings would offset decreased family benefits.

In 1989 the government attempted to redress these criticisms by modifying the level of family allowance to a single payment for each child of an insured worker (with limited exceptions) at 8 percent of the average salary. This payment was reduced to 4.7 percent of the average salary in 1993, without any provision for indexation (adjustment for inflation). Although this form of the family allowance effectively targeted lower-income families, since many large families are low-income households, and addressed the detractors made about the income-testing component of the state socialist benefit, a new law was implemented in December of 1994 which switched financing of the family benefit to the state budget and limited eligibility to any household receiving less than 50 percent of the average salary (ISSA, 1995). Even though this reform extends coverage to persons regardless of work history,

income-testing raises all of the problems of stigmatization and administrative cost, plus the dilemma of protecting families whose income barely exceeds the cutoff level. While diverting the fund to the state budget is quite sensible, a procedure that would seem to be less administratively complex and politically popular than income-testing would be to distribute a family benefit universally and then progressively tax higher income groups.

The Elderly and Old-Age Pensions

The elderly in Poland have by and large been affected particularly hard by the transition to a capitalist economy, as subsidies for housing and pharmaceuticals have been drastically reduced. Concurrently, social workers have limited their time with the elderly as new groups in need demand their attention (Synak & Czekanowski, 1994). NGOs have been helpful in the areas where they are located, but are generally underdeveloped, and in fact only three percent of the elderly receive home service programs. Most elderly receive at least a minimum pension, set at 39 percent of the average wage, but this hardly ensures a decent standard of living, particularly at a time when opportunities for the elderly to supplement their income through such options as part-time employment are quite limited. To complicate matters, many low-income elderly take a strongly negative view towards applying for social assistance (HelpAge, 1993).

The future standard-of-living for the elderly in Poland will be determined by the outcome of a current intergovernmental debate over modifying the old-age pension scheme. One factor in this discussion is the recognition that the conditions of full employment under state socialism no longer apply, and that there is the distinct possibility that many elderly will reach retirement age without having contributed for a sufficient time to be eligible for the basic social insurance provision.

The former system has already been initially revised, replaced by the current system, which has sought to mitigate both the previous emphasis on replacing personal earnings (formerly at 55 percent, plus 1 percent for each contribution year over 20) and the number of abuses (i.e. raising the salary during the last year of employment to receive a higher pension) (Wisniewski, 1992). The

present scheme instead mandates a flat-rate benefit for all insured workers at 24 percent of the average salary, supplemented by 1.3 percent of one's pension base for each contributory year and 0.7 percent for non-contributory years, spent on activities such as child-raising (Milewicz, 1992).

In reality the current system seems to be an interim step towards a more comprehensively reformed old-age pension. A debate, as mentioned above, is being waged over what the next evolution should entail. One proposal that was introduced shortly after the transfer of power calls for integrating funded private pensions, like those found in Chile, into the retirement system (Horlick, 1991). This reform suggested three tiers, the first of which would be a pay-as-you-go scheme limiting an employee's contribution base to 120 percent of the national average wage. At the second tier employees would be required to invest contributions beyond the first tier level to funded private pensions. At a third tier employees would have the option of contributing to volunteer pension funds.

While adoption of the Chilean model has been promoted by the World Bank (World Bank, 1994), others have contested the viability of funded private pensions (Beattie, 1995; Tamburi, 1992). Interestingly, some analysts associated with the World Bank and International Monetary Fund have specifically criticized any immediate implementation of funded private pensions, citing: 1) poor long-term return capacity, 2) inadequately developed investment opportunities, and 3) raised financial commitment of the state government, which must compensate investors who retire before funds have matured and must guarantee the fiscal soundness of funds through supervision and subsidies (World Bank, 1993; Maret & Schwartz, 1994). Also at risk through adoption of such a proposal is intergenerational solidarity, a concept which may, upon analysis, particularly resonate in the minds of Poles who value interdependence higher than individual return.

In contrast to this type of reform, a program for a comprehensive pension overhaul (implicitly covering old-age) was, as already mentioned, put forth in 1995 by the Ministry of Labor. This proposal seeks to establish three tiers as well, the first being a universal national pension, funded by the state budget, which

would provide protection for all regardless of work record. At the second tier would be insurance provisions based on contributions and length of service, financed by a separate social insurance fund. Finally, supplemental voluntary schemes would be offered on a third tier. This proposal, which is being contested by the Ministry of Finance, can be criticized for placing a high social protection responsibility on the state budget. However, when contrasted with the administrative cost of social assistance and the historical presence of social insurance as the primary means of income support in Poland, this proposal might gain an advantage in economic and political viability.

Conclusion

Currently, social policy in Poland is at a critical juncture. On one hand, the transition from state socialism to a market economy and democratic polity has not produced a substantial transformation in many inherited social programs. As economic circumstances have changed, these programs have not, thereby creating a gap in the extent of their coverage in some cases and coming to be perceived as an excessive burden on state resources in other cases. On the other hand, those social policy initiatives which have been introduced are often in conflict with cultural attitudes towards social protection. The attempt to incorporate social assistance on a large scale, for example, challenges public perceptions about the traditional role of social workers.

The demands of Polish policy makers to design economically efficient and comprehensive social policy *and* to be attentive to public sentiment are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, if policy makers could synthesize these two components, they might avoid the mistakes of the socialist regime, which issued social policy with little consideration for unique historical cultural-based approaches to social programs. In another regard, they might be able to retain the unique identity of Polish society while simultaneously pursuing an equal footing with Western industrialized nations. In the end, it may be this earnest attempt by Poland to analyze and appreciate those social characteristics that are specific to Poland, as well as those that are shared with other countries, that will significantly influence the effectiveness of their social policy.

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The Marginalization of Social Welfare in Developing Countries: The Relevance of Theories of Social Policy Development

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Social welfare development has been marginalized in many developing countries. This study examines the social policies of developing countries and refers to four major theories of social policy development (social conscience, modernization, dependency and diffusion) to see if they offer an explanation of the phenomenon. It is argued that dependency theory and diffusion theory provide better interpretations than the other two theories. The paper shows how theories of social policy have international relevance in explaining current trends in social welfare.

Until recently, the debates on social policy have focused exclusively on the advanced industrial countries and have disregarded events in developing countries. While the welfare state has been subjected to critical appraisal, the underdevelopment of social welfare in the Third World is often taken for granted. Parallel to this, there is great optimism that lessons drawn from the advanced industrial nations will explain social policy development in the Third World. Not surprisingly, studies of social welfare in developing countries are limited. This is undesirable in view of the fact that the majority of the world's nations are neglected by social policy analysis. The belief in the universality of western experiences is also unfounded. The aim of this paper is to study the marginalization of social welfare in developing countries and account for it using four major theories of social policy development.

The Marginalization of Social Welfare

There have been several periods in the post-war history of social policy in the developing countries. There has been a strategy

of economic growth; a concern over equity and redistribution; the basic needs approach; and the revival of economic growth strategy (Hofferbert, 1990; Midgley 1994b; Synder & Tadesse, 1995). The main thrust of development theory from the end of the Second World War until well into the 1960s focused on the dynamics of national income growth, often measured by change in GNP per capita over some specified period of time. Also known as trickle-down theory, development policy focused on infrastructural development in the expectation that benefits would flow to the population of developing countries. In social welfare, remedial social services sought to tackle pressing social problems (Hardiman & Midgley, 1989). There was a strong conviction that planning would raise incomes through economic growth and that government intervention to meet social needs was unnecessary. However, improved data and research on income redistribution did not support the predictions of income growth policy (Goulet, 1977; Adelman & Morris, 1984). Evans (1979) pointed out that even the 'Brazilian growth miracle' of the 1960s did not reduce inequality of income.

Many developing countries began to expand social welfare programs in the face of massive social needs in the 1950s. Their intervention was supported by the international organizations. For example, the United Nations promoted a remedial conception of social welfare in developing nations in the 1950s (Midgley, 1981). By the early 1970s, concern over the issues of equity and redistribution led to the adoption of the basic needs strategy which focused on the social conditions of the poorest people in the poorer countries (Stewart, 1989). The International Labour Organization first adopted the basic needs approach to development in 1976, which drew public awareness of social welfare objectives in economic development (Midgley, 1994b). This strategy was backed up by the theory of trickle-up which held that meeting the basic needs of the poorest will stimulate economic growth. The basic needs approach required that more social welfare services be extended to the poor.

However, a greater concern for social conditions did not mean that social welfare development in developing countries was comprehensive. In many instances, the opposite was the case. This situation was aggravated in the 1980s when there was inter-

national concern over the ability of governments to meet the escalating costs of welfare programs. In response to recurrent economic problems, many developing countries substantially reduced the level of their financial commitments to the human services (Estes, 1988). The rise of the New Right in the United States and Britain at this time questioned government intervention in social planning (Glennerster & Midgley, 1991). A staunch follower of this philosophy is the International Monetary Fund which put a brake on social development. It was able to force many debt-ridden developing countries to adopt stringent structural adjustment policies and impose severe cuts to social programs (Stewart, 1992; Midgley, 1994b; Aslanbeigui et al., 1994). Privatization, deregulation and retrenchment of the public sector became new policy prescriptions (Snyder & Tadesse, 1995).

However, some developing countries are not averse to social spending. This is illustrated by the fact that the poorest developing countries reported a gain of 33 percent in public spending in the 1980s (Estes, 1988). There are some promising signs of a resurgence of social development and a growing determination to fight the adverse impact of the New Right in the developing world (Midgley, 1995). Recent analyses have revealed that some Asian countries, such as Jordan, South Korea and Singapore continue to invest in social programs, which goes against the trend of cuts in social spending (Midgley, 1986, 1992). The extent of state intervention in social development in Asian countries has attracted much attention and warrants further study since they are an exception to the world-wide trend of welfare retreat.

The case of East Asian Newly Industrializing Countries (NICs) is interesting. Economic growth rates in these countries have been far higher and their spending far lower than other countries with similar level of economic development. Their social welfare programs are extensive and poverty rates continue to decline. In most other developing countries, there has been a negligible reduction in the incidence of poverty in the 1980s (World Bank, 1992). Recently, indicators on income distribution and poverty alleviation in these countries have shown a disturbing trend. While most East Asia countries improved their relative income distributions immediately following the transition to export-led growth, income inequality in the 1980s increased

again when Gini coefficients in Korea, Singapore, and Hong Kong were above or near their levels of the mid-1960s (Haggard, 1990).

Despite relatively strong statist intervention in these Asian countries, a number of problems remain. These include an unevenness in social development; haphazard and incremental development; urban bias; and resource inadequacy. Midgley (1994b) draws attention to the phenomenon of 'distorted development' which has plagued many developing and industrial countries. This is manifested in the coexistence of material prosperity and widespread poverty and inequality. Distorted development continues to be a major problem despite economic growth and welfare expenditure. Dasgupta (1978) reaches a pessimistic conclusion in his analysis of this problem. He concludes that development has actually benefited only a handful of people. Development has led to the creation of inequality by forcing the poor to carry the major burden of industrial growth.

These trends confirm that social welfare programs are not well developed in the developing countries (Estes, 1988; Tracy, 1991; Midgley, 1981, 1984a,b, 1992). Even where welfare programs do exist, they tend to be in an early stage of development. A comparatively small percentage of the population is covered by programs and services. Social welfare in the developing countries faces other problems as well. Many social programs tend to be financed by a combination of employer and employee contributions. The role of the governments in contributing to the financial support of public sector welfare programs tends to be minimal and highly particularized (Jimenez, 1987; Tracy, 1991). The most recurrent gap in social security is the lack of income protection during periods of unemployment, disability, old age and sickness. Few developing countries have instituted family allowance schemes. However, out of necessity and international pressures, an increasing number of developing countries are providing some level of support to workers who experience injuries while working. The provision of social welfare services has never been more than a very small part of overall economic development planning (Conyers, 1982). Such a low level of social welfare development in the developing countries leads to the conclusion that social welfare is marginalized.

The marginalization of social welfare is manifested in various ways. Spending by Third World governments on social welfare is meagre to modest. The ministry of social welfare is often poorly staffed and has poorly paid staff. There is low morale and high turnover (and burnout) among social workers. Major decisions on welfare are often made by bureaucrats and politicians while social welfare staff remain peripheral to decision-making processes. People in many developing countries continue to see social welfare as charity (Midgley, 1981). The conservative onslaught against the welfare state in the advanced capitalist countries reinforces the anti-welfare ideology prevalent in some developing countries.

Parallel to the marginalization of social welfare in the developing nations is the marginalization of social work. For a long time, social work education in developing nations has been hampered by inefficient resources and lack of support from the governments. Generally, the social work profession has low status. The relatively weak knowledge base of social work and the lack of culturally appropriate intervention models aggravates the problem. Social work lacks a systematic empirical validation of its practice strategies. Ongoing evaluations of the effectiveness of social work interventions is often missing (Hokenstad, Khinduka & Midgley, 1992). In sum, the marginalization of social welfare remains a critical problem in the developing world.

The concept of marginalization is used by neo-Marxists to describe the situation where "... national economic progress [in many developing countries], is accompanied by the exclusion of large sections of the population from economic life." (Hoogvelt, 1984). The poor are "marginalized" in relation to national economic development and condemned to an existence of absolute poverty. By analogy, social welfare in the developing countries has been in a comparable state of 'marginalization' in relation to national economic development. Often social welfare is reduced drastically in times of economic stagnation but is only increased slightly in times of economic prosperity. The concept of marginalization implies a certain functionality. Social welfare is functional to the post-colonial capitalist society because it creates a safety net for the poor, which permits the capitalist economy to run without threat of social instability. The indispensability of social

welfare to capitalist societies is noted by many neo-Marxists. They contend that even in advanced capitalist countries, it is difficult to dismantle welfare states since they are an efficient conflict-reducing mechanism (Offe, 1984).

Major Theories of Social Policy Development

Social Conscience Theory

There are many theories which purport to explain the development of social welfare in developing countries. One of the earliest is the social conscience theory which maintains that social policy manifests, through the agency of the state, the love that altruistic people have for each other. Changes in social policy result from two benevolent forces: first, a widening and deepening sense of social obligation, and secondly, an increase in society's knowledge of need. Such changes are cumulative, and policy evolves constantly in the direction of greater generosity. Social improvements are irreversible and contemporary social services are the highest historical expression of social altruism. While present services were incomplete and defective, the central problems of social welfare have been solved (Baker, 1979; Higgins, 1981).

Social conscience theory has been applied to developing countries to foster a hope for betterment. Using this approach, several scholars have claimed that the governments of the newly independent countries fostered the growth of modern social services because they are an expression of society's deeply instinctive humanitarianism (Muzumdar, 1964; Aptekar, 1965; Stein, 1976).

Modernization Theory

This school of thought views developing countries as social systems undergoing social change consequent upon the impact of western/technological institutions. Modernization is the process whereby the developing societies become more developed. The theory is based on a number of analyses of development using various models such as Rosenstein-Rodan's (1943) theory of the 'big push' toward industrialization and Nurkse's (1976) model of balanced growth. A well-known conceptualization of the process is given by Rostow (1960) who views development as a linear process of economic growth passing through five stages ranging

from the 'traditional' to the 'mass consumption' society. He claims that economic growth raises incomes and improves levels of welfare in a society. Government intervention to meet social needs should be kept to a minimum. Rooted in a structural-functional view of society, modernization theory regards social programs as a response to the needs and problems arising from structural changes in the economy.

Closely allied with modernization theory is the industrialization-convergence hypothesis which, in its simplest form, posits that the process of industrial modernization creates unique social needs and problems which result inevitably in the creation of modern social services (Wilensky & Lebeaux, 1965). Modern social welfare developed in industrial societies to substitute for the functions of kinship, community, and religious organizations in meeting human needs. The theory suggests that all advanced societies have accepted the principles of welfare statism. The end-of-ideology thesis of modernization theory further contends that there is a consensus among intellectuals on political issues. These include the acceptance of a welfare state; the desirability of decentralized power; a system of mixed economy; and political pluralism. Developing nations will, it is argued, undergo the same process.

Dependency Theory

Neo-Marxists challenged modernization theory and were very influential in development circles in the 1960s (Harrison, 1988). They argued that development and underdevelopment were essentially different aspects of the same economic processes. The former had occurred only by increasing the latter. Development is no longer an option for the Third World. The very existence of the world capitalist system means that the development potential of underdeveloped countries is effectively blocked. The capitalist world system is created when the Western European nations developed trading links with the non-European countries, gradually incorporating the rest of the world, in stages, into an international system or exchange. The world has since been divided into two main groups of nations. On one hand, there are those who have economic power. They are the 'developed', the 'center' or the 'metropolises'. On the other hand, the 'underdeveloped',

'periphery' or the 'satellites' lack economic and political power. The crux of this theory is the dialectic of 'metropolis-satellite' relations. Frank (1967) argued that these relations are essentially exploitative since they involve the transfer of surplus from the poorest peasants and urban workers to the landlords, merchants, and petty industrialists and then to the elites in the national centers of wealth in developing countries and finally to the international centers of world capitalism. Colonization resulted not only in the subjugation of indigenous institutions but in their transformation and integration into the world capitalist system. As Hoogvelt (1986) puts it, "the colony had to feed, educate and care for the people in order to proletarianize them" (p.111).

Diffusion Theory

Proponents of diffusion theory (MacPherson, 1982; Moser, 1989; Todaro, 1994; Midgley, 1984a, 1984b, 1993, 1994b) have sought to explain the growth of welfare in developing countries in terms of international influences. Diffusion is defined as "the development of social welfare institutions through the exchange of information and views between policy makers or to the adoption of the welfare policies or practices of one country by policy makers in another." (Midgley, 1984a, p.170) Some exogenous factors as colonialism, dependency, and the importation of western welfare institutions and ideas were identified as integral to this dynamic. The theory assumed post-independence links between the developing countries and their former colonial rulers and the role of influences from the latter on the former. The developing countries are seen as replicating the institutions and values of the former colonial powers. This led to the inappropriate adoption of Western welfare systems (like social insurance systems which, as Midgley, (1984c) pointed out, only benefit a handful of industrial workers in the urban sector). Thus diffusion was not defined by the proponents of this theory as a benevolent process.

Diffusion theory relies on the 'false paradigm model' in development economics to explain the inappropriateness of western influence (Todaro, 1994). It attributes Third World underdevelopment to faulty and inappropriate advice provided by well-meaning but often uninformed international 'expert' advisors from the industrial countries, consulting agencies and multi-

national donor organizations. These experts offered sophisticated concepts, elegant theoretical structures, and complex econometric models of development that often led to the adoption of inappropriate or simply incorrect policies.

A Critique of the Major Theories

The four theories of social policy development reviewed here have been popular at different times in the history of developing societies. Social conscience theory was held by missionaries, social workers and some enlightened officials in the mid-twentieth century. Modernization theory became important after the Second World War when the former colonies became independent. In the late 1960s, when many of developing countries were struggling in the face of global adversity, neo-Marxist dependency theory gained popularity. In early 1980s diffusion theory was used to explain the underdevelopment of social welfare in post colonial societies, emphasizing the irrelevance and inappropriateness of many imported welfare ideas and institutions. Both social conscience and modernization theory have promised a future golden age for the developing societies in which social welfare will inevitably result from altruism and economic growth. The theories of dependency and diffusion present a different picture for the developing societies. However, they do so for different reasons. Dependency theory predicts continued impoverishment for many countries. Diffusion theory suggests that the imposition of an alien welfare system will harm social welfare. Diffusion theory shares a pessimistic view with dependency theory because diffusion, as Midgley (1984a) convincingly argues, is part of a "more extensive and fundamental problem of dependency in the modern world system." (p.182)

These theories have been criticized. Social conscience theory is held to be "a brand of well-meaning ethnocentrism" and there is no strong evidence to support it (Higgins, 1981). Other factors like political processes, economic development and class interests are not taken into account in the theory. The assumption of good-will underlying social action is particularly suspect. There is no logical necessity that good-will will drive public policy. Modernization theory is criticized for its ethnocentrism (Goldthorpe,

1984; Midgley, 1984b), its ideological mask camouflaging the imperialist nature of western capitalism (Hoogvelt, 1986), and its incorrect prediction of the inevitability of development in the Third World (Hardiman & Midgley, 1989). Goldthorpe (1984) was especially critical of the theory for its overemphasis on the 'logic of industrialism' and its failure to take into account conflicting values and ideologies in determining the direction in which different industrial societies have developed.

Dependency theory fails to offer concrete policy options for developing countries. Its pessimistic outlook is not substantiated in some Third World nations like the rapidly developing East Asia countries. These 'Little Tigers' have experienced rapid economic development surpassing even the growth rates of Japan. They are able to partially distribute the benefits of development to a wider section of the society. The example of Communist China has also proved damaging to dependency theory. Although China had previously sought to remain free of the world capitalist system, the country has experienced rapid growth after it came out of isolation and adopted a capitalist approach to development.

Similarly, diffusion theory can be criticized for overemphasizing the impact of the external factors such as imperialism, colonialism, and international organizations. This implies a downplaying of the importance of internal factors such as class conflicts, labour movements, and political structures. It also portrays the developing countries as helpless recipients of western ideas unable to devise their own social policy approaches. This has not been the case in all developing countries.

Explaining the Marginalization of Social Welfare

A distinction should be drawn between the development of social welfare on the one hand, and the marginalization of social welfare on the other. A good theory of social welfare development in the Third World needs to explain both phenomena. On this basis, it is clear that the analyses afforded by the social conscience theory and the modernization theory are concerned primarily with the expansion of social welfare. They are thus weakly positioned to explain the underdevelopment of social welfare in developing countries. The starting point of their analyses is to ask questions relating to when social welfare will be

fully institutionalized. It is highly questionable whether modern social welfare institutions emerge as an integral part of the process of modernization in developing countries. Obviously, dependency theory and diffusion theory are better suited to explain the marginalization of social welfare because the starting point of their analyses is concerned with why social welfare institutions are poorly developed or inappropriate in developing countries. In this regard, diffusion theory fares better than the dependency theory since the latter predicts a state of complete impoverishment which does not accord with actual trends in many developing countries. Meanwhile, diffusion theory has formulated a number of policy recommendations to ameliorate social conditions. This suggests that diffusion theory has greater explanatory potential in the field of social policy development. Indeed, diffusion theory has far-reaching theoretical and policy implications. Owing to this breadth of analysis, it has several advantages over the other approaches.

First, it represents a broad-based approach to the study of social welfare provisions in developing countries, raising the important question of whether cultural diffusion is beneficial to developing countries. Dependency theory has rightly acknowledged the perils of western diffusion but its analysis has slighted the impact of cultural diffusion.

Second, diffusion theory is receptive to complementary hypotheses in its analysis, in particular those studies which focus on intra societal factors in the explanation of the dynamics of social welfare (Midgley, 1984a). Inevitably, its theoretical orientation is to heighten awareness of the importance of extra-societal factors in the interpretation of social welfare development. But the theory recognizes that the reality of social welfare development is so complex that it needs to incorporate other hypotheses to enrich its analysis.

Third, the theory offers a theoretical extension and powerful corrective to dependency theory by highlighting the role of diffusion and recommending appropriate policy options for addressing the problem. Among the many policy recommendations flowing from this approach, the indigenization of social work education and practice is just one example of corrective action which can be taken to foster appropriate forms of social intervention.

Fourth, diffusion theory has identified important agents (missionaries, charities, international organizations and laws) involved in the transmission of Western social policies. Most important, it has extended the concept of 'incremental social welfare' to the analysis of social welfare in developing countries (Midgley, 1981, 1984a,b, 1986; Hardiman & Midgley, 1989; Moser, 1989). This notion overcomes the limitation of many analyses of social policy in the developing world which merely rely on the duality of the institutional-residual welfare model.

Fifth, diffusion theory draws attention to the colonial origin of social welfare in the Third World. It has underscored the transmission of social policy from the metropolitan to the peripheral countries as another form of cultural domination. This idea is illustrated by Midgley's (1981) thesis of professional imperialism which criticizes the dominance of American and British social work theories and concepts in the evolution of social work in the Third World. Another example is the uncritical adoption of New Right arguments of government inefficiency in some developing countries when the debate on public and private provisions of welfare is far from settled in advanced capitalist countries.

Finally, diffusion theory has clearly described the process of the cultural transmission of inappropriate welfare institutions to developing nations. In the present world of incessant exchanges between different countries, the diffusion of ideas, technologies, and knowledge will have an impact on the forms social welfare institutions will take.

Conclusion

Major theories of social policy development are beset with problems when they are applied to explain events in the developing countries. These countries are so diverse and have such different historical, cultural and economic characteristics that no one theory can fully capture and explain the evolution of their social welfare systems or account for the marginalized position of social welfare in these nations. Nevertheless, this study contends that diffusion theory offers the best approach to studying the phenomenon of social welfare marginalization. Offering a broad framework for examining social policy, diffusion theory incorporates a number of significant intra-societal as well as exogenous

factors in the diffusion process. Obviously, both exogenous and indigenous factors must be weighed before any final conclusion on the marginalized position of social welfare in any one country is possible. Also, it is clear that much more work needs to be done if the theory is to comprehensively explain the marginalization of social welfare. One major area for further work involves the role of the state in social policy development. Although neglected by exponents of the theory, more attention needs to be placed on the role of the state in the process of diffusion and social policy development.

MacPherson (1982) has argued that the nation state is essentially a colonial artifact. Thus there is a centralization of power in the new ruling classes, undemocratic political structures, the dominance of an administrative class, and the powerful influence of the wealthy in political decision making. Post-colonial societies are marked by gross inequalities resulting from an inherited colonial system of economic stratification, established patterns of social segregation and elite privilege. Access to social welfare services are grossly distorted in favor of this elite. The governments of developing countries were careful not to jeopardize the interests of this class by taxing them too heavily. Thus the capacity for social welfare spending is limited and this, in turn has obvious implications for social welfare development.

On the other hand, some writers have shown that some developing countries, particularly in East Asia, have strong developmental states which guide and orchestrate rapid industrialization (Gold, 1986). These states formulate and implement national development strategies, plan for the effective deployment of labour and maintain low labour costs by effectively suppressing labour unrest (Deyo, 1987, 1989). In these countries, social policy is used effectively to manipulate and mobilize labor for development (Yeung, 1984; Chan, 1985; Park, 1990; Haggard, 1990; Tang, 1993). The state fosters social welfare development in a pro-active and deliberate way. However, cultural attitudes emanating from the legacy of Confucianism in these countries should also be considered since they affect the way the state operates and sanctions the expansion of programs that may be perceived to contradict cherished values of mutual support, filial piety, social harmony, and hard work. As Park (1990) notes, the state's adoption of these

values has contributed to the late enactment of social welfare legislation for the aged in Korea and other East Asian nations. Despite its value, therefore, diffusion theory needs to be augmented with a more extensive analysis of the role of the state in developing countries. It is only in this way, that its explanatory power can be fulfilled.

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Toward a Developmental Model of Social Policy: Relevance of the Third World Experience

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Growing dissatisfaction with conventional social policy approaches, as embodied in the residual and institutional models, has fostered a search for new ideas. The developmental social policy model offers a viable alternative but it is relatively unknown in the industrial nations. Drawing on the experience of Third World countries, this paper describes the developmental model and examines its implications for social policy in the West.

Since the 1950s, social policy debates have been dominated by comparisons between the so-called residual and institutional models of social welfare. Articulated by Wilensky and Lebeaux (1965) and Titmuss (1974), these constructs have formed a normative basis for social policy interventions in many industrial countries.

As is well known, the residual model connotes interventions that perform a secondary, safety-net function and target public resources on the most needy sections of the population. In contrast, the institutional model characterizes interventions that play a 'front-line' role, treating social provisions as a normal, integral part of society. While the residual model favors limited state intervention, a high degree of personal responsibility, the extensive involvement of non-profit organizations and the full utilization of the market, the institutional model favors large scale state intervention, collective involvement, universality of coverage and long term provision. In addition to characterizing particular interventions, the residual-institutional dichotomy has been used to compare the social welfare orientations of different societies and it has also formed a basis for taxonomies of welfare states.

However, both models are ideal-types and only approximate real world social policies and programs. They are also highly normative and have been criticized by Pinker (1979) for ideological

bias and for having limited analytical significance. Nevertheless, they have been widely used and play an important role in clarifying the fundamental value orientations which underly social policy provision.

Despite the ubiquity and persistence of the two models, events over the last decade have undermined their usefulness. The electoral successes of the Radical Right and the subsequent diffusion of its ideology has dramatically altered the terms of the debate (Glennerster and Midgley, 1991). While it appears that the Radical Right favors the residual model, some believe that its approach transcends the residualism of the old Right, and that an even harsher stance which would abrogate all collective responsibility for social welfare is being advocated. Recent developments in the United States suggest that vituperative attacks on the needy, further retrenchments in social programs and the increased fragmentation of the social services has undermined even the residual social welfare model. Similar observations may be made of many developing countries which are faced with indebtedness and serious economic adversity. As a result of the 'conditionality' requirements of the International Monetary Fund, which provides emergency credit to Third World countries, social programs in these countries have been drastically retrenched.

Today, few social policy advocates are optimistic about the future viability of the institutional model. Progressives who previously insisted on the extension of collective provision are now on the defensive and many are resigned to further privatization and the abrogation of the principles of collective welfare. In this climate, social policy studies has been thrown into disarray. There is a distinct lack of ideas which may form the basis for new initiatives that adequately address the pressing social needs of our times.

In recent years, more attention has focused on the developmental approach in social welfare. This approach, which originated in the developing countries, offers an alternative to existing welfare models and may help to revitalize discussions on social policy. The developmental model is distinguished from the residual and institutional models by its attempt to integrate social and economic policies within an on-going, dynamic development process. Unlike the other models, it does not compartmentalize

social welfare from the economy. It favors social policies that transcend conventional remedial and maintenance-oriented approaches, and that contribute positively to economic development. As such, it appeals to those who are critical of welfarist interventions that allocate resources to unproductive, consumption based social programs. However, it legitimates social intervention and institutionalizes the principle of societal obligation for social welfare. It also has potential electoral appeal because it justifies social programs in terms of economic efficiency criteria. By showing how social expenditures can contribute to economic growth, it constitutes a compromise, pragmatic position which has political viability.

The developmental social policy model emerged as the direct result of the efforts of colonial officials in West Africa at the end of the Second World War to identify forms of social provision that would make a positive contribution to development (Midgley, 1994). Social development, as it became known, was popularized by the United Nations and diffused to many Third World countries. Although its implementation has been impeded by the ascendancy of the Radical Right, events such as the World Summit on Social Development (which was held in Copenhagen in March, 1995) suggest that it is again being recognized as a viable approach for promoting social welfare.

In keeping with recent efforts to 'learn from the Third World', this paper discusses the developmental social policy model. It reviews the emergence of the developmental approach in the developing countries, describes its features and considers its relevance to social policy in the West.

Social Welfare and Economic Development

Historically, social welfare in the industrial countries has been compartmentalized from the economy and economic development. Those responsible for economic development have shown little interest in social welfare and those responsible for social policy have seldom considered how social programs affect economic growth. Few industrial countries have created organizational or policy arrangements which facilitate the harmonization of economic and social policies. Generally, the welfare and economic spheres have been artificially separated.

In the industrial nations, social welfare is usually subsidiary to the economy and dependent on the economy for funding. Indeed, its dependence has fostered the view that social welfare is antithetical to economic development. Social expenditures are popularly believed to detract from economic growth and it has been claimed that social welfare programs have a deleterious affect on development (Feldstein, 1975). At the individual level, it has long been assumed that it is the prime purpose of social welfare to cater for those who are economically unproductive. There has been a good deal of media debate about the way unproductive people are allegedly maintained in conditions of dependency and indolence by a consumption oriented welfare system that impedes economic development.

Since the social services in most industrial countries today require the mobilization of tax revenues on a large scale, there is an obvious link between social policy and the economy. However, as was noted earlier, this link is one of subsidiarity and dependence. Social policy is primarily concerned with the provision of services, with meeting minimum standards of welfare, and with supporting needy and dependent groups.

However, the dependence of the social services on the economy is tenuous. For example, if the economy experiences recession, the revenues needed to fund the social services decline and fiscal (and political) pressures on governments increase. Similarly, the need for social services is likely to be higher during times of economic adversity when more people need assistance and when government revenues are curtailed. It was the growing demand for services in a context of economic stagnation that was exploited by the Radical Right in its appeals to voters in the 1970s and 1980s. The inability of conventional Keynesian measures to remedy the problem contributed to the movement's electoral success but had negative consequences for human welfare.

There have, of course, been attempts to introduce employment and income maintenance policies that relate social welfare issues more closely to the economy. However, these policies are often poorly formulated and haphazardly implemented. Another problem is that social policy in many industrial countries is based on the assumption that the economy will provide full employment and generate the income that people require to meet their

own social needs. The social services are not regarded as an integral component of economic policy but rather perform a residual function catering only for those who lose their jobs or who are unable to work. This idea was formalized in the Beveridge proposals in Britain and the New Deal in the United States and it institutionalized the subsidiarity of social welfare to the economy. As Britain, the United States and other western countries have experienced de-industrialization and higher rates of structural unemployment, the assumptions underlying social policy have not changed with the result that the disjunction between economic and social policy has increased.

Another problem is that employment policies in many industrial countries are often remedial, stigmatizing the unemployed and other needy groups. King's (1995) recent analysis of 'work-welfare' policies in Britain and the United States concluded that these programs are ineffective because they do not promote employment pro-actively but serve a temporary maintenance function, segregating recipients and offering limited, punitive-remedial services. Their ideological derivation from individualism will, King contends, perpetuate their ineffective, residualist role. Similarly, as Quadagno (1995) pointed out, employment programs introduced during the War on Poverty in the United States were of limited effectiveness because of they were targeted at African Americans ensuring their segregation from mainstream social policy concerns.

One industrial country that has sought to harmonize economic and social policies is Sweden. The country has historically sought to link institutional social policies with what Esping-Andersen (1992) calls 'productivist' activities designed to promote full-employment. As Olsson (1993) pointed out, employment policies form a central element of the country's welfare state and are fully integrated with its social policies. By investing substantially in employment creation, job training and re-training, placement services and similar policies, Sweden has effectively utilized its labor market policies to foster social welfare objectives. However, despite its success in maintaining comparatively low levels of unemployment, the Swedish approach has not been widely emulated.

Theoretical commentaries on social and economic policy

The compartmentalization of social welfare from economic development is exacerbated by the way social policy scholars have approached the subject. Much of the literature has focused narrowly on the differences between social and economic policy (Boulding, 1967; Titmuss, 1974; Piachaud, 1989) neglecting wider issues. Titmuss probably wrote more on the relationship between social and economic policy than other scholars but he did not view the two as mutually compatible. Like most other social policy writers, he regarded most economists as hostile to social policy endeavor and he downplayed the contribution of those economists who regarded social programs as investments that stimulate economic growth and serve wider economic functions. Indeed, he was critical of the idea that social policy should serve this function and his analysis tended to perpetuate the segregation of economic and social policy concerns.

Titmuss (1974) criticized the notion that social policy should function as the 'handmaiden' to the economy. This idea, he claimed, relegates the social services to the status of an adjunct to the economy, and it offended his commitment to an institutional approach that redistributes resources, reduces inequality and fosters social solidarity. Titmuss was also critical of the way social programs in some countries are closely linked to occupational efficiency and productivity. In the Soviet Union and Germany, where this approach was institutionalized, the value of retirement pensions and similar benefits are often linked to the worker's length of employment, rank, and work performance. Instead of meeting wider social welfare goals, Titmuss claimed that this 'industrial achievement-performance' model of social welfare maintained differentials between workers and exacerbated inequalities.

Titmuss's critical views on the 'handmaiden approach' and occupational welfare probably inhibited a full examination of the contribution that the social services can make to economic development. However, as social service programs have come under increasing pressure during the 1980s in the wake of recession, structural unemployment, economic difficulties and the ideological onslaught of the Radical Right, writers such as Piachaud (1989) have called for a greater engagement with

economic issues. Piachaud also points out that economic issues will become more prominent in social policy debates as many more economists become involved in the study of social policy. Unlike earlier times when social policy was regarded as a 'soft' welfare activity, economists are now extensively engaged in research into the social services, the costs of social programs and the economic effects of social investments (Birdsall, 1993). Mainstream social policy, he admonishes, cannot continue to ignore the growing concern with economic issues.

In view of the growing recognition that economic development needs to be addressed, social policy writers can learn from the Third World social development approach which explicitly relates social interventions to economic considerations. However, there is little evidence that mainstream social policy in the industrial nations is cognizant of the work which has been done in developing countries to integrate social and economic interventions with a dynamic development process. By examining the origins and nature of the social development approach, social policy may be better placed to contribute to the search for new and more relevant models of social welfare.

Origins of the Developmental Model

The developmental social welfare model is also known in international circles as the social development approach. It emerged in West Africa in the 1940s. At the time, the British government increased investments and the expansion of infrastructure in its colonies. These efforts were actively supported by nationalist movements. In this developmental context, remedial social welfare programs were given little priority. Catering primarily for juvenile offenders, beggars and the destitute in the urban areas through the provision of residential and custodial care, these remedial social work services were often criticized for consuming scarce resources on unproductive activities (Livingston, 1969; Midgley, 1981). Faced with these criticisms, colonial welfare administrators sought to identify new social interventions that would transcend the remedial approach and contribute positively to economic growth. A major innovation was *mass literacy*. Mass literacy not only involved literacy training in the narrow sense of

the term, but included a range of activities designed to enhance the standard of living of ordinary people, particularly in rural areas. It included instruction in small scale agriculture and domestic animal husbandry, the development of crafts and village technologies, the construction of infrastructure such as feeder roads, bridges and local irrigation systems, the establishment of small family enterprises, the improvement of community water supplies and sanitation, and the building of health centers, schools and other community facilities.

Mass literacy offered the prospect of reaching larger numbers of people than conventional remedial casework and residential services, and of transcending the welfare department's limited residualist interventions. Here was an approach to social welfare that did not consume scarce public revenues on unproductive services but actively fostered people's welfare within the context of economic development. It was enthusiastically received by the British Colonial Office in London which promoted its spread throughout the Empire. However, the term's association with education seemed inappropriate and was soon replaced by the term *community development*. This new term explicitly connoted a concern with development and a focus on communities rather than individuals. In 1954, the term *social development* was formally adopted by the British government to refer to the combination of traditional social welfare and community development. The new term suggested that both elements should be linked to wider efforts to promote economic development in the colonies. One official British document (United Kingdom, 1954, p. 14) put it, social development involves "nothing less than the whole process of change and advancement of a territory . . ."

The contribution of the British government to social development was decisive but it was subsequently expanded by the United Nations and other international agencies. The United Nations borrowed the term *social development* from the British to connote the organization's efforts to promote a broader approach to social welfare. Seeking to foster the harmonization of social welfare with economic development, the United Nations encouraged its Third World member states to adopt the social development approach when formulating social policies.

Central to the United Nation's conception of social development was the idea that policies for economic growth needed

to be closely integrated with social welfare policies. Leading economists such as Gunnar Myrdal, Hans Singer and Benjamin Higgins were invited to serve on international commissions that examined ways in which economic development and social welfare programs could be harmonized. These economists criticized the traditional separation of social and economic policies and urged central development planning agencies to transcend their conventional concern with economic matters by assuming responsibility for social planning as well (United Nations, 1971a). Central planning agencies should, they recommended, be expanded to include social planning divisions responsible for promoting social development goals and they should more effectively coordinate social sectoral plans dealing with health, education, housing, community development and social work services. These social sectoral activities also needed to be more effectively integrated with national development planning.

The expert commissions were also critical of the prevailing assumption that economic growth would automatically produces higher standards of living for all (United Nations, 1971a). This belief was accepted by most development planning agencies which sought to promote high rates of economic growth believing that there would be a 'trickle-down' effect to the masses through employment creation and increased incomes. Myrdal and the other experts questioned this approach and argued that governments need to insure that the benefits of economic growth reach ordinary people. Calling for the adoption of "unified socio-economic development planning," they recommended that central planning agencies intervene more actively to promote people's welfare. They also urged that social planners be recruited to implement comprehensive social policies. Following the adoption of numerous resolutions by the United Nations, social planning was widely adopted in the developing countries in the late 1960s and early 1970s (United Nations, 1971a). Central planning agencies employed more social planners, and national development plans gave increasing recognition to social programs and objectives (Conyers, 1981; Hardiman and Midgley, 1982).

However, social planning's statist, top-down approach came under criticism for neglecting the interests of local communities, and for failing adequately to involve local people in the development process. Accordingly, the United Nation's emphasis on

state sponsored social planning was increasingly criticized. The United Nations responded by promoting community development and during the 1970s, community development ideas were reformulated as "popular or community participation" in several United Nations reports (United Nations, 1971b, 1975). Other international agencies such as UNICEF and the WHO also gave priority to community based strategies (United Nations Children's Fund, 1982; World Health Organization, 1982). Many proponents of community participation argued that the spontaneous efforts of local people were preferable to government sponsored community programs. Government programs, they alleged, tended to co-opt local people and stifle their inherent abilities to manage their own affairs. This anti-statist approach was widely endorsed by non-governmental organizations (Midgley, Hall, Hardiman & Narine, 1986).

In the 1970s, under the leadership of Robert McNamara, the World Bank became very interested in social development issues and many of its policy documents promoted a social development approach which sought to integrate social programs with economic development (World Bank, 1975). At the same time, the International Labour Office urged its member states to adopt social development to deal with the problems of unemployment and under-employment. In 1976, at the World Employment Conference, the ILO adopted the *basic needs* approach to development which sought to insure that economic development policies in the Third World placed primary emphasis on social welfare objectives (Streeten, Burki, Ul Haq, Hicks & Stewart, 1981).

Features of the Developmental Model

It cannot be claimed that the social development approach has been institutionalized in all developing countries. Indeed, many developing countries have often failed to adopt the developmental approach and social policies remain residualist, ineffectual and biased towards urban areas. In addition, many countries still perpetuate outmoded ideas imported during colonial times (MacPherson, 1982). As Midgley (1984) noted, the emulation of Western social policy approaches as a part of a process to 'modernize' Third World countries has also impeded the adoption of a developmental model.

Nevertheless, the social development approach has been implemented in several developing countries. As the recent United Nations World Summit on Social Development revealed, it is attracting more international attention. In addition, more work is now being done to refine the social development approach so that it can serve as a useful and relevant model of social policy (Midgley, 1995).

At the risk of being tautological, the primary feature of the developmental approach is its concern with development. It is 'developmental' in that it promotes dynamic processes of growth, change and progress. Unlike other approaches for promoting social welfare (such as philanthropy, social work and social administration) social development purposefully links social interventions to development. This requires the effective integration of social and economic policies within a wider developmental process. Social development cannot take place without economic development and economic development is meaningless unless it is accompanied by improvements in social welfare for the whole population.

There are three ways in which the developmental approach attempts to harmonize social policies with economic development. *First*, it seeks to create formal organizational arrangements by which economic and social policies can be integrated. In most industrial countries, organizations that are responsible for economic development have no on-going contacts with agencies that are responsible for social service programs. On the other hand, developing countries that have adopted a social development approach have encouraged economic development and social agencies to work more closely together. As noted earlier, they usually have a centralized development planning agency which is responsible not only for economic but for social development as well. These agencies employ economic as well as social development professionals who formulate policies and plans, and work closely with sectoral organizations to coordinate and integrate development effort. While the creation of these organizational structures has taken place at the national level, they also exist at the regional and local level.

Second, the developmental approach seeks to ensure that economic development has a direct and positive impact on people's

welfare. The proponents of social development are critical of societies which experience economic growth but fail to insure that growth fosters significant improvements in social well-being for the population as a whole. This disjunction between economic and social prosperity is known as *distorted development* and it characterizes many countries today. Proponents of the developmental model urge the adoption of economic policies that address the problem. Policies that raise incomes by creating jobs and self-employment opportunities on a significant scale among all sections of the population should be given priority. Similarly programs that enhance the participation of people in the development process and that judiciously redistribute resources to create social service programs that meet basic social needs are urgently needed.

Third, social development encourages the introduction of social service programs that contribute directly to economic development. While there will always be a need for remedial social services which do not promote economic development, proponents of the developmental model favors programs that foster economic growth. This goal can be furthered by adopting policies that promote the mobilization of human capital, enhance social capital formation and increase opportunities for productive employment and self-employment among low income and special needs groups. Investments in education, childhood nutrition, health care, skills training, housing stock and similar programs all foster the development of human and social capital which generates a return on investment and contributes positively to economic development. Similarly, programs that provide vocational training for clients with special needs and help them to be placed in productive employment should be emphasized. Recently, there has been considerable interest in the role of micro-enterprises as a way of enhancing the welfare of low income groups and special needs populations (Else and Raheim, 1992). Also relevant are community based projects which establish social as well as economic infrastructure and facilitate the emergence of productive, local cooperative enterprises that generate income and raise standards of living.

Implications for Social Policy in the West

Conventional development thinking has long assumed that the developing countries are undergoing a process of social, economic and cultural change which will ensure their eventual transformation from backward agrarian societies to advanced industrial nations. This belief is based on the normative view that the Western nations are ideal-typical exemplars which Third World countries need to emulate. This idea has exerted considerable influence in development circles over the years. International aid programs have traditionally required the use of Western consultants and advisors to foster the replication of Western approaches as a way of accelerating their attempts to become modern, advanced societies. In social policy, this approach has resulted in the widespread replication of inappropriate Western approaches and, as critics have pointed out, in a good deal of waste.

As criticism of the transfer of inappropriate social policies have increased, some writers have argued that Third World countries have much to teach the West. For example, Midgley (1990) pointed out that Western social workers have much to learn from their Third World colleagues about cultural diversity issues, professional practice in conditions of resource constraint and in formulating policies that serve low income groups. More recently, Midgley and Simbi (1993) have claimed that community organization in the United States can benefit from the experiences of African colleagues who have placed more emphasis on local economic development than their Western counterparts.

Social policy in the industrial countries has much to learn from attempts to articulate a developmental model of social welfare in the Third World. Of course, the Third World experience can be augmented by lessons learned in countries such as Sweden where a social development approach has also been adopted. The exchange of ideas is particularly important in view of the need for innovative approaches that transcend the now obsolete residual-institutional dichotomy. An examination of the Third World experience can foster the adoption of new approach that result in a more positive, developmental approach to social welfare.

In practical terms, this requires the creation of organizational mechanisms for coordinating economic and social policies. A powerful central agency responsible for both economic and social development policy needs to be created and the integration of all governmental agencies responsible for economic development and social service functions needs to be enhanced. The conventional relegation of social welfare to a minor, low level department or ministry should be ended.

Under the political and administrative leadership of an agency of this kind, specific developmental social policies and programs need to be implemented. As the Swedish experience suggests, employment policy needs to be at the fore-front of a developmental approach. Employment and self-employment creation should not only be left to market forces but needs to be proactively supported by appropriate government intervention. Policies to expand productive employment and self-employment should be fully integrated with social policies and social service provisions. Social service expenditures should be more carefully evaluated for their positive impact on development. Expenditures that enhance human and social capital and foster productive employment and self-employment among low income and special needs groups should be favored over those that serve a maintenance or consumption function. In addition to programs that cater for needy individuals and their families, more attention should be given to community based projects that enhance people's participation in both economic and social development at the local level. Cooperative enterprises should be favored. National and local level efforts need to be better harmonized and adequate attention needs to be given to regional development efforts that enhance developmental activities in areas that are economically underdeveloped and socially deprived.

A developmental social welfare model must also concern itself with the problem of distorted development that still characterizes many industrial and developing countries. This requires a commitment to reduce inequalities not through punitive taxation and counterproductive welfarist measures but through the promotion of a dynamic development process that secures the full participation of the population in development and ensures

that they benefit fully from the prosperity that flows from an integrated development process.

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Sustainable Development and Social Development: Necessary Partners for the Future

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This paper highlights the finite limits of global resources, the rapid global changes that are occurring, and the authors' concerns about the failure of the world community to come to grips with global problems. Major impediments to achieving global sustainability and social development are discussed and suggestions are presented for remedial strategies to redirect society along a more equitable and sustainable future path.

The deteriorating state of the Earth is a serious concern. Environmental abuse resulting from uncontrolled consumerism is prevalent. Presently, 20% of the world's population, living in the world's urban industrialized nations, consume 80% of the resources (Harmony Foundation of Canada, 1989, p. 52) and control 82.7% of the global wealth (UNDP, 1992, p. 35). Between 20 and 35% of the global population now live in poverty (Pimentel et al., 1994a, p. 347), and the number is growing. With such gross inequities, it is understandable why people in the third world are aspiring to achieve the high standard of living enjoyed by the privileged few. Some third world nations with strong emerging economies are just beginning to access their fair share of global resources. Although this is definitely a positive trend, the reality is that if the majority of the world's population begins to consume resources at the gluttonous rate of the privileged few, global resources will quickly be depleted and the global environment could collapse.

World Population, Consumption, Resources and Wealth

The world's population is increasing at 250,000 people per day. At this rate, the present population of 5.6 billion is expected to double in 41 years (Pimentel et al., 1994a, p. 349). Americans (and Canadians) consume 23 times the amount of goods and services consumed by third world citizens and 53 times the amount of Chinese citizens (Population Reference Bureau, 1991). North Americans also consume energy at 14 times the rate of Chinese citizens (Pimentel et al. 1994a, p. 350). In 80 countries, consisting of 40% of the global population, industry, agriculture, and health are threatened by fresh water shortage problems (World Bank warns of looming water crisis, 1995), and in others, supplies are being depleted. For example, aquifers in the U.S. are being pumped, on the average, at a rate of 25% above replacement (U.S. Water Resources Council, 1979); the large Ogallala aquifer underlying the midwestern U.S. is likely to be depleted in about 40 years (Soule & Piper, 1992). Besides, many fresh water resources, including aquifers, are now becoming seriously polluted.

Most of the fertile land available on the planet is already in use, and irrigated land on a global per capita basis is now decreasing due to waterlogging, salination, and population increases (Postel, 1989). At the present rate of consumption, both known and discoverable, coal reserves are expected to last for about 100 years, but oil and natural gas may only last for another 30 to 50 years (Hubbert, 1972; Matare, 1989, BP, 1991; Davis, 1991; Gever et al., 1991; Worldwatch, 1992). The urban-industrial nations of the world consume 80% of the fossil fuels used annually; 25% is consumed by the U.S. alone despite having only 4.7% of the world's population (UN Environment Program, 1985; DOE, 1991). The U.S. now imports over 50% of its petroleum and will have to import nearly 100% within the next 10 to 15 years (DOE, 1991).

Many people advocate switching to alternative energy sources. Although a number have potential, many introduce new conflicts for land usage and have practical limitations due to social, environmental, and economic consequences. For example, the large land usage problems associated with hydroelectric reservoir development introduce both environmental and social problems. The recent shelving of the \$13 million Great Whale

hydroelectric project in Northern Quebec as a result of the intensive lobbying by the indigenous peoples of the area to protect their land and "way of life" is illustrative of the inter-related problems involved (Seguin et al., 1995). Solar energy is another alternative with potential; however, it has been estimated, for example, that to substitute 40% of the current U.S. energy consumption with solar technologies would require using 20% of the U.S. land area for this purpose (Pimentel, 1994b, p. 201). This land would then not be available for agriculture or forestry. Windpower development has similar negative land use and social side effects, and of course, development can only occur where there is sufficient wind. The production of ethanol from corn biomass is an extremely inefficient process requiring 72% more energy than the ethanol itself produces (Pimentel, 1991, pp. 1–13). At the present, geothermal energy extraction, although promising, is considered uneconomical (Pimentel et al., 1994b, pp. 209–210). Considering current nuclear energy technology, known uranium reserves are only expected to last for another 100 years (Hafele, 1991). Furthermore, there are still serious unsolved nuclear waste disposal problems and the very real threat of future nuclear accidents. One area that offers some promise as an alternative to gasoline is hydrogen fuel produced using solar electric technologies (Pimentel et al., 1994a, p. 539).

It seems that there are not many options that will produce the high level of energy to which much of the world has grown accustomed. To expect a technological "quick fix" to the fossil fuel depletion problem is simply unrealistic. It is imperative that the industrialized world drastically downsize its energy demands.

One area where energy demands need to be drastically reduced is in the North American food system. Fossil energy is being used as a substitute for labour, making the system extremely inefficient from a sustainability perspective. For example, only four hours of labour are expended per acre of land in U.S. agriculture, while China uses 500 hours per acre. In the U.S., it now takes 3 kcal of fossil energy to produce 1 kcal of human food (Pimentel & Pimentel, 1992, pp. 23–24), and for beef production, the ratio is 35 to 1 (Pimentel, et al., 1994b, p. 212). But agriculture only accounts for 33% of the total energy used in the U.S. food production system; the other 67%, mostly coming from fossil

energy, is required to process, package, and transport food all over North America (Pimentel, 1994b, p. 212). Although the system is convenient, it is excessive, highly dependent on fossil energy and non-sustainable. It is imperative that steps be taken immediately to change this; consumers must provide the needed leadership.

The Duality: Social Development and Sustainable Development

The above statistics leave little doubt that the conditions in the world facing the human race are both real and critical. They also clearly point to the multi-faceted and interrelated aspects of problems. It is obvious that long term solutions must consider the economic, environmental, and social dimensions of problems in an integrated fashion. Combining Sustainable Development and Social Development offers a better approach for solving some of the world's most pressing problems.

In 1987, the Brundtland Commission presented the concept of sustainable development which they defined as: "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987, p. 43). Sustainable development involves the following:

- *Anticipation and Prevention* which involves the avoidance of environmental degradation at all planning and developmental stages including conservation considerations.
- *Full Cost Accounting* which reflects the environmental and social costs as well as the regular market costs.
- *Informed Decision Making* which considers long term planning and gains, instead of the more usual biased short term planning returns; this must include effective public participation.
- *Living Off the Interest* which treats natural resources as natural capital; it must be replaced as it is depleted, reused or recycled to reflect the principle of sustainability.
- *Quality of Development Over Quantity* which reflects a change of focus to stress product durability, energy efficiency and recycling.
- *Respect for Nature and the Rights of Future Generations* which is a recognition that quality of life considerations, both now and in the future, must be included in all decision making

processes, including the knowledge that all flora and fauna not only have the right to exist, but are vital to the health and well-being of humans. (Adapted from Ontario Round Table on Environment and Economy, 1990).

"Sustainable development does not mean sustained economic growth. It is not just 'business as usual.' To have sustainable development, there must be a shift in priorities and values from the prevailing growth-centred, consumer driven philosophy to one which values nature, promotes conservation, minimizes waste, reduces consumption and protects the environment" (Johnson et al., 1994, p. 5).

There is considerable overlap between the concepts of Sustainable Development and Social Development. Social development is "a process of planned social change designed to promote people's welfare within the context of a comprehensive process of economic development" (Midgley, 1994, p. 3). A basic element of this widely accepted definition is its ecological systems oriented approach to planning and promoting social welfare at all levels of social organization from the individual to the societal (Lowe, 1995). Abrahams et al.'s (1994) elaboration of the concept of social development reflects the historic influences of community development theory and practices. "Social Development is based on positive, humane, people oriented development in society. . . . The basic principles . . . are human dignity, equality, social justice, and equitable distribution of resources. . . . People's participation and empowerment are necessary conditions . . ." (pp. 2-4).

It is of interest to note with respect to the integration of social development and sustainable development that the policy statements on Environmental Issues of the (U.S.) National Association of Social Workers (NASW, 1994, pp. 104-107), directly support both. The following is a short concluding excerpt from the statement: "NASW encourages social workers to use their community organization and advocacy skills to empower people to work collectively for sustainable earth goals. NASW encourages social workers to join with organizations whose primary function is environmental advocacy in this effort. We must recognize our personal responsibility for the conservation and preservation of existing resources and demonstrate leadership in these areas."

Economic Impediments to Global Sustainability and Social Development

Economic decisions in the name of so called "progress," under both market economies and centrally controlled economies, have dealt severe blows to nature and the environment. To briefly summarize the history of the expansion of the Modern World Economic System, tremendous wealth has been generated through the extraction of natural resources and the exploitation of cheap labour resulting in colossal economic disparities between the rich and the poor. In conjunction with this globalization, national and local governments are losing control of their domestic and even international affairs. Multinational corporations with loyalties and responsibilities to no country are increasingly manipulating the global economy, finance, and trade. These companies do their utmost to disregard national borders so as to maximize trade.

At the same time revolutionary communications technology, in the form of globally networked computers, facilitates around-the-clock global financial trading. "Daily foreign exchange flows amount to around one trillion dollars, and far outweigh the sums employed for the international purchase of goods and services or investments in overseas plants. Indeed, by the late 1980s, more than 90 percent of this trading in the world's foreign exchanges was unrelated to trade and capital investment" (Bergsten, 1993, pp. 59–60). Most financial transactions now occur because investors are speculating in currencies and other financial instruments.

Investors consist of mutual funds, banks, corporations, and individuals, mainly from the urban-industrialized world. These investors are now in the powerful position of being able to manipulate global finances; indirectly, they can even control the financial decisions of countries. Consequently, nations are finding it increasingly difficult to implement financial actions which they judge to be in the national interest.

Paul Kennedy, in his book *Preparing for the Twenty-First Century*, points out that "nobody is in control—except, perhaps, the managers of multinational corporations, whose responsibility is to their shareholders. Financiers, one might argue, have become the new sovereigns, investing in whatever company gives the

highest return" (1993, p. 55). Most ordinary people in the urban-industrialized world are not big money dealers, so we might personally feel removed from this scene and therefore not responsible for the present state of global affairs and finance. In actuality, however, this is not the case. Any person who has investments in mutual funds, banks or companies, or who is part of a pension plan that invests in mutual funds and stockmarkets is very much a part of the system.

From a sustainability perspective, the short term gains of economic globalization and free trade promise disastrous long term consequences. The transportation of raw materials and manufactured items around the globe requires enormous amounts of energy in the form of fossil fuels. This is clearly not sustainable. Also, there is a tremendous toll with respect to the welfare of peasants and labourers. For example, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) has resulted in many manufacturing jobs from the U.S. and Canada being displaced to Mexico, and more are expected to follow. However:

No group has been hit as hard by the lifting of import barriers as small farmers [in Mexico]. . . . they are incapable of competing with the world's most efficient [but unsustainable] farmers just to their north. . . . The ranks of displaced peasants forced into urban underemployment, migratory labor, or poverty of genuine subsistence farming will swell by the millions. . . . Mexico's undersecretary for agriculture sees up to thirteen million peasants forced to abandon the countryside by the year 2010. . . . [Mexico's] exports are up, but imports have gone up more. Even if Mexico succeeds in regaining a surplus, however, its economic policies mean that the beneficiaries of this success will be Mexican and foreign agribusinesses and not the rural poor. . . . In some areas of the country the changing agricultural panorama includes a proliferation of foreign-owned facilities, as transnational agribusinesses follow manufacturing counterparts by adopting global production, processing, and marketing strategies. . . . [For example,] cattle may soon cross the border three times before reaching consumers, as calves born in Mexico are shipped for feeding to the United States, returned to Mexico for slaughter and packing, and then sent back to the United States for distribution. (Browne et al., 1994, pp. 24-25)

Because of their demands to buy products at the lowest cost regardless of the negative impacts on other people's welfare, depletion of natural resources, and environmental degradation, consumers share responsibility with corporations and governments for these undesirable non-sustainable economic and social outcomes.

"Many of the multi-national corporations are far more wealthy than nation states, and mechanisms for assuring their accountability are almost non-existent. The outcome is that wage labourers, peasant farmers, and tribal peoples have even less control than previously over the conditions affecting their lives," (Johnson & Kramer, 1995).

Many third world nations are extremely vulnerable to this system of global trade and finance. They lack the power to influence the outcome, and they are therefore very vulnerable to manipulation and exploitation. "During the 1970s, when interest rates were low and credit was freely available, the governments of many developing countries borrowed heavily to fund a variety of economic and social development projects. As Radical Right governments in the industrial countries raised interest rates to deflate their economies, many developing countries were faced with a huge burden of debt. Many were forced to borrow from the International Monetary Fund [IMF] and the World Bank to finance their debt repayments, and most have been compelled to adopt stringent 'structural adjustment' policies and impose severe cuts to social programs" (Midgley, 1994, p. 10). Such "structural adjustment" policies require that the borrowing nation promote a market economy, and pay off the loans and interest on the loans in hard currency or through export crops (Chomsky, 1993, p. 25) or with resources such as oil. During the 1980s, these loans doubled and even tripled with the result that many nations of the third world cannot even pay the interest on their loans from first world investors.

"The policies imposed by the World Bank and the IMF are designed to facilitate the repayment of debt; that is, the steady transfer of wealth out of third world countries to the bankers of the industrial countries. This transfer of wealth has had devastating consequences for the poor majority. . . . Third World countries under IMF/World Bank tutelage have seen infant mortality rates

increase, schools and housing deteriorate, unemployment skyrocket and the general health of the people decline" (Danaher, 1994, p. 2). It should also be clearly understood that the World Bank and the IMF lend money from banks which have investors and stockholders who expect to be paid back and to make a profit. As a result of this, there has been a net flow of capital out of the third world since the mid 1980s (WCED, 1987, p. 68). In effect, the major industrialized nations no longer need to invade another country to acquire its resources, they simply get the other nation so far into debt that the industrial powers basically own the resources and dictate policies anyway.

The 1995 State of the World's Children report of the United Nations Children's Fund is very critical of the present economic trends which have not made even a dent in global poverty. "Whenever it is obvious that free market economic systems are more capable of generating growth, it is far from obvious that they are capable of creating just, civilized and sustainable human societies." In this report, the development policies of the World Bank and the IMF are particularly targeted because 800 million people in 40 third world countries were poorer in 1994 than in 1984. (Stackhouse, 1994)

As pointed out by Danaher (1994, pp. 1-2), "The unwritten goal of the World Bank and the IMF—one that has been enforced with a vengeance—has been to integrate countries into the capitalist world economy. Despite all the rhetoric about development and the alleviation of poverty, the central function of these multilateral lending institutions has been to draw the rulers of governments of weaker states more tightly into a world economy dominated by large, transnational corporations."

It is little wonder that the World Bank is under such criticism if the vision and understanding of its leadership is reflected in the memorandum written by Lawrence Summers, the World Bank's chief economist, "calling the low pollution in Africa uneconomical: 'Underpopulated countries in Africa are vastly underpolluted, their air quality is probably vastly inefficiently low (in pollutants) compared to Los Angeles or Mexico City'" (Hawken, 1993, p. 174, quoting from *The Ecologist*, 1992). This is, of course, a dismayingly ignorant statement from a sustainability perspective.

Remedial Strategies

On the 50th anniversary of the World Bank and the IMF, the authors wish to echo the call made by many others for the reorganization, redirection, and restructuring of these two global institutions, as well as the need to establish some controls on multinational corporations and global currency speculation.

Another recommendation is to focus social development strategies on empowering the poor, which we believe is critical if significant change is to occur in the way that the world does business. The world's poor understand scarcity, and most live "closer to nature;" consequently they have a better understanding than the world's powerful and affluent elite of the finite character of natural resources. Also, they are closer to the pollution. They have a much greater immediate and vested interest in promoting change in the global economy. They must be empowered with enough clout to have a voice in setting economic policies, rather than having to simply react to conditions which are outside of their control.

One exemplary way that this can be done is provided by Grameen Bank whose policies and practices are in marked contrast to those of the World Bank and IMF. Grameen Bank operates in half the villages in Bangladesh, lending over \$30 million monthly to 1.7 million borrowers, most of whom are women. The borrowers own the bank, and the repayment rate is over 98 percent. Studies indicate "that the borrowers have improved their income, widened their asset base and moved steadily toward crossing the poverty line and toward a life of dignity and honor. Studies also tell us that in Grameen families the nutrition level is better than in non-Grameen families, child mortality is lower and adoption of family-planning practices is higher. All studies confirm the visible empowerment of women" (Yunus, 1994, p. ix).

Estes (1993) recommends targeting social development strategies at all levels of social organization to attain a sustainable future. Adaptations of his proposed strategies to focus particularly on economic justice follow: At the individual and small group levels, he suggests that we should promote economic and social self-determination of oppressed individuals and groups. At the community level, we should mobilize the populace and

community leaders to develop localized institutional responses to problems (e.g. environmentally friendly industries in response to unemployment) and promote dialogue among local interest groups regarding sustainable development issues. At the national level, we should encourage governments to actively cooperate in international efforts to promote sustainable development and to control the excesses of multi-national corporations. And at the global level, Estes says that we must work "toward the establishment of a new system of international social, political, economic, and ecological relationships guided by the quest for world peace, increased social justice, the universal satisfaction of basic human needs, and protection of the planet's fragile ecosystem," (Estes, 1993, p. 17).

Proposals have recently been made to initiate a system of international taxation for sustainable development (UNDP, 1992, p. 84). The objective would be to provide incentives to reduce pollution and to better manage the uses of natural resources. Some of the tax proposals made in the *Human Development Report 1992* include a fossil fuel consumption tax, pollution taxes on emission such as carbon dioxide, "allowable" greenhouse gas emission permits, a global commons tax for the use of oceans or outer space, a tax on international trade for environmentally sensitive or scarce products, and taxes on weapons and other consumer items (UNDP, p. 84). Poor countries would be exempt from many of the taxes and would receive a significant portion of the revenues for financing development of a sustainable nature.

Paul Hawken in his 1993 book, *The Ecology of Commerce*, maintains that our present system of business and economics, including national systems of taxation, are in direct conflict with the aims of promoting conservation and minimizing environmental degradation. "The existing tax system [of the Western World] places levies on incomes, profits, sales, payrolls and savings. In doing so it discourages, or at least suppresses, the very elements we claim to value in a healthy economy: jobs, savings, new investment, and entrepreneurial activity. . . . Combined payroll and income taxes increase the cost of labor to business, giving companies strong incentives to move manufacturing offshore, to import from countries with lower labor costs, and to reduce the number of workers wherever possible, or to replace them with machines," (p. 170).

Hawken contends that through changes in taxation policies people's labour can become cheaper and goods more expensive, so that we can begin making a shift towards conserving resources and protecting the environment. In addition, "competition in the marketplace should not be between a company wasting the environment versus one that is trying to save it. Competition should be between companies which do the best job in restoring and preserving the environment . . ." (Hawken, 1993, p. 90).

To accomplish sustainable cost/price integration, Hawken proposes a system of restoration economics. "The restorative economy would invert many fundamentals of the present system. In such an economy, there is the prospect that restoring the environment and making money would be the same process. As in nature, business and restoration should be part of a seamless web. . . . Environmental protection should not be carried out at the behest of charity, altruism, or legislative fiats. As long as it is done so, it will remain a decorous subordinate to finance, growth and technology," (1993, pp. 11–17).

In contrast to Hawken's proposals, economic planning is generally short term, whether based on a yearly budget cycle or a "five year plan". Most economic theories and indicators, such as the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), do not consider the depletion of the world's natural resources nor the destructive impact of economic activities on the environment. Economist, Herman E. Daly, and Environmentalist, David Suzuki, along with others, are promoting alternate indicators (Daly and Cobb, 1994; Newman, 1995) for assessing economic well-being which incorporate the effects of environmental degradation and resources depletion. As Suzuki points out, in calculating the GDP, everything adds but nothing subtracts. "If, for example, you have a factory that's polluting a river, that adds to the GDP; if people downstream start getting sick and require doctors, lawyers and hospitals, that adds to the GDP as well, as does the amount of money spent by the company to eventually clean up its act." Using an alternate indicator, called the "Genuine Progress Indicator" (GPI), the GPI for the U.S. fell 42% between 1969 and 1992, while during the same period, the GDP increased by 38%. If nations were embarrassed by having to report negative economic health indicators every year, they might reassess their policies and make changes towards more sustainable options.

Until governments, banking interests, and the multi-national corporations respond to the critical need to achieve global sustainability, one of the best hopes for promoting significant change is through people's organizations. The United Nations *Human Development Report 1993* (UNDP, pp. 84–99) devotes considerable attention to the importance of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) which can directly and indirectly influence governments and corporations while simultaneously fostering the participation and empowerment of the people affected.

For example, NGOs can successfully organize consumer boycotts of products. They also can help keep governments honest and accountable, thereby lessening corruption of politicians and their secret collusion with financial interests.

The Commission on Global Governance (1995) puts it this way:

A social responsibility devolves on the non-governmental sector. . . . We call on international civil society, NGOs, the business sector, academia, the professions, and especially young people to join in a drive for change in the international system.

Governments can be made to initiate change if people demand it. That has been the story of major change in our time; the liberation of women and the environmental movement provide examples. If people are to live in a global neighbourhood and live by neighbourhood values, they have to prepare the ground. We believe that they are ready to do so. (p. 18)

Each of us must push for change continually so that our "leaders" as well as the people who put them into office get the message. One way that this is being accomplished in Canada is by the establishment of public forums in the form of National, Provincial, and Community-based "Round Tables on the Environment and the Economy." Canada now has hundreds operating. Each round table is purpose-driven, with a specific task or problem to deliberate and solve. They are composed of representatives from all sectors that have a stake in the problem; therefore, the participants are referred to as "multistakeholders." Governments are not represented at round tables but can attend and observe. Round tables are modestly funded with seed money from public funds and funds from the business and corporate sectors involved; at the local level they are more voluntary in nature. The decision-

making members of the round table are not paid for their services, although consultants may be used in the process.

The purpose of a round table is to consider specific ecological issues and the related economic and social factors involved and to arrive at recommendations for future directions and policy changes. "While diverse in make-up and function, round tables share certain basic characteristics. They attempt to bring together a broad range of competing interests to work together toward a solution beneficial to all. They often use neutral chairs and usually rely on consensus for decision making" (Doering, 1995, p. 1). The requirement that a full consensus be reached on every recommendation is critical to the success, as all the participating multistakeholders share "ownership" and commitment to the final document. This innovative round table approach to addressing sustainability has multiple benefits. The final documents are extremely important in guiding and informing public policy. The results of a round table's deliberations are taken seriously by politicians, in part because of the diverse nature of the multistakeholders who participate as well as the careful research which informs their deliberations.

One place where the round table process is being successfully applied is in the Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth, Ontario. Under a project known as "Vision 2020: the Sustainable Region," this community has made major strides towards developing a sustainable community for the future (Hamilton-Wentworth Planning and Development Department, 1995). It is making the round table process work and setting an example for others to follow. The accomplishments are commendable considering that Hamilton-Wentworth is known to many in Canada as the "Steel City" which had one of the most contaminated harbours on the Great Lakes system. This heavy industry community was hit hard by the recession of the 1980s; survival meant diversifying the local economy as well as rethinking and shoring up its ailing social and economic infrastructure. To do this, it took a sustainable development approach which seemed to offer an opportunity to solve the wide range of interconnected social and economic issues that confronted the region and its citizens. As a result of the progress made, in October 1993, the Region of Hamilton-Wentworth was selected as an Agenda 21 Model Community,

and in December, 1994, the Region received the Canadian Award for Environmental Achievement in the category of leadership.

The round table model is exemplary of the types of innovative approaches which integrate social development and sustainable development principles at multiple levels of social organization in addressing the serious challenges facing our globe. The authors strongly urge the adoption of the round table model for tackling many future social development and sustainable development problems. We also suggest that the integration of social development and sustainable development principles and practices should be the focus and strategy for future development.

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Deforestation and Rural Poverty in Developing Countries: The Role of Social Work

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To alleviate rural poverty most developing countries have been launching a wide variety of rural development activities. In this paper I discuss the relationship between deforestation and rural poverty, policies governing reforestation initiatives and the role of social workers in these efforts. The paper argues for and illustrates the various roles social workers can play in development programs to alleviate rural poverty in developing countries.

Developing countries, to promote social and economic development of rural areas, have been launching programs that cover a wide range of sectors such as reforestation, irrigation and drinking water improvement, innovative farming techniques, primary health care facilities, and training and human capital development. At the community level these programs are implemented by governments, bilateral or multilateral organizations, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Much has been written on the failure of these development organizations to achieve community self-reliance and sustainable development. These development organizations often lack staff with skills in community work. Social workers' participation in these rural development initiatives, so far, has been minimal. Like in industrialized countries of the west, most social work professionals in developing countries are employed by the public sector and are engaged in remedial social welfare work with individuals, groups and communities (Midgley, 1981). Yet, their professional skills are most needed in social and economic development.

In this paper I discuss the role of social workers in development using community reforestation initiatives as an illustration. I present the relationship between deforestation and rural poverty, policies governing reforestation initiatives, and the role of social workers in these reforestation programs.

Background

Forest resources are declining at an alarming rate in developing countries, especially in those areas where rural poor are concentrated. The Tenth World Forestry Congress held in France in September of 1991 declared that 17 million hectares of forests disappear annually (Proceedings of the 10th World Forestry Congress, 1991). This Congress concluded that "the real causes of deforestation in developing countries are poverty, debt, underdevelopment, and the requirement to meet the basic needs of rapidly growing populations" (Proceedings of the 10th World Forestry Congress, 1991, p. 21). The decline of forest resources "perpetuates poverty, as degraded ecosystems offer diminishing yields to their poor inhabitants" (Durning, 1989, p. 40). This adversely affects the rural poor because they rely on wood and non-wood forest resources for their basic needs (Burman, 1990; Jodha, 1992; Pandey, 1989; 1990; Pandey & Yadama, 1990; Tewari, 1989). Rural poor, especially women and children, collect fuelwood, fodder, fruits, mushrooms, medicinal herbs, nuts, honey, bamboo and grass to make baskets and mattresses; hemp to make ropes; and bark to make paper for household use or for sale to supplement household income (Durning, 1989; Jodha, 1992; Kaur, 1991; Pandey & Yadama, 1990). According to 1980 figures, two billion people in the developing countries were dependent on fuelwood, 1.05 billion of whom had insufficient access to fuelwood and another 100 million of whom were unable to obtain even the minimum fuel required for cooking and heating (Economic Development Institute of the World Bank, 1989). The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) forecasted that by the year 2000 at least 2.4 billion people will be facing fuelwood shortages if current trends continue (Rodas, 1985). The developing countries need to plant 669,000 hectares yearly to meet fuelwood requirements by the year 2000, but their current programs reforest less than ten percent of what is needed (Chandrasekharan, 1985).

Rural poverty and the decline of forest resources are linked. More than one billion people in the developing countries today live in poverty (World Bank, 1991), and most of them live in rural areas. The majority of women and children in developing

countries live in rural areas. About 94% of women in Nepal, 75% of women in India, 84% of women in Bangladesh and 72% of women in Pakistan live in rural areas (United Nations, 1991). Even after the differences in cost of living between urban and rural areas is accounted for, poverty is considered extreme in the rural areas of developing countries (World Bank, 1990). Poor people, particularly women, in developing countries are working more hours a week to maintain their meager living standards (United Nations, 1991), and many are spending more and more of their time collecting scarce forest resources. For instance, in Nepal, women and girls spend approximately 60 days/year/family collecting fuelwood (World Bank, March 1980). In Niamey, Niger women have to go 25 to 30 kilometers to collect twigs to cook their meals (Pisani, 1991). "In Ouagadougou the wood under the pan is often more expensive than the food in the pan" (Pisani, 1991, p. 65). Governments in the developing countries will not be able to provide alternative energy options, such as gas or electricity, for all the poor in the near future. Rural women and children, therefore, have to continue to rely on scarce forest resources for fuel, fodder and other basic needs.

Community Reforestation Policies and Rural Development

The linkage between reforestation programs and alleviation of rural poverty was first acknowledged at the Eighth World Forestry Congress in Jakarta in 1978. This congress advocated participation of rural people in forest management as a part of rural development. In the same year, the World Bank issued a new forest-related policy statement emphasizing rural development forestry (Pardo, 1985). In 1980, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (UNFAO) articulated the close connection between rural development and reforestation strategies in the following recommendations: a) forestry strategies must be based on the active and voluntary participation of the rural poor; b) forests, forest lands and forest industries should hold a significant potential for the alleviation of poverty and for promoting social change in rural areas; and c) forestry policies must be oriented and designed to support rural development on a permanent basis (Rao, 1987a; 1987b). The Tenth World Forestry Congress stated

that "forest resources are an important factor of socio-economic development, and especially of rural development" (Proceedings of the 10th World Forestry Congress, 1991, p. 21). It recommended "that communities be involved in the integrated management of their land and that they be provided with the necessary institutional, technical and financial means" (Proceedings of the 10th World Forestry Congress, 1991, p. 23) to enhance their ability to manage their land.

Forest policies in developing countries are translated into rural development programs in the form of community forestry. These programs are either implemented directly by government agencies or in collaboration with bilateral and multilateral organizations. For instance, the Nepal Australia Forestry Project (NAFP), a bilateral Australian aid project to Nepal, has been successfully reforesting degraded community lands with the support of local people since 1976. Many community forestry programs have also been implemented as a component of integrated rural development programs focusing on several sectors simultaneously, such as agriculture, forestry, livestock, irrigation, drinking water, health and education.

Many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have also been implementing community forestry programs in developing countries. These NGOs are seen as more flexible, less bureaucratic, staffed by committed persons, and more effective in designing and implementing community participatory forest programs (Rao, 1987b; WRI, 1987). NGOs can develop and implement locally desired programs and services more efficiently, achieve direct community participation, and engage in policy advocacy and social action (Bratton, 1990; Brown & Korten, 1991; Midgley, Hall, Hardiman, & Narine, 1986; Pandey, 1988).

Some of the important social factors that contribute to community self-reliance and sustainable rural community development involve an understanding of local populations and institutions; gaining community trust, community participation and empowerment; an understanding of the root causes of community conflicts and a will to resolve them; and designing and implementing need-based programs. Oakley (1991) argues that the rural community's greater participation in development is crucial to increase program efficiency and effectiveness, to encourage their self-reliance and to increase program coverage. Evaluation

studies of development programs, however, indicate that many of these programs are externally controlled and designed and implemented from the top-down with very little understanding of local community or input from them (Kottak, 1985; Oakley, 1991; Uphoff, 1985; Utting, 1994).

Kottak (1985) content-analyzed sixty-eight impact evaluation studies of World Bank-assisted rural development projects from the 1960s and early 1970s around the world. He found that 59% of these projects failed to achieve their goals because of socio-cultural and economic incompatibility in their design and implementation. Project designers had not paid adequate attention to sociocultural dimensions of local populations such as community demographic characteristics, local formal and informal institutions, local economy, and community leadership.

Successful projects, on the other hand, had followed people-oriented project development and implementation strategies (Kottak, 1985). Referring to the adverse impact of forest policies and programs of the 1980s on the rural poor in Central America, Utting (1994) argues that these policies and programs were often developed without adequately understanding and incorporating into the project design the socio-economic and political aspects of community life in rural areas. He insists that forest policies and programs must be developed within a broader social and economic development context and that "human welfare must involve intensive dialogue with various local groups in the design stage of forest protection or tree planting programmes and projects" (pp. 245–246).

Uphoff (1985) also provides insight into several World Bank funded integrated rural development projects that lacked community participation in planning and implementation. He implies that lack of community participation in decision making resulted in numerous problems in implementing these projects and in achieving stated goals and objectives. In another example, an integrated primary health care project in India had listed promoting community participation as one of its objectives; yet in reality, local participation was reduced to service utilization (Pandey & Braaton, 1994).

Similar examples of failing to involve local populations as equal partners have been widely documented in community forestry programs implemented by governmental and non-

governmental organizations (Bratton, 1989; Brett, 1993). A study of people's participation, trust, and benefit sharing in non-governmental and governmental social forestry projects in Southern India indicated that the poor people of these areas did not feel that NGOs were more trustworthy and effective than the GOs (Yadama, 1990; 1995). Furthermore, Yadama found that there was no difference in the level of poor people's participation in planning and decision making between the governmental and non-governmental social forestry projects.

Even though NGOs are staffed by committed and motivated people many of these employees lack professional community work skills. As a result, they are not as effective in their ability to gain community trust and community participation. Social workers are uniquely trained to engage in rural development through these development organizations. They can effectively gain community trust and community participation, help identify a community's strength and limitations, help mobilize internal resources, and link the local community to various external resources.

There are many forms of community participation in rural development. In some projects there is a lack of real local participation; local people provide information, labor, give opinion upon request, or use services but lack decision making power and do not have a say in project design and implementation (Drijver, 1991). Oakley (1991) calls this means or passive participation. When participation is used as a means, local participation is sought to achieve a predetermined goal of development projects, and participation dwindles once the task is completed (Oakley, 1991).

In true community participation local people make major decisions concerning the design and implementation of development projects, and project staff are catalysts and intermediaries (Drijver, 1991). Oakley (1991) calls this form of people's participation as an end. Here community participation is an active and dynamic process "which unfolds over time and whose purpose is to develop and strengthen the capabilities of rural people to intervene more directly in development initiatives. Such a process may not have predetermined measurable objectives or even direction. As an end in itself, participation should be a permanent

feature of any development project, an intrinsic part which grows and strengthens as the project develops" (p. 116). The community participation process itself can empower rural people because it contributes to communication, leadership and bargaining skills enabling local people to decide upon and take actions they believe are necessary for their development (Oakley, 1991).

The Role of Social Work in Development

As is evident, rural development—be it forestry, health or agriculture-related—has to do with eliciting the trust of people, fully involving them and ensuring that the benefits reach people in the lower rungs of the economic order. This is the *raison d'être* of social work. Social workers, however, have been marginal players in rural development. Midgley (1981) concludes that this is due to the transfer of an inappropriate, individual focused, social work educational package from the Western industrialized countries to the developing countries. The social work as a profession originated in western, industrial countries at around the same time as the concept of rural development in developing countries, particularly South Asia. The initial emphases of the two were similar. Rural development programs between the mid 1920s and the early 1950s were localized individually initiated; they focused primarily on the welfare of individuals and changes in social and mostly non-economic sectors. For example, the Gandhian philosophy of rural development was a social movement to empower rural populations to help themselves. The social work profession developed primarily to ameliorate social problems through *individual rehabilitation* using the methods of casework, group work or community organization (Midgley, 1981). Over the years many developing countries have adopted social work teaching with the same practice principles as those employed in the west (Midgley, 1981).

The focus of rural development, on the other hand, has shifted over the years. By the 1950s developing countries began launching various national-level rural development strategies that primarily focused on the economic development of rural populations. To boost these national development initiatives, a wide variety of human and material technologies were transferred from

the western industrialized countries to the developing countries. Critics argue that a transfer-based rural development framework failed to achieve desired goals because of central, top-down, controlled design and implementation of development programs with no input from local people (Wignaraja, 1984). In the 1970s there was a growing awareness of the need for people's participation in rural development to avoid local people's financial or other forms of dependence on development projects (Chambers, 1983; Uphoff, 1985). In the early 1980s, greater emphasis was placed on strengthening or building institutions and on gaining people's real or direct participation in rural development. A goal to accomplish sustainable development was added after the mid 1980s.

Social work has been on the side-lines in this transformation of rural development. As a profession, social work in developing countries has suffered from cultural imperialism (Midgley, 1981), and this has affected its contribution to rural development. Another factor that explains the marginal role of social workers in development is that during the 1960s and 1970s, most rural development work in developing countries was undertaken without much attention paid to social and cultural dimensions or input from social scientists. For instance, forest departments managed the state forests but their management systems were externally engineered and imposed. Forest professionals enforced forest laws to protect forests from people.

The Private Forest Nationalization Act of 1957 in Nepal gave the forest department full responsibility to manage all forest land including private forest lands of the nation. The 1978 Forest Act of Lesotho gave its Forest Division the legal rights to exclusively manage and control all the village woodlots in the country (Turner, 1988). In the early 1970s, Ghana dissolved all traditional forest rights of tribal groups and its central government assumed sole control of all forest land (Repetto, 1988). Critics argue that centralized management of forest land increased the rate of forest depletion, since local people saw no incentive to manage their neighboring forest resources (Bajracharya, 1983; Repetto, 1988).

The participation of sociologists and anthropologists in community forestry programs increased, particularly in the 1980s. Today, forest policy makers around the world recognize that in

order to reverse the current trend in the decline of forest resources, they must take into account the socio-cultural dimensions of a community and ensure community participation. To that end governments in developing countries have been amending forest policies and shifting control of forest lands from the state to decentralized local people's institutions (Campbell & Khare, 1992). For example, the Decentralization Act of 1982 in Nepal (amended in 1984 and 1992) recognized community management of village forests by legally ensuring the rights of resource user groups to manage and retain the products of forest resources under their jurisdiction.

Social workers, likewise, should claim their share of professional responsibility in social and economic development of communities not only because this new development paradigm is increasingly interdisciplinary and community focused but also because social workers are better suited to participate in development. Today's rural development programs, including community forestry programs, focus on communities. Sustainability of a rural development initiative depends upon a community's ability to work together to mobilize external and internal financial, managerial, and technical resources so that useful programs may continue to expand after their external support terminates. A professionally trained community social worker can earn community trust, help local people identify their strengths and limitations, strengthen or build institutions for their collective action, and help them mobilize external and internal resources so that project activities attain long-term sustainability.

Midgley (1981) describes community social workers as professionals who

know how community institutions function, how local political processes operate and how community needs arise . . . have a detailed knowledge of the demographic, political and economic characteristics of the community, understand its social structure and be able to undertake research into community needs. Community workers use their professional skills to establish and maintain good relationships with community leaders and citizens. They motivate people to participate in welfare activities and foster an attitude of concern and responsibility in the community. They assist community leaders to take decisions effectively but democratically and are able to deal

with problems and conflicts which arise in ways that do not cause resentment (p. 10).

These skills are crucial in rural development.

In the early 1980s I, as a project social scientist, was working with a bilateral, USAID funded, resource conservation project in remote parts of Nepal. Shortly after the design and implementation of project activities, the project had identified a need for social scientists and hired an anthropologist and a social worker. Among other things, our responsibilities included promoting local people's participation, institution building and conflict resolution. We identified potential project activity beneficiaries, engaged them in various stages of project design and implementation, and helped form user group committees around various project activities including community forestry. We also helped promote locally preferred plant species in project established plant nurseries, promoted women's involvement in the management of forest resources at different levels, identified qualified women for admission into forestry schools (see Pandey, 1986 for details) and helped forestry professionals become sensitive to local people's needs through our work with the faculty and students of forestry.

Even in situations where our expertise was sought after the activity had been completed, we were able to engage local people in some marginal ways. For instance, in one village this project had built a drinking water system. Project activities were centrally designed and implemented with very little input from the people. We helped hand over the responsibility of maintaining the system to local people. We identified all those households who used the water system and met with those in a household who were responsible for collecting water. Women did almost all of the water collection in this village. To increase women's participation, we met late in the evening to discuss maintenance of the water system and remuneration of the maintenance person. These women selected a woman to maintain the system; men, they said, migrate to cities during the slack season of the year. They felt that it was more practical to train a woman to maintain the system.

The next issue they had to address was the development of an appropriate remuneration system for the maintenance person.

These women had very limited access to cash, so they were not able to pay the water maintenance person in cash. However, each household had been maintaining a forest guard, a cobbler, a blacksmith and a tailor for generations, and they paid all of them in kind (grain) every year after harvesting their crops. They decided that the same method of payment for the maintenance of the water system would work well. Here is an example of how social workers can identify existing institutions (knowledge) that are effective and expand the same idea to promote successful collective action.

In another village we helped resolve a conflict between the project staff and villagers. In this village, project engineers had surveyed two rivers, possibly to tap one of them for irrigation. When the staff had completed all survey work and was ready to launch the project, the villagers opposed this particular initiative. We were assigned to resolve this conflict. Sometimes when villagers are opposed to a particular project activity, that in itself is an act of participation and may help prevent a socioculturally inappropriate intervention (Drijver, 1991). On our first visit to the project site, however, it became evident that project staff had made all the decisions up to that point without much input from the local people. This particular conflict was resolved after several meetings with the villagers.

Since the project design phase had already been completed, our efforts were mainly around clarifying some of the misunderstandings. First, a clarification was needed on which one of the two rivers had been selected for irrigation canal and why? This required sharing of the findings of the feasibility studies and a discussion on why irrigation of the river the village headman had preferred was not technically feasible. A discussion then ensued on the scope of the proposed irrigation project. This involved a lengthy discussion of whose land would be covered and whose would not be covered. Next we clarified what the project might do with the money if that village rejected the irrigation project. The project staff had planned to divert the irrigation project to another village for the same purpose. In the end, the villagers agreed to the project, especially when it was evident that the irrigation project would go to another village. But the most important outcome of these dialogues was that they felt respected and included in the

project process; and the project engineers sensed the importance of community participation in development.

Preparing Social Workers for Rural Development

Issues concerning equity, equality and social justice are and should be at the core of every social worker's practice. Social workers are better suited to identify problems and issues concerning the root causes of poverty and social and economic injustice; they can better assess the distributive impact of various social and economic development programs. In developing countries, forest policies and programs directly affect the lives of the rural poor. Reforestation programs can be a good source of income, food, fuel, and assets for future use by the poor. Social workers, however, are not well represented in both governmental and non-governmental organizations that are engaged in the development and implementation of these policies and programs.

Social work educational institutions in developing countries must provide leadership in preparing graduate students who are able to visualize and understand the complex relationships between land, resources, subsistence living and poverty. Social workers should have substantive preparation in rural development. Figure 1 summarizes some of the problems in rural development, addressing the strengths and weaknesses of social workers in these issues and the role of social work educational institutions in better preparing these professionals.

Problems listed in Figure 1 are interlinked, but for the sake of convenience I address them one at a time. First, lack of community trust is a problem in implementing rural development programs. Often local people, especially the very poor, do not trust government officials or development experts. Establishing rapport and gaining trust is crucial to understanding local needs, and designing and implementing need based programs. Community social workers know how to establish rapport and gain trust from members of a community. Social work institutions can strengthen skills required to gain community trust by familiarizing students with experiences from various rural development programs.

Second, community participation helps create an inclusive environment and amplifies people's sense of ownership of development activities, commitment and willingness to bear responsibilities for failure or success. Community members should

Figure 1

Major problems in rural development, the strengths and weaknesses of social workers, and the role of educational institutions

Problems in rural development	Strengths and weaknesses of social workers in development	Role of social work institutions
Lack of community trust.	Have skills to gain community trust.	Need to provide skills to gain community trust under various development contexts.
Lack of community participation (Drijver, 1991; Kottak, 1985; Oakley, 1991; Uphoff, 1985; Utting, 1994).	Have skills to gain community participation.	Need to provide skills to gain community participation and empowerment in different community development contexts.
Lack of institution strengthening/building (Kottak, 1985; Utting, 1994).	Have some skills to strengthen/build community institutions.	Need to provide skills to strengthen/build institutions in different settings.
Lack of understanding of community conflicts.	Have limited understanding of root causes of community conflicts.	Need to provide skills to understand root causes of community conflicts and to resolve them.
Lack of design and implementation of need based programs (Noronha & Spears, 1985; Utting, 1994).	Have limited knowledge of program planning, design, implementation and evaluation skills.	Must provide adequate skills required to conduct needs assessment and analysis, monitor programs, and assess intended and unintended program impacts.

participate in every stage of program development, implementation and monitoring. Community social workers have skills to gain community participation. Their skills can be improved by

exposing them to various forms of participation in community forestry programs and by showing them how the community participation process itself can contribute to community empowerment (Drijver, 1991; Oakley, 1991).

Third, lack of understanding of local formal and informal institutions are problems in rural development. Local formal and informal institutions help pattern certain behavior and role expectations. It is important to understand local institutions to design and implement projects that are in harmony with local expectations, to strengthen institutions that are progressive in nature and to help develop new institutions using existing knowledge.

Fourth, lack of understanding of root causes of community conflicts is a major problem in rural development, especially in community forestry. Community conflicts are common especially regarding forest resources, because they are usually held as common pool resources in community or publicly owned land. The question of who is allowed to collect what, when and how much is either determined enforced by the forest department or by local governing institutions. Conflicts arise when sections of a community feel deprived of equal access to community forest resources.

Finally, lack of design and implementation of need-based programs is a major problem in rural development. Development programs based on national level statistics may not reflect local needs. Community social workers have very limited knowledge of the skills required to assess and analyze local needs, monitor programs and assess the intended and unintended impacts of these programs. Social work educational institutions must provide adequate program planning and evaluation skills to their graduates.

Social work education institutions in the industrialized countries of the west also should increase their attention to rural development. Even though the United States trains a small number of social work students per year from the developing countries, these graduates play an important role in promoting social work education in their home countries. Currently, in the United States, social workers are not adequately prepared to understand the context in which problems and issues related to rural development arise and the conditions under which they have to be addressed.

Often rural development content is limited to international social work courses. This should be changed. Some of the innovative experiences of rural development in developing countries may have implications for practice in the Western industrialized countries. For instance, many industrialized countries have begun to question their capacity to sustain and continue support of many of their income transfer systems and are looking for alternative approaches to alleviating poverty. Social workers around the world have the potential to identify and transfer socially and culturally appropriate innovative ideas across countries.

Students who are trained to deal with the problems of a developing country will be able to deal with equally complex problems faced by the very poor in urban and rural areas of Western industrialized societies such as the United States. For example, there is evidence in the developing countries that poor people organize around community resources (e.g., community forests) and collectively manage these lands to protect themselves from future forest resource vulnerability (Pandey & Yadama, 1990).

Various conditions that promote collective action among poor populations in developing countries may have implications for strengthening institutions in the inner cities of the United States. Similarly, even the very poor farmers in developing countries such as India or Nepal save and build assets for future use in various forms (e.g., jewelry, grain, trees, and land). An understanding of conditions that promote saving among the very poor in developing countries might have implications for encouraging saving among the poor in the United States.

Because social work is a contextual profession (Hokenstad, Khinduka & Midgley, 1992), we can strengthen social work graduates' ability to practice development at the local, national and international levels by providing them with contextual information throughout the curriculum. Schools of social work in the United States should enable students who are interested in international development to find international settings for their advanced practicum. This will benefit American social work students interested in international development and international students studying social work in American universities.

As social workers committed to alleviating poverty, we need to focus increasingly on a wide range of issues of social and

economic development, going well beyond the narrow definitions of current social work. The challenge before us is to tackle poverty from many directions. Social workers can be effective in promoting development if social work educational institutions challenge the students to identify linkages among problems that have diverse origins and design social and economic development programs that address these problems.

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Equality and Family Policy in International Perspective: Toward a Feminist Theory of the State

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This three country comparison uses case studies of family policy in Britain, Canada and the US to explain how governments utilize family policies to maintain patriarchal systems and to promote labor force and economic goals. The paper examines how equality/difference theories are applied in family policy. Propositions are developed in order to provide a basis for developing new approaches to family policy based on gender equality.

In the international social welfare field, considerable scholarship has emerged on comparative family policy (i.e., Kamerman and Kahn, 1978), the connection between women/feminism and social policy/welfare (Gelb, 1989; Maclean & Groves, 1991), and the feminist critique of national social welfare policies (i.e., Gordon, 1990; Holter, 1984; Miller, 1990, and Nijeholt, 1991). What is neglected, however, is international, comparative scholarship aimed at developing general theories about why and how social policy is used by states to reinforce patriarchy. This paper addresses this need by presenting a three country comparison of family policy using case studies of Britain, Canada and the US.

Introduction

Feminist theories of social welfare generally posit a "white masculine world view" in which men have "power over" women and children and the economically dependent status of women in their roles as wives and mothers is written into social policy. Social policy is thus seen as a mechanism for the enforcement of gender-based values and beliefs (Dale and Foster, 1986).

Efforts by Western feminist theorists to understand the State's interest in controlling women and reinforcing traditional family

values have focused on examining the connection between a particular model of production (capitalism) and the functioning of the family as the site of the production of future workers and warriors needed to serve the interests of capitalism. However, recent work has demonstrated that the mode of production is not the critical factor. At least two comparative studies have documented the role family policy plays in maintaining patriarchal systems. Based on a study of six countries (US, Canada, Britain, Sweden, the Soviet Union, and China) Dominelli (1991, 199–200) concluded that, while variations exist, family policy in both capitalist and socialist systems share key features, including the endorsement of age, race, gender, and sexual orientation divisions; the subordination of women's interests to those of men, children, and the economy; the reinforcement of gender-based inequality in both social and domestic production; the formulation of policies for women, without involving women; and limitation of efforts to improve women's position.

In a four-country comparative study of Sweden, East Germany, West Germany, and the US (three of which have constitutional guarantees of equality between the sexes), Spakes (1995) notes the consistent use of family policy to maintain patriarchal systems, regardless of the mode of production, and attributes variations in national family policies to the labor needs of the political/economic system; alternatives available for meeting those needs; the political notion of "equality" and "equal result" promoted by the state; the concept of "equal opportunity" promoted by the state, and attitudes toward gender, motherhood, and "equality/difference theories."

Both Dominelli and Spakes see social policy as serving the interests of economic policy, but Dominelli argues that the varying priorities given to women's issues and the level of women's organizational activity are important factors in explaining the variation among family policies. Spakes, on the other hand, argues that given the lack of agreement on what constitutes "equality" and how it should be achieved, both in feminist theory and in other forms of discourse, states have been able to co-opt equality theories, establish the parameters of the debate, and set limits to what can be achieved. Spakes does not see that feminist movements have had substantial impact on the development of social

policies, unless the goals have happened to coincide with other goals of the state.

"Equality" is conceptualized here in terms of two major components: formal equality, equality of formal rights between men and women, and material equality, which is related to equal access to welfare and opportunities (Bussemaker, 1991). This dual concept arises "out of the contradictions of Keynesian welfare policies, which on the one hand, harbored an official family oriented political program, but on the other hand, promised individual work and welfare for every "citizen" (Sevenhuijsen, 1986, 334). In modern, industrialized welfare states, each of these inter-related concepts provide focal points, to a greater or lesser extent, for social policy and "feminist" political activities.

While the concept of equality before the law is generally accepted, there are varying theories regarding how gender differences affect the attainment of both formal and material equality. Feminist equality theorists focus on the "sameness/difference" debate, in which three basic positions have emerged. One position is that "equality" implies equity or impartiality. Since there are no fundamental differences between men and women, laws and social policies should be "gender-blind" or "gender neutral," providing the same benefits, rights, and responsibilities to all citizens with no distinctions (MacKinnon, 1987). Recent efforts to gender-neutralize policies once directed only to men in their roles as family heads and primary wage earners (Unemployment Compensation and Social Security in the US, for example) are based on theories of impartial treatment.

A second position is that since people are not identically situated, equality does not mean treating people identically, but rather requires recognition and validation of differences. Women are inherently different from men in reproductive and nurturing responsibilities, which gives women a separate sphere of influence critical to society, but traditionally undervalued. Equality requires protection and support for women in their reproductive role equal to the level of protection and support accorded to men in their productive role. This is the argument used in the 1920s by feminists who sought protective labor legislation that recognized women's separateness and difference, and more recently for homemakers' and dependent care allowances.

A third position argues that differences must be taken into account and compensated, whether they are "naturally occurring" or caused by past discrimination. While women and men may be fundamentally the same, reproductive responsibilities have put women at a disadvantage. Some special privileges or supports are necessary to compensate and put women on an equal, competitive footing with men, especially in the workforce (i.e., paid maternity leave and child care).

Social policies based on these theories of equality can seek to either reinforce or to reorder private as well as public institutions (i.e., the family and the church, as well as the workplace). Thus, the welfare system can be used to maintain difference or to promote a particular vision of equality in the society. Understanding how these basic "positions" on equality have affected social/family policy in any particular country is extremely difficult, however. Not only have all these theories been used at one time or another, but often all are simultaneously used to provide arguments in favor of the same policy in order to appeal to different constituencies.

There are also different concepts of the state's responsibility in promoting formal equality, either by ensuring *equality of opportunity* or *equality of result*. Equality of opportunity implies that all individuals are equal at birth and should have equal access to the same opportunities. The assumption is that equality of opportunity will, over time, produce equality of result, but it is not guaranteed. How far a state goes to ensure equality of opportunity depends on prevailing notions of what equity and fairness require. Fairness might require only that people be given the same chances, and then individual circumstances, personal choices and other factors mitigate the results. Alternatively, fairness might require that individual circumstances and personal factors be equalized to the fullest extent possible through state intervention. Equality of result implies the achievement of total equity in all aspects of social life. In general, governments have focused on equal opportunity and have directed both rhetoric and actions away from policies aimed at equality of result.

Family Policy

As Kamerman & Kahn (1978) point out, the term "family policy" has had multiple definitions. They use family policy to

refer to "the extent to which family well-being (whatever the components) is employed as an outcome criterion for assessing policies or as a source of decision rules for developing options and making choices," and refer further to a "cluster of policies, measures, benefits, and so forth which are directed at the family" (Kamerman and Kahn, 1978, 7). The European Commission (EC) defines family policy as "policy measures geared at influencing families, including actions by bodies other than central government to assist families" (Dumon, 1991, 9) and excludes policies not aimed directly at families. A broader definition suggested by Hantrais (1994,145) takes into account the unintended outcomes of policies for families, describing family policy as "a range of measures and objectives which policy makers pursue in order to ensure the effectiveness of the family as a social institution."

While definitions vary, a common theme is intent on the part of the state to "support" or "influence" families. A key word is *intent*, which relates to the debate regarding which countries do and do not have family policy. If a targeted, planned set of policies and programs is required, then it can be argued that the US is the only Western country without a national family policy, though Canada and Britain may also fall into that category. Alternatively, all countries may have national family policies because they all have social policies that affect families. Certainly, all countries have one or more of the programs usually considered to be important elements of family policy: family allowances, child benefits or child tax credits; maternal and parental leave, child care, and housing.

Some family policies are certainly more comprehensive, clearly articulated, and intentional than others. Differences are often explained in terms of variations between countries on cultural values and traditions (i.e., the degree to which familism and community are valued over individualism.) The degree of "conservative" as opposed to "liberal" thinking on social issues is also cited as a deciding factor (Bystdzienski, 1993). Still others identify different types of welfare models and see family policy as reflecting one of those models (i.e., Esping-Anderson (1991). None of these explanations is sufficient, as the following analysis will show.

The "starting point" for comparative analysis is the early 1940s, and the introduction of the British Beveridge plan, which greatly influenced both Canadian and US policy. Income security,

maternity leave, and child care policy are considered, since these are critical elements of any family policy. Each nation's position on equality for women is also reviewed.

Britain

British family policy must be seen in the context of its membership in the European Community since 1973. Since that time, it has been affected by pressure from the EC to comply with its family policy directives. The historical background of Britain's family policy is, however, close to that of the US and Canada.

The Beveridge Report is often cited as the major influence on family policy in Britain. Armed with a new post-Depression era understanding of the risks and consequences of a *laissez-faire* approach to economic systems, many countries reconsidered their approach to government intervention in the marketplace. Beveridge's plan was based upon several assumptions: that low wages and oppressive working conditions of the early industrialized period were no longer an issue; that poverty was limited to small sectors of the population for whom employment was a problem; and that temporary unemployment could be addressed through insurance schemes paid for by workers. Otherwise, families would be adequately supported by the wages of the male breadwinner (Benenson, 1991). The state has an obligation to promote full employment; however, some will remain chronically unemployable: the elderly, disabled, sick, and housewives. The state has some responsibility to provide for their welfare.

These assumptions are based upon a patriarchal view of the family that stresses women's role in the family as caretaker/homemaker, men's role as provider, women's dependency on men or on the state in the absence of the male. A National Insurance Act was passed in 1944 to establish a national assistance program, and a Family Allowance Act followed in 1945. The Family Allowance Act reflected concern over declining fertility and predictions that by the year 2000, the population of England and Wales would be reduced to that of London (Lewis, 1992). Britain joined other post-war European countries in enacting measures intended to encourage women to produce larger families.

(Feminism was blamed for the declining birth rate, since it encouraged women's paid employment and weakened male domination in the family.)

Supporters of a Family Allowance noted women's unpaid labor in the home, legal status, vulnerable position, and the importance of securing an income for children in the event that the male breadwinner could not provide. Rather than making paid employment easier, the focus was on facilitating women's withdrawal from the labor force (Marlow, 1991). This allowance is paid to mothers, regardless of marital status, for any child under 16 or until 19 when pursuing studies or training. Maternity, widowhood and dependency grants were added in 1946, (though maternity grants were abolished in 1987 and replaced by a means tested lump sum payment for low income families.) A family credit, (the "family income supplement" introduced in 1971) targets low income, working parents who work at least 24 hours a week.

Given the assumptions of the British welfare system, it is not surprising that Britain has only reluctantly developed maternity leave benefits for working women. This is an area in which pressure from the European Community to conform to its policy of providing more generous provisions has allowed for limited expansion. The EPCoA (Employee Protection (Consolidation) Act of 1978) provides maternity leave protection; however, eligibility requirements are complex. Full time employees who have worked for the same employer for two years prior to pregnancy (5 years for part-time) are allowed an absence of 40 weeks, and women may stop work 11 weeks before the birth. They receive 90% of their earnings for six weeks, then a small flat rate amount. Although reinstatement in the same or an equivalent job is provided if the woman returns to work within 29 weeks, when women stop work, the employment contract terminates, ending other employee benefits (Hantrais, 1990; Hodgson, 1993). Women who worked 6 months into the 15th week of pregnancy and earned a level of income sufficient to make contributions to the National Insurance program are eligible for Statutory Maternity Pay (a small flat rate amount) for 18 weeks. With low benefits, limited eligibility, and a confusing system, many women in lower level positions do not take the leave (McRae, 1991; Stoiber, 1989).

Although reinstatement is a right stipulated in the Council of Europe Charter, Britain has the most restrictive reinstatement rights. Employers need not provide the same job, and employers with fewer than 5 employees are exempted. Women are required to submit three written notifications of the intent to return to work. Britain has no family leave to care for a sick child and no statutory paternity leave.

In terms of child care, a British analyst notes, "The rearing of children puts considerable demands on a community; without the family, it is unlikely that the economic structure of western societies, as presently organized, could tolerate them" (Eekelaer, 1984, 205). Thus, the British state sees its commitment as education, which begins at 5. Care for younger children is best provided by mothers, and child care is sporadic. The state provides a small amount of public care targeted for special needs children, but "child-minders," unlicensed in-home care providers, give the majority of child care. For children under 2, the state provides only 2% of public care (Hantrais, 1990.) In 1990, the government extended tax relief for child care facilities situated at the workplace (Dumon, 1991, 117). The European Community has pressured Britain to provide adequate child care, but this has been resisted as unwarranted interference in family responsibilities.

Women's position in the labor force was addressed in the early 1900's in the same way it was addressed in other developing industrialized nations: by passing protective legislation that excluded women from certain occupations and certain shifts of work. Arguments were also made for a minimum wage to raise men's wages so that women would not have to work (Lewis & Davies, 1991). During the 1960s and 1970s, equality feminists argued that protective legislation should be eliminated. The Sex Discrimination Act of 1975 was passed, prohibiting direct or indirect discrimination in employment and requiring equal opportunity in the workforce. The burden of proof of discrimination was on the victim; numerous exceptions were provided to employers; compensation to victims who prevailed was provided in money, but not a job; and limits on women's employment for health and safety reasons were allowed to stand. An Equal Pay Act was passed in 1970 and revised in 1976, due to pressure from the EC. The new act gave women the right to equal pay for

"work of the same or broadly similar nature." The burden of proof remained on women, with a cumbersome appeal process. After the European Court of Justice struck down the act as not conforming to their definition of "work of equal value" (Ruggie, 1984), the Sex Discrimination Act of 1986 abolished all restrictions on women's work and hours of work (Lewis and Davies, 1991).

British family policy uses difference theory as a basis for family labor market policies targeted at keeping women in the home as caregivers. Support for working women is minimal. Family income benefits are tied to employment status; maternity benefits are limited and contingent on firm commitment to the labor force. While equal treatment in the workplace is required, enforcement is difficult, and the policies of the workplace are substantially at odds with social policies. It is considered "morally wrong" for the British state to intervene in families and influence personal decisions. Intervention is justified only to protect children in time of need. Britain resists EC pressure to adopt its directives on part time work, parental and family leave, and temporary work on the grounds that these matters are best dealt with between employer and employee (Hantrais, 1990).

Canada

As a former British province, Canada developed an economic and family policy system that reflects British thinking, as well as US influence. However, Canada's central government in Ottawa has historically been much weaker, with much social welfare policy delegated by constitution to the provinces (Pal, 1987a).

Canada experienced the same Depression-era difficulties as Britain and the US, adopted similar "make work" programs, and was helped out of the Depression by World War II. Bakan and Stasiulis (1994) also document the concern in Canada (pre-World War II) for eugenic theories and notions of Anglo Saxon superiority, which influenced social policy.

The idea of a social insurance program based on worker contributions came to Canada via Roosevelt's New Deal. The Canadian government subsequently adopted similar provisions (Bureau, Lippel and Lemarche, 1986). The court declared this effort unconstitutional, and World War II subsequently restored economic

prosperity. The value of social insurance continued to be debated, however, as concern was raised over how to keep consumer spending up and the economy growing after the war. In Canada, the Unemployment Insurance Act passed in 1941, during a period of relative economic prosperity. The theory was that money invested in the system during high growth years could be used in case of post-war economic downturn to keep spending up. In 1944, a universal Family Allowance was implemented to promote buying power among families while encouraging women to leave the labor force. A universal approach was used in order to spread the investment potential throughout the country (Armstrong, & Armstrong, 1988; Bureau, Lippel & Lemarche, 1986).

During the 1960s, the US War on Poverty also stimulated Canadian thinking. How to keep wages low to promote full employment and still give people enough to live on was the question, and Canadians considered two choices: develop some type of targeted assistance plan (like AFDC in the US) or expand their unemployment insurance plan, while avoiding a guaranteed minimum income. In 1966 the Canada Assistance Plan was passed to encourage the provinces (through cost sharing) to provide for all unemployed families no matter what the cause (Bureau, Lippel & Lemarche, 1986). In 1971, Canada passed a new Unemployment Insurance Act to expand coverage by lowering the number of hours per week required for coverage. Finally, in 1978 a child tax credit was added for below-average income families in order to redistribute income (Johnson, 1987b).

The Canadian government believed it was possible to control the workforce and economy to produce full employment, and insurance programs could keep enough money in the economy during downward cycles to restore growth. Supplemental benefits given to workers would enable them to support families, while keeping the cost of labor down. The actual implementation of this approach resulted in serious budget deficits during recessions. Consequently, the government has moved to reduce the high costs. Family allowances were "reduced," first in amount and subsequently by indexing benefits to retarget the money to families earning lower incomes (Johnson, 1987b). General Assistance for the unemployable is controlled at the provincial level, and most provinces distinguish between employable and unemployable recipients. It is income-tested and covers persons who are blind

or disabled, and mothers with dependent children. Benefit levels vary across provinces (Banting, 1987).

Paid maternity leave was implemented in the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1971, which makes it clear that this is an employment policy (Girard, 1994). Canada provides 17 weeks of paid maternity leave.

In 1987 Canada implemented a national child care plan allowing substantial tax deductions for children in daycare. Although criticized heavily for its market bias and regressiveness, it was based on the assumption that parents as consumers were the best judges of appropriate care, without need for further regulation or assistance (Lightman, 1991). The legislation provided funds for research and special initiatives, as well as subsidies for building new daycare centers (Bystdzienski, 1993).

In Canada, the federal government has jurisdiction over federal departments and agencies as well as its own corporations, but the provincial legislation covers the remaining 89% of the labor force (Wilson, 1991, 104). Equal pay legislation was introduced as equal pay for equal or "substantially similar" work, but the International Labor Organization (ILO) has been influential in trying to get this revised to "equal pay for work of equal value." An Employment Equity Act was passed in 1988. It requires that companies doing business with the federal government and companies with 100 or more employees identify and eliminate discriminatory employment practices. The Constitution Act of 1982 contains a section known as the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which guarantees women's equality.

Canadian family policy reflects primarily the desire of the government to regulate the economy and promote full employment. The implicit assumption regarding the separate sphere of responsibility for women is present, but not so explicitly as in British family policy. Canadian policy neither actively impedes nor actively supports women's participation in the labor force. It has tended to follow social change, as is the case with the child care legislation.

United States

US family policy also reflects some of the basic assumptions of the Beveridge report. Implementation in the US reflects that

country's slightly different social and economic circumstances. As in both Britain and Canada, the US approached its Depression era economic problems through a combination of Unemployment Insurance and Public Assistance. Using the same assumptions of women's dependent status and primary role in the home, eligibility for Unemployment Insurance was based on the primary wage earner's strong attachment to the labor force, with benefits for the wife and children contingent on his earnings record (Pearce, 1985), while support for single mothers and their children, and persons who are blind or disabled was provided through means tested general assistance programs. Policy concentrated on providing a guaranteed minimum "family" wage for men and protective labor legislation for women forced by circumstance to work. Since it was assumed that the economy could accommodate all who wished to work, joblessness was seen as a result of personal choice or personal failure. A reasonable amount of unemployment was expected and tolerated; consequently, full employment was never made a policy goal.

The 1960s War on Poverty changed the government's position on its proper relationship to industry. Market forces alone were deemed insufficient; job training, education, affirmative action laws, and federal employment programs were needed in order to promote equality and put everyone to work. The problem of under-employment for certain groups, particularly ethnic minorities and poor women, was framed as the lack of equal opportunity. Work and training would bring both groups into the labor force. Poor women would also be helped with federally subsidized day care, food, and housing programs, as well as social services designed to attack the multiple problems that prevented them from gaining access. The US embarked on a strategy of government-corporate partnership in providing opportunities for women and minorities to work. The government provided training, family/employment supports, and tax incentives to corporations and took many women and minorities into federal employment.

The trends that set the stage for comprehensive family policy based on an equality approach were reversed by a major recession and a change to conservative leadership. The government retreated from its role as partner to the private sector and balancing

force between the corporate (public) and family (private) sectors. It retreated from the idea that the public shares responsibility for families and returned to the notions of family privacy and individual/family responsibility.

The two tier system of benefits in the US combines an insurance approach (Unemployment Insurance and Social Security) with welfare benefits (Aid to Families with Dependent Children -AFDC; Supplemental Security Income) (Spakes, 1992). Tier 1 benefits are based on full-time, continued attachment to the labor force (especially by the husband), with benefits guaranteed as a right and reflect what Abramovitz (1988) calls "the home-maker ethic." Tier 2 benefits are significantly lower. The means tested AFDC program provides the lowest level of benefits of all the federal programs. Designed initially to support women in the caretaking function, benefits have been kept at a minimal level in order to promote a work incentive. "Workfare" is being expanded, reflecting a strong bias that mothers of low income children should no longer be supported as caregivers.

The US does not provide statutory maternity benefits but treats childbirth as a disability and requires that coverage in the same way employers cover any other disability. Under the Pregnancy Discrimination Act, if employers provide health insurance and disability coverage, they are required to include pregnancy in their policies. It is estimated that less than 40% of working women are eligible for a paid six to eight week leave for pregnancy disability (Ford Foundation, 1989).

The Family and Medical Leave Law (1993) requires employers with 50 or more employees to provide up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave (or paid leave if earned) for eligible employees working in large firms. Since small employers are exempt and leave is generally unpaid, the legislation has been criticized as providing very little help for the majority of women—particularly those who earn the least.

The US child care system is "a patchwork of parents' contributions, various types of employer assistance, government subsidies, and increasingly, the public schools" (Ford Foundation, 1989, p. 22). Federally subsidized child care is targeted at low income families and for children in abusive situations. In addition, an income tax deduction is provided for child care, and the

decision whether to use private, center-based care or in-home care is left to the family. Employer provided programs and employer subsidies are available in some large companies. As in Britain and Canada, it is assumed that the family is the best judge of quality care, and the private sector is the best place to provide it.

An Equal Pay Act was passed by Congress in 1963 and requires "equal pay for equal work." It has never been expanded to include work of equal value. Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibits employment discrimination on the basis of sex (as well as race, religion, color, and national origin). Title VII also granted the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) the right to sue private sector respondents. In 1972, equal employment policy was strengthened and expanded, and equal opportunity in education became federal policy for the first time (Beller, 1982). This approach is directed toward addressing both the problem of access to the employment sector and equal opportunity within it. An Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution was never approved by the states.

The US uses a two tiered approach to family policy in which insurance benefits for women are tied to the attachment of a wage earner (most often, the husband) to the labor force. Lower tier benefits are provided for low income, unemployed women with children. The US is steadily enacting the expectation that low income mothers should work, and the government's responsibility is to provide sufficient child care to support that goal. This policy reflects a great degree of ambivalence toward women's roles, holding simultaneously to the notion that some (poor) mothers must work, while others (those firmly connected to the labor force through their spouse's employment) should be able to stay home. Rhetoric generally discourages additional government intervention as "interference" in family responsibilities, and the private sector is seen as the best place for families to have their needs met.

Conclusion

The following propositions are offered as a basis for a theoretical understanding of how and why governments control the equality debate in the construction of family policy.

1. Family policy is not the tool for women's emancipation that some liberal feminists believe it to be.
2. While couched in the rhetoric of family values and strengthening families, family policy is, in fact, labor market policy.
3. The type of family policy a country has is directly related to: the availability of other sources besides women to meet the needs of an expanding labor force (i.e., immigration); the nation's stated commitment to gender equality; its use of equality/difference theory in its approach to both social policy and labor force equality.
 - When the goal is to entice women into the labor force, equality theory is stressed.
 - When the goal is to keep women out of the labor force, difference theory is stressed.
 - When there is no particular goal in either direction, family policy is less well developed and more inconsistent, and is argued on the basis of both equality and difference theories.
4. Countries often simultaneously hold belief in gender equality and a desire to regulate the labor force in order to meet the needs of the economic sector (however it is constructed). Consequently states must appear to pursue equality while simultaneously using economic and social policy to reinforce inequality in the workforce. Difference theory provides a convenient rationale.
5. A strong economy, expanding labor force, and low immigration are necessary conditions for the development of family policy that supports women's integration into the labor force.

At the present time, Free Trade Agreements are having tremendous impact on world economic and social policies (Hart, 1994). These trade agreements may have an equalizing effect on family policies because generous family policies offset the cost of labor by keeping wages artificially low. It is increasingly being recognized that this gives some countries "unfair" advantage in a global free market. Rather than expanding family policy, pressure will be exerted by trade negotiators to cut back. The rhetoric of family, community, and individual responsibility has already been successfully manipulated by all three governments, in the

context of severe budget deficits, to cut back on family supports (Abbott & Wallace, 1989; Pall, 1987b; Pierson, 1994). This trend could become even more pronounced.

In the past, supporting the economy has been the primary goal of family policies, and that has required the promotion of some inequalities in society. Gender based inequality has been an especially convenient one to use because it is so imbedded in family and social values. Social policy based on difference theory is used to both manage and maintain (at varying levels) these differences. It is clear that modifying a nation's family policy with small policy changes (i.e., parental/medical leave policies) may help a few women, especially those in privileged positions, but will do little to address fundamental equality.

Addressing gender equality through family policy would require a comprehensive plan aimed at equality of result (as well as equality of opportunity) in the social policy sphere as well as the legal and economic spheres. This, however, would require a total rethinking of how government relates to people who are not actively and consistently in the labor force. Such an approach might incorporate, for example, some of the strategies derived from the War on Poverty in the US.

As the economic situation changes, previous theories on the appropriate role of the state in relation to families and the economy will increasingly be seen as inadequate. As Emmerij (1994) points out, nobody really believes the old solutions will be effective. Increasingly, policy analysts are calling for intergovernmental cooperation and creative approaches to redesign systems based on out-dated assumptions. A feminist theory of the state and increased understanding of how the state promotes gender equality or inequality through family policy could significantly impact social policy approaches that will be designed for the post-industrial era. This paper offers the barest start toward the development of such an approach.

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The Work-Family Needs of Single Parents: A Comparison of American and Swedish Policy Trends

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This paper compares recent policy trends affecting the work-family needs of women heading households, a population that has increased dramatically in both America and Sweden. Unlike existing American policy debates that largely discuss single mothers as a public welfare dependent population, this paper addresses female-headed householders as high-level users of policies and programs aimed at integrating work life and family life.

Most cross-national research and policy debate efforts argue that Swedish policy, in stark contrast to American policy, promote women combining employment with parenting responsibilities. This study argues that policy developments directly targeted to enhance an employee's ability to combine work and family exist in both Sweden and the US. In the US, these policies primarily exist in the private sector, while both Swedish public and private sector policy provide family-responsive work policy. However, in both societies, policy supporting employed parents, whether public or private, tends to target groups with strong ties to the labor market. As a result, American single mothers, compared to their Swedish counterparts, are not likely to benefit from existing family-responsive policy due to their weak position in the labor market.

This paper compares recent American and Swedish public and private policy trends affecting the balance between working life and family life for a population that has increased dramatically in both America and Sweden: women heading households. Policies addressed in this paper include those that directly affect the work-family contingency of this group, such as policies promoting the provision of child-care, and those that indirectly affect this contingency, such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and the Swedish Public Assistance program.

In contrast to existing policy debates, the paper recognizes female-headed householders as high-level users of policies and

programs aimed at integrating work and family needs. The paper will first provide a brief background of the chosen population. Second, two policy models will be delineated. Third, these will be used to explain recent trends in both countries that directly or indirectly affect work and family contingencies. Finally, the paper will describe how these two perspectives are likely to affect the work-family relationship for women heading households.

The comparison between the U.S. and Sweden is of value for several reasons. First, both societies have seen an increase in the number of households headed by women. Second, both societies are experiencing changes in private and public policy affecting the single parent's work-family relationship. They have both experienced a shift in the public's opinion about the role of public policy, where the concern that government policy negatively affects work behavior seems increasingly to steer policy debates and decision-making. Both are attempting to reduce welfare costs, and both are experiencing an increase in the provision of private family-responsive policy. Finally, the solo-mother family is largely ignored in existing research on the interrelationship between work place needs and family needs.

Demographic Trends

Currently, close to a third of all families are headed by women (Kahn and Kamerman, 1994, Bureau of the Census, 1993), although female-headed families in Sweden may also include couples cohabitating rather than marrying. In both societies, the majority of single mothers combine work and family responsibilities. Although most single parents are employed, the workplace, as Mulroy and Pitts-Catsoupes (1994, p. 27) argue, "barely acknowledges their presence." In Sweden, the majority of women heading households, 82%, are employed and close to 90% of these women with children over the age of three are employed (Wong, Garfinkel and McLanahan, 1993; Swedish Institute, 1994). Increasingly, this is also true in America. In 1992, 62% of American female-headed householders were in the labor force compared with 50% in 1960. Further, in 1991, 79% of single mothers with children between the ages of six and seventeen were in the labor force (U.S. Department of Labor Statistics, 1993; Bureau of the

Census, 1993). It should be noted that the unemployment rate for American solo-heads of households increased by a third at the same period. As a result, part of the increase in labor force participation is related to a higher number of mothers heading households defined as unemployed rather than outside the labor force. On the other hand, current suggestions for welfare reform in the U.S. by both liberal and conservative policy makers suggest that we are likely to see an increase of single parent mothers in the employed population.

Data also suggest that even when women heading households are employed, they are still vulnerable to poverty. They are, as a result, not likely to purchase services supporting their family-work needs such as child care. Instead, they rely on the public sector, the private informal sector, and the workplace to provide these services. In the U.S., 46% of all female-headed families in 1992 were poor compared with 7% of all married-couple families (Bureau of the Census, 1994). While only approximately 4% of Swedish single are poor, they are highly vulnerable to poverty (Kahn and Kamerman, 1994). Rainwater, Rein and Schwartz (1986) showed that while the large majority single mothers in Sweden are not poor, this was largely due to their ability to pool earnings with public transfers such as child allowance and housing allowance. Wong, Garfinkel and McLanahan (1993) showed that public transfers made up almost 40% of working Swedish single mothers' gross income. Further, Gustafsson (1993) provides data showing that 80% of single parents in Sweden receive a housing allowance.

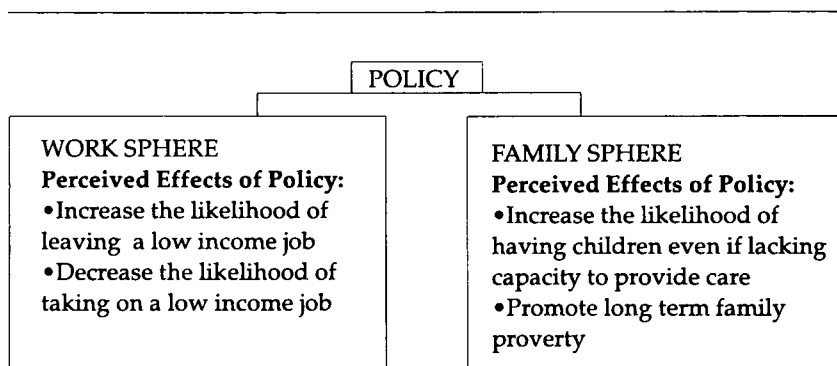
Many working single mothers, due to their economic vulnerability as sole income earners, are likely to work full-time. As a result, they are in high need of family-responsive policies such as pre- and after-school child care. In sum, these data on high levels of economic vulnerability and high levels of labor force participation, combined with a lack of spousal support, suggest that these women are likely to be potential high-level users of work-related, family-responsive policies such as comprehensive child care with flexible hours, preschool child care, pre- and after-school child care and health care services. However, in both the U.S. and Sweden, there is little analysis of how existing policy trends are likely to affect the work-family needs of this population.

The Interrelationship of Policy-Work-Family

Two perspectives dominate current debates on the effect of policy on the work and family sphere. The first perspective, described in Figure 1, focuses on how the work and family behaviors of low-income populations are affected by existing public welfare policy.

Model 1

Policy as Disruptive to Work and Family

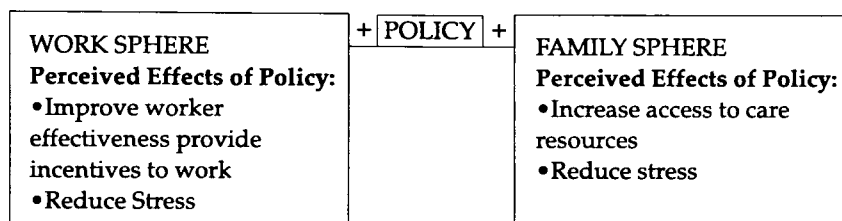


In this model, public welfare policy, and particularly income maintenance policy, is perceived as negatively affecting the work sphere by both providing an economic disincentive to take on low income jobs as well as an incentive to leaving a low paying job (Browning and Browning, 1986; Murray, 1984). This model is consistent with the current tenor of welfare policy debate, which also focuses on public policy as deleteriously affecting the family sphere by having a corroding effect on the morality of welfare recipients. Concerns are expressed that existing welfare policy has negatively affected sexual behaviors, marriage and child-rearing behaviors. For example, Gilder (1995, p. 27) in an argument that public policy has had a harmful effect on sexual behavior and marriage rates, states that "we must eliminate all government programs from coed training to affirmative action, that fail to face the crucial differences between sexes that make marriage possible."

The second perspective on the effect of policy on work-family contingencies perceives policy intervention as positive (see Figure 2.)

Model 2

Policy as the Link Work-Family Spheres



An underlying assumption of this perspective is that the provision of support to help employees care for family responsibilities will, in the end, promote a more effective and stable work force (Googins, 1991; Galinsky, Hughes and David, 1990). According to Lambert (1993, p. 239) "The rhetoric surrounding family-responsive policies suggests that their purpose is to help workers achieve a better balance between work and family roles." This view underlies much of recent research and debate on policies affecting the work place-family contingency. Based on this second framework, studies, such as those by MacEwen and Barling (1988) and Moen and Dempster-McClain (1987), are conducted on how stress may be related to combining career versus parenting roles, on how either sphere may affect the other, and on the ability of policy to address specific family needs. These studies on promoting healthy families, healthy work places, and reducing stress for individuals juggling career roles and family roles largely have been modeled in the U.S. based on the experiences of middle- and upper-level management individuals, dual earners and women with professional careers. Much of the workplace research is exploratory in nature, case-study oriented and tends to focus on private, corporate family-responsive policy.

Trends in US Public and Private Policy Affecting the Work and Family Life of Women Heading Families

Public Policy

The existing American public policy system is largely based on a "hands-off" approach when it comes to workplace and labor market related policy. While the Model 2 perspective on work and family has been used in the development of private sector policy, it is largely nonexistent in U.S. public policy. There are some exceptions, however. These include recent income tax developments that permit employed people to receive tax credits for child care expenses. On the local, public workplace level, according to Galinsky, Hughes and David, (1990), governments have, in limited cases, entered into the area of developing family-supportive programs. They cite, as examples, that many states offer tax incentives to employers who have on-or near-site child care and that the federal government and some states are active in developing family/work programs for their own workers.

However, U.S. public policy debate tends to emphasize Model 1 concerns about the negative effects of public policy on the work and family sphere. This view is particularly evident in the existing debate about Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). One may debate whether the current AFDC system supports the work-family contingency. The original intention of this policy was to provide an economic safety net for families headed by women, and particularly for the children of these families. AFDC is currently perceived as discouraging the labor force participation of low-income women. Congressional leaders argue that government programs "reward dependency" and have "had the unintended consequences of making welfare more attractive than work" (Gingrich, 1994, p. 67). Similarly, President Clinton criticizes AFDC as "a system that mails checks" rather than "help people find jobs" (The New York Times, 1994, p. 3). In the past two years, both conservative and liberal policy makers have delineated proposals for an alternative welfare system, with the goal of making work preferable over welfare. In these discussions, little focus is given to the changing needs of the families as the family heads-of-household enter the labor market. Also, scarce attention is given to the impact of low-income working women

who often lack the child care supports necessary to combine work and parenting. Instead, the focus is solely on how to get them to enter the labor market and out of the sphere of public policy.

While there are public policies supporting the provision of child care to lower income families, and most likely these policies help address some work-family needs of female headed families, these are largely developed based on a child developmental framework. For example, a main goal of "Head Start," a federally supported child care program, is to promote successful child development. Also, these programs do not target all lower income families in need of child care, but only a select group. Further, existing policy on child-care, such as the open-ended entitlement to child care for Jobs program participants, (a job training program for AFDC dependent populations), is only expected to reach approximately 7 percent of the population on AFDC (Hagen and Lurie, 1993). Finally, these programs tend to emphasize child care as transitional and were not developed as an effort to ease family-work transitions but as a tool to get the welfare-dependent population into the labor force.

U.S. Private Work-family Policy

In the US, the relatively new and rapid development of corporate workplace-based, family-responsive policy is largely described by its developers in a language consistent with the view described in Model 2. In this view, the workplace is seen as a system that supports family life. Generally, the research in this area focuses on whether these new workplace-based policies indeed are providing the necessary support to combine work and family.

In the past decade, American society has seen an introduction and the expansion of private, primarily, corporate policies such as flexible work hours, part-time work, long-term leave, resource and referral services, and child care and other dependent-care options in flexible benefits plans (Galinsky, Hughes and David, 1990). Their research estimates that in 1989, more than four-thousand companies were helping their employees with child care problems and approximately eleven-hundred provided on- or near-site child care, and these numbers have undoubtedly expanded in the last years. Another example is the rapid increase in part-time work. Kahne (1993) states that today almost a fifth of

the working population is involved in part-time work, many of them on a volunteer bases.

Unfortunately, corporate family-responsive policies have a set of limitations that make them less likely to benefit the large group of women heading families. First, corporate work-family policies are distinguished by their high degree of variation between different companies. Many of existing corporate policies are highly limited and reflect more of a symbolic stance than an actual commitment to the provision of a solution to competing work and family responsibilities. Second, Lambert (1993) argues that many of these policies, although described as family-responsive, are developed to make it possible for workers to adjust their family life to work requirements rather than the opposite.

Danzinger and Gottshalk (1993) showed, in their analysis of data from the Current Population Survey, that only a third of white and African-American female heads-of-households have more than a high school degree as their highest educational level. Therefore, the majority of them would be employed in lower skilled work. Unfortunately, the structure and provisions of private corporate policies tend to exclude lower skilled populations and women (Mulroy and Pitts-Catsoupes, 1994; Lambert, 1993). As Meyer (1990, p. 575) states, "the parents most in need . . . with low wages, part-time hours, and little job security and future may be the least likely to enjoy the benefits of corporate child care."

Further, data from a pilot study by the Center for Work and Family at the Boston University reports that some American low-skill single mothers do not use existing corporate policies even if such are available (Swanberg, 1995). Some reasons given were: 1) that the women could not afford formally provided child-care even after the corporation provided a subsidy, 2) some women who were immigrants were not able to read or understand existing policy documentation and 3) there was a concern that they may risk their employment by using corporate policy.

Moreover, while existing trends of flexible work hours, part-time work and contingent work may provide the flexibility needed for many parents to combine work with family-care responsibilities, the low incomes and the lack of benefits may not only provide a disincentive for single mothers to take on these jobs but may also increase family stress and economic hardship

for women having no other employment alternatives. The rapid increase in contingent work, such as temporary work, has largely affected women workers (Christensen, 1995). Christensen argues that the contingent work population is, as a rule, not protected by either the traditional labor market safety net, such as health insurance, nor are they eligible for corporate family-responsive policy even if such are available to the full-time workforce. In her view, (1995, p. ?) "even the most family-sensitive firms do not see it as their responsibility to assist in meeting the family needs of their independent contractors or temps."

Finally, American women, in contrast to men, are more likely to work in small- and middle-sized companies that do not have family-responsive policies (Galinsky, Hughes and David, 1990). As a result, many American single mothers, particularly those that are low income and low skilled, are not likely to benefit from existing private, workplace-based policies that tend to be aimed at higher skill level populations.

Swedish Public and Private Policy Trends

Public Policy

Existing cross-national studies, particularly those developed by American researchers, rely on a model of the Swedish social welfare system that is largely consistent with the perspective described in Figure 2, that is, "policy as the link between work and family." Numerous researchers have identified, as Hubert and Stephens (1993, p. 2) state, that "the Swedish Welfare State has made it much easier for women to combine family and work life than any other welfare state (Kahn and Kamerman, 1988; Baker, 1995)." Others have noted that solo-parenthood is not perceived as a social problem in Sweden and that while Swedish single mothers are not targeted in public policy, at the same time this group benefits from a comprehensive universal benefit system that actively supports the labor force participation of women, including programs such as public child care, housing subsidies, parental benefits and guaranteed child support payments (Kahn and Kamerman, 1988; Wong, Garfinkel and McLanahan, 1993; Rainwater, Rein and Schwartz, 1987).

In contrast to this widely perceived view of Swedish social policy, there is in fact an active debate in Sweden about disincentives in public policy to labor force participation. Marklund (1992) argues that the renewed focus both on a declining work ethic and on government providing disincentives to working have contributed to some of the more recent policy changes in Sweden, including the recent conservative government. Both Marklund (1992) and Abrahamson (1992) argue that current changes in sick-leave benefits programs and in disability insurance reflect these societal concerns about how government policy negatively affects behavior. The sickleave benefits program is aimed at protecting Swedish workers from loss of income at times of illness. Thus, this is a program that naturally affects a family's economic well-being. Prior to the 1990s, individuals received up to 90% of their pay at time of sickness; they were covered from the first day of sickness, and were required to have a physician notification about illness only after the fifth day of illness. A major concern expressed recently in Swedish public media and in policy debates is that this program created an unnecessary reduction in the numbers of days worked by the employed population and that the excessive use of it has created a costly and increasingly growing public administration (Hubert and Stevens, 1993; Marklund, 1992). In order to create a disincentive to the use of this program, in 1993, parliament introduced a one day waiting period before being allowed to apply for this benefit and lowered the benefit rate (Hubert and Stevens, 1993). The benefit rate was cut from approximately 85% of an individual's wage to 65% (Fact Sheets on Sweden, 1994). Also, the Swedish government has constituted new policies to reduce the misuse of early retirement policies and income maintenance policies aimed at the long-term ill. These policy changes include statutes making this program less accessible to many of the current populations likely to benefit and the development of an administrative process to assess if current recipients could be moved out of the program.

There are also concerns expressed about the misuse of the public assistance program. The public assistance program in Sweden is relatively small compared to other social welfare programs. However, it is increasingly a focus for debate. Interestingly, while single mothers are the highest users of public assistance, this

group is not targeted in the welfare debate. Instead, alcohol and drug users and immigrants are populations perceived in the public debate as taking advantage of this policy viewed as negatively affecting their work and family behaviors (Marklund, 1992; Bergmark, 1992). Also, there is little evidence of future reductions of the public assistance program aimed at families with children.

With respect to the other policy changes described, Swedish women heading families are not likely to be disproportionately affected by the changes in disability insurance due to their high likelihood to be employed. The population groups who have been targeted by cuts in long-term disability insurance are those close to being eligible for old-age pension and those who are long-term unemployed, particularly those long term unemployed with alcohol and drug problems. Solo mothers are not targeted as high users of the sickleave benefits program. Instead, populations with drug and alcohol problems, youth and those working under harsh employment conditions are viewed as the high level users of this program. In short, it seems that the Swedish populations affected by changes in public opinion reflected in new policy are largely the populations with weak ties to the labor market, or a low labor market value. This hypothesis is supported by a Swedish study by Bergmark (1991) where he describes Swedish single persons with low skills and without children as being in a far more unfavorable situation compared with their counterpart with children largely due to the former groups' higher levels of long-term unemployment.

It should be mentioned, however, that existing Swedish public policy trends since the late 1980s also reflect the goal to reduce welfare costs, and these are embodied in relatively minor, but steady reductions in program benefits (Fact Sheets on Sweden, 1994). While these changes have less of an ideological undertone, they are more likely to affect women disproportionately since women not only benefit from the Swedish comprehensive family policy system but also are more likely than Swedish men to be employed in the public sector (Froman, 1994). Almost half of all Swedish women are employed in the public sector compared with 12% of men (Fact Sheets on Sweden, 1993).

The existing program reductions include the 1992 reduction in benefits paid during parental leave from 90% of the pay rate to

80%, the reduction in the number of days of parental leave from 450 to 360 and the reduction in the benefits paid when staying home to care for sick children from 90% of pay to 80%. (Fact sheets on Sweden, 1994). In addition, after-school care, which in Sweden is provided by local municipalities, is one of the areas cut most significantly at the local level. For example, some municipalities recently changed their policies from accepting children up to the age of thirteen to accepting children up to the age of nine. This naturally increases the number of latch-key children and is likely to have a more negative effect on the single parent family compared with the dual-earner family.

In short, the Swedish public policy changes that have originated out of the perspective that government policy has a negative effect on work and family behavior are not likely to affect Swedish women heading families. Instead, it is argued that this population is likely, due to their high likelihood of being employed, to continue to benefit from policy developed to support parents working. On the other hand, if existing trends of welfare cuts in Sweden will continue, it will not only negatively affect the public work-family support system, it may also negatively affect Swedish women employment status.

Private Policy Trends

Existing evidence suggests that Sweden, and Scandinavia in general, is experiencing a relatively new development of private-sector, family-responsive policy. As in America, these private policies are generally framed as tools to improve the balance between work life and family life. Interestingly, the public sector is involved with encouraging "workplaces to be more family friendly (Holt and Thaulow, 1995)." For example, the Danish government has started research projects aimed at supporting private, family-responsive policy development.

Some new private policies in Sweden include corporate-provided child care, flexible work hours and private insurance policies. With respect to corporate policy, it is primarily the large corporations that have set forth independent program efforts such as flex-time, private insurance and pension plans. As in the US, these efforts tend largely to benefit mid- and upper-level management who are mostly men (Holt and Thaulow, 1995). A 1995

study of 2,300 married women and men employed in a variety of industries at a variety of occupational strata, in Sweden, Denmark and Norway found that access to corporate provided child-care opportunities and flexible work hours geared toward providing time to care for children were mainly associated with type of occupation. Individuals employed in higher level occupations had greater access to flexible care opportunities compared with individuals in lower level occupations (Holt and Thaulow, 1995).

Swedish women are less likely than men to work in the private sector and to have management level positions. Less than 10% of private sector managers are women and less than one-half percent of senior managers are women (Froman, 1994) In contrast, in the public sector, 30% of managerial positions are filled by women. As a result, Swedish women, even among those in managerial positions, are not likely to benefit from private, corporate family-responsive policy.

There is also a new development of private non-corporate educational institutions and child care institutions. These are primary educational institutions and private nursery school settings. In all probability, Swedish women heading households are less likely to use new, privately-provided child-care compared with dual parent families. As a rule, single parents are given preference over two parent families for publicly provided child care, and the development of the private system is perceived as a response to the lack of available public child care (Fact Sheets on Sweden, 1993). Also, many of the new child care systems are geared toward parents working part-time.

In summary, the development of new workplace based family-responsive policy in Sweden is not likely to substitute for any future loss of government provided work-family policies that now benefit the families of working single mothers. Also, private sector policies in Scandinavia seem to have been developed more to supplement the existing public policy system rather than as a result of a nonexistent policy system.

Summary and Conclusion

The following conclusions are based on the above discussion. First, policy developments directly targeted to enhance an employee's ability to combine work and family exist in both Sweden

and the US. In the US, these policies primarily exist in the private sector, while both Swedish public and private sector policy provide family-responsive work policy. Second, an ideological concern over the negative effects of policy on the work and the family sphere are also part of existing policy debate in these two societies. In the U.S., this debate has had negative consequences for single mothers' likelihood of having their work-family needs responded to by public policy. In contrast, single mothers are not a focus of the Swedish debate.

American public policy trends affecting the work-family needs of single mothers support limited and no government involvement in the work and family sphere. However, there are some notable exceptions: recent public policy actions suggest a strong interest in moving single mothers into the labor force without promoting their family care needs, and isolated developments of local public workplace policy aimed at supporting family needs such as the need for child care. Existing Swedish public policy trends reflect three views: (1) support for the traditional role of Swedish government with a strong policy safety net developed to enable working parents to combine work and family, (2) new concerns over potential misuse of public policies and programs, over public policy negatively affecting work behavior and over increased public bureaucracy and (3) pragmatic efforts to reduce or maintain welfare costs.

This analysis of American and Swedish policy trends suggests that single mothers in both societies will continue to look to the public sector for policy solutions aimed at improving the relationship between the work sphere and the family sphere. Except for higher skill-level single mothers, this group is not likely to benefit from the increased development of private workplace-based family-responsive policy. American corporate family-responsive policy developments largely exclude low skill populations and are, as a result, likely to exclude large numbers of working single mothers. Similarly, in Sweden, most corporate policies are geared toward management employees. Few Swedish women are in those professions. In addition, a large number of Swedish women work in the public sector.

Moreover, it is highly unlikely that the private sector will be able to move away from the basic economic principles guiding

them. While an increasing number of companies may perceive it to be cost-effective to provide higher skill level workers with options to participate in policies and programs benefiting their family needs, few companies will use this rationale to provide lower skill-level workers with similar benefits.

Finally, this review of policy trends shows that in both societies, the "policy as the link between the work and family sphere" model mainly benefits populations with strong ties to the labor market and those with relative high labor market value. In the U.S., higher skill and unionized laborers are those who predominantly benefit from comprehensive workplace-based policy. In Sweden, single mothers, due to their high likelihood of being employed, continue to benefit from family policy that primarily is aimed at working parents. While this model has been used for the development of American and Swedish private corporate policy, it is only in Sweden that it is used in the large scale development of public policy supporting working parents. As a result, the majority of single mothers in Sweden who are employed, and employed full-time, will most likely continue to be able to effectively combine employment and family through their use of public family responsive policies. On the other hand, American single mothers and particularly low skill single mothers, who often move in and out of the labor force, are most likely going to find themselves without a policy network promoting their needs to combine employment and family responsibilities.

In the end, further cross-national empirical studies are needed on these complex relationships between a populations relative value and ties to the labor market and public and private family responsive policy developments.

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A Tale of Two Hannas: Observations on Israeli and Palestinian Women's Resistance to Occupation (1991–1995)

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An observer reviews the successes and failures of grassroots strategies of non-violent resistance to military occupation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Particular attention is paid to the role of women's groups and peace organizations in Israel as well as in Israeli Occupied Arab Territories.

In the Middle East, the Gulf War and its aftermath have all but decimated grassroots peace organizations, since to protest the war or Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza is tantamount to the abandonment of the right of sovereign Israel to exist.

Central to the unrelieved tensions in this increasingly un-Holy Land, are the legends of martyrs imprinted in the cultures of Judaism, Islam and Christianity. Commentators on the Middle East crisis, however, point to the essential, fundamental dispute over land, and more critically, water; not religion. The land, about the size of Maryland, invites sentiments and acts of righteous entitlement on behalf of Israelis, Palestinians and Fundamentalist Christian groups (Peretz, 1991).

To Jews, major holy places in Jerusalem include the Tombs of Absalom, David and Rachel, the Wailing Wall, numerous ancient and modern synagogues and the Cemetery of Martyrs and Heros on the Mount of Olives. To Jews, internationally, Israel serves as the psycho-spiritual container and terra firma, that assures that never again will there be powerlessness and victimization. Never again will there be refugees denied sanctuary. Daily reminders of the Holocaust punctuate the mandate of Israel—Never Again (Silverberg, 1991).

For Muslims, Jerusalem carries a sacred association with Islam, its prophet Abraham, his descendants, the nearness of the

Prophet Mohammed and his nocturnal journey from Mecca to the Aksa Mosque in Jerusalem, from where he took his mystical night flight to heaven (miraj). The Temple Mount and the Dome of the Rock (Haram al-Sharif, in Arabic) sit upon the hill traditionally identified with Mt. Moriah, on which God asked Abraham to sacrifice his son Isaac. The first temple was built here by King Solomon in the 10th century, B.C. The second temple, built in 516 B.C., and enlarged by Herod the Great shortly before the birth of Christ, is remembered by Christians as the backdrop to Jesus' passion. According to Muslim legend, however, Haram al-Sharif (Noble Sanctuary) surrounds Abraham's altar, where he almost sacrificed Ishmael, his son by Hagar, not Isaac, as Jews and Christians believe.

To Christians, the holy shrines of the Testaments, Old and New, lend tangible evidence of the Holy Sepulchre, the Garden of Gethsemani, the Mount of Olives, the stations of the cross, the virgin birth, the apostles and the women of Christ—Anne (a.k.a. Hannah), Mary, Mary Magdalene. To certain Christian fundamentalists, (including David Koresh of Waco, Texas) the Messiah is restrained in His return until the third temple is readied—its construction site is identified as the Muslim holy of holies—the Dome of the Rock. This was the site of extreme violence on October 8, 1990, when 21 Palestinians were killed and 150 injured by Israeli security forces as Gershon Solomon's "Temple Mount Faithful" were resisted in their attempt to enter the al-Aksa mosque and place a cornerstone for the building of the third temple. Today, according to The New York Times (9/3/91), "archeology, religion and politics are on a collision course", as Israeli right wing, "Temple Mount Faithful" sue the Waqf (Muslim Religious Council) for the rights to fulfill the "aim . . . to build a new temple." The politics of the suffering victim permeate histories of martyrdom and resistance on all three religious fronts.

One Israeli view, popular since the Begin era, exempts Israel from any moral judgment. The notion that the non-Jewish world is a hostile world is deeply imprinted. Long histories of Jewish suffering under non-Jewish domination dating from anti-semitic Greeks, Romans, Christians, up to the horrific Holocaust, confirm the idea that non-Jewish Esau hates Jacob of Zion. Palestinian nationalism, pan-arabism and the proximity of historically hostile

Arab neighbor-states amount to the same story over again, that in every generation someone rises up to destroy the Jewish people. Therefore, to criticize the abuses of Israeli power, military force and occupation in Arab territories is to collaborate with Hitler. Entitlement, moral immunity and moral exemptions underscore the politics of survivorship and victimization. (Silverberg, 1991)

From the left of the Israeli political spectrum, there is a call for balance, maintenance of commitment to Jewish survival without the sacrifice of humanism and caution not to be blind to, nor blinded by the Holocaust. For Jews, the knowledge and experience of the heart of oppression calls for care that victims not become victimizers. Israeli commentators on the hard left identify military force in the Occupied Territories as "Judaean-Nazi." (Spiro, 1991)

Fueled by Iraqi missile attacks during the Gulf War, secular humanists on the left and the orthodox on the right are influenced by the injunction that to criticize Israel, in any form, is to abandon the 6 million victims of the Holocaust, of which 1½ million were children. (Miller, 1991)

Two Hannas

This prologue serves as context for the story of two Hannas. Channa Knaz (pronounced Hanna) is an activist in Women in Black, an Israeli peace organization sharing an affinity with the Black Sash movement to end Apartheid in South Africa. Channa is a longstanding member of the historic Kibbutz Gan Sh'muel. Hanan (pronounced Hanna) Mikhail Ashrawi of Ramallah (West Bank) is a prominent Palestinian voice at the international level. She is a professor at Bir Zeit University with service as Dean of Humanities. In 1995, Professor Ashrawi leads the Palestinian Independent Commission for Citizens' Rights (PICCR), an independent ombudsman organization.

Women in Israel and women in the nascent Palestinian nation are quick to agree that regional traditions of gender segregation provide powerful barriers to feminist ideals of equal status and value. On one hand, the social experiments of the Kibbutzim movement, born to serve as an antidote to racism and classism, never revolutionized the secondary status of women. At the same

time, Palestinian women continue to fight on two fronts: resistance to Israeli occupation and to the daily social harassment and legal discrimination imposed on women in most Arab countries. (Antonius, 1983)

Women in Black

In January, 1988, seven women dressed in black, carrying signs in the shape of a hand which read, "End the Occupation," began to stand in the squares of Jerusalem. Other women joined—mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters of men conscripted to occupy, repress, kill and be killed in arab territories. Hundreds joined Women in Black and spread thirty separate Friday vigils throughout Israel. Standing alone, female protesters sustained a consistent presence of non-violent resistance to the occupation. During the Gulf War, membership fell sharply. Passers-by react harshly to the four dozen Women in Black gathered at Tzfat (France) Square in Jerusalem. Verbal abuse, pornographic and homophobic in content, inflicts regular injury. Counterdemonstrators memorialize Rabbi Meir Kahane and renew demonized images of Palestinians as terrorists. Hecklers demand that Women in Black get out of Arafat's bed and "go home and prepare the Sabbath." When asked how male family members react to their activities, Channa Knaz reminds the listener that women, historically and sociologically, have endured harassment more successfully than men have. The one occasion when sympathetic men joined the Friday vigil resulted in fist fighting among male sympathizers, hecklers and counterdemonstrators. Since Israeli men freely carry automatic pistols and rifles, it is a modern miracle that no victims have been claimed in these reactions to the non-violent demonstrations for peace. Awarded the Aachen Prize for Peace earlier this year, Women in Black find new sources of institutional and international recognition. Solidarity groups throughout the U.S, Europe and Australia support their message, "End the Occupation!" (Sachs, 1991; Schwartz, 1991; Shalom, 1991)

Channa Knaz reports that Israeli army service, once heroic and honorific for those who serve, as well as for their families, is now a topic of tense silence in family life. The economic, political, social and psychological injuries incurred by military occupation are reminiscent of the American Viet Nam syndrome.

Documented rates of family violence, sexual dysfunction, suicide and violence among the military soar, particularly during stepped up military retaliation against the desperate Palestinian hope for Saddam Hussein as liberator. (Knaz, 1991; Jerusalem Post, 1991)

Ideologically hand in hand with Women in Black, the Yesh Gvul (There is a Limit) movement of conscientious objectors to army service in the occupied territories enjoys the support of some 600 army reservists. Outspoken leadership of both Women in Black and Yesh Gvul are faced routinely with incarceration, court martial, secret police harassment and termination of employment. Both groups are identified by the ruling party as "self-hating Jews who blemish the beautiful face of Israel." (Spiro, 1991)

Twenty-seven years of occupation brings Israel a collective colonial mentality, with racism more apparent and palpable. "All organs of the State have become a prolonged arm of the occupation," reported one member of Yesh Gvul. "Palestinians are the Jews of the Arab World." (Spiro, 1991)

Resistance to Occupation

Among Palestinian women, Hanan Mikhail Ashrawi is a powerful voice for statehood, human rights and peace. She knows the daily experience of collective punishment, land confiscation, curfew and detention without trial that are the conditions that deteriorate life rapidly. Human rights violations have accelerated since the Intifida (Uprising) with military repression high during and since the Gulf war. For Palestinian women, the near quarter century of occupation has necessarily thrust them into political situations. Their roles and the very function of the family itself have evolved. The Palestinian woman's role has stretched to include numerous encounters with the army, military courts, prisons and police. This political woman is the consequence of both the detention and death of Palestinian men and a new consciousness that attends access to education. (Jawwad, 1990)

Despite handicaps wrought from traditions that deny women access to power, wealth, land tenure, and institutional or legal authority, women have assumed activist political authority, roles usually associated with men. They distribute clandestine leaflets, inform shopkeepers of strikes, risk lives during curfews and defy

soldiers in mothers' attempts to interfere with Israeli military abduction of sons, brothers, husbands, or fathers. (Davies, 1987) Bitter coffee, once an accompaniment to funerals, is now strongly sweetened, like the celebratory beverage of weddings, to signify the honor for the martyr. Mothers are called to rejoice at their sons' martyrdom—"All youths are your children". (Giacaman, 1989) Elder women in black peasant dresses brightly embroidered in Palestinian folkloric tradition, stand side by side with their veiled, younger sisters, in western dress and wrestle with terrified 19-year-old Israeli soldiers to free their boys from the military grip.

Channa Knaz recalls a medical aid visit to a Palestinian village in the West Bank. There, she sat with another nurse, like herself, who spoke of a recent time, when the village was under siege by Israeli troops. Palestinian counterforces outnumbered the military on one particular street. Outside her window, the woman saw a retreating group of soldiers; one young soldier frozen in the reversal of plans, stood alone sobbing. At great risk to herself, she rescued the young Israeli who faced certain death by Palestinian resistors—another Palestinian mother's tale. (Knaz, 1991)

Nablus is the largest city on the West Bank. It is identified by the Harvard Student Agencies Guide to Israel and the West Bank as "a candidate for the intellectual and administrative capital of the unborn Palestinian nation." At the Al-Ittihad Hospital in Nablus, (a facility established by The Arab Women's Union in 1921) a Norwegian nurse in volunteer service reported on the impact of the occupation on Palestinian women. There has been a sharp peak in the rates of: attempted suicide; alcoholic intoxication (formerly not evident); traumatic stress syndrome; and pervasive depression. Palestinian women often bury their familial dead before the official census of casualties is tallied. Called upon to celebrate the martyrdom of male kin, Palestinian women are denied license to mourn. (Goldering, 1991; Jawwad, 1990)

The accelerated activism of younger and elder Palestinian women rallies around the mothers' appeal to soldiers—"He is my son!" Hanan Mikhail Ashrawi, in her poem, "Demonstration," reminds all Palestinian women, "Mother of the martyr rejoice, All youths are your children."

Palestinian women, particularly those not politically or organizationally identified with a particular nationalist group, have

extended their traditional role and have transformed their family responsibilities to include the entire village or refugee camp. Here, where community is closely bound together, the community as family is defended by mothers in this time of sustained crisis. The common refrain, "He is my son!" echoed by women who struggle with soldiers to reclaim young men from beatings and detention, has become the protest chant of women. One elderly woman in Ramallah defied curfew to get hold of and smother in a huge embrace, a boy being beaten. "He's my son!" she cried. "Liar!" the soldier, still in his teens, shouted. "How can you be his mother?" "They are all my children!" the elder woman wailed. (Giacaman, 1989)

Attending funerals, the equivalent of a demonstration, has become a women's resistance act. Women have also been involved in smuggling food and provisions into refugee camps under curfew. As such, confronting soldiers during night raids and defiance of curfew contribute major sustenance to the uprising against occupation. (Said, 1986; McDowell, 1989)

These types of Palestinian women's activism are partially reflected in the gloomy statistics of deaths, injuries, detentions and deportations. Of the fatalities during the first three years of the Intifada, statistics range from 918 (U.N.) to 973 (AL-HAQ) Palestinians killed by Israeli soldiers and settlers. Of these, 12% were women and 24% were children under the age of 16. (Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine, 1991) In 1990, Palestinian deaths (n=399) outnumbered Israeli military and civilian fatalities (n=15) in the territories, 27 to 1, (Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University). In 1995, following a year of Islamic militancy in the form of four bomb attacks against Israeli citizens, Palestinian deaths outnumbered Israeli by 10:1. At least 112,000 Palestinians have been injured seriously enough to require hospitalization. Most wounded, however, do not seek medical care for fear of army retribution while under treatment.

Amnesty International, documents the denial to and obstruction of medical treatment by military authorities as a frequent occurrence (1990-1995). The Swedish Save the Children Fund reports that 39% of the 227 children killed during the first 30 of the 44 months of the Intifada died because medical treatment was delayed or obstructed by military personnel (1990). UNWRA

staff have conducted epidemiological studies on the effects of exposure to CS—type tear gas, which has lethal effects in enclosed spaces. The gas is fired directly at people and into houses, schools, hospitals, mosques and churches. The Israeli human rights group, B'Tselem, reported in 1990 that at least 1,890 Palestinian women miscarried pregnancies after inhaling tear gas. The UNWRA (United Nations Works and Relief Agency) maternity and child health clinic in Gaza and the Al-Ittihad Hospital in Nablus were both gassed by Israeli troops during this past year. One American academic observer experienced, first hand, the effects of tear gas upon entering Manger Square from the Crusader built Cathedral of the Nativity in Bethlehem, this August. Hours of strong abdominal pain attested to the gas' virulent composition. Because the chemistry of this gas has not been identified, no antidote is available to Palestinians.

The infant mortality rate of Palestinians in the occupied territories (70/1000) is greater than six times the rate of infant mortality for Israeli Jews (10.7/1000), rivalling Kenya (60/1000), and Ghana (98/1000). Rates of child malnutrition range from 1 out of 3 of all children under age 3, to a documented 41% of 209 children studied, under age 3, from Palestinian villages near Jerusalem, as reported by Rita Giacaman.

Parasitic infection complicates pervasive malnutrition. (Abu-Said, 1991) In Gaza, there is not sufficient clean water; open ditches of sewage run from refugee camps through streets to the Mediterranean Sea. The stench is powerfully debilitating. Gaza, one of the most densely populated areas on earth, has an average per capita income of approximately \$450-per year. Twenty-five percent of Gazans do not have immediate access to running water. Since the Gulf War, borders have been closed and Gazan farmers, like Palestinian farmers in the West Bank, under curfew, have not been able to irrigate, harvest or market their crops, reducing earnings from agriculture by 25%. Gazan homes are regularly demolished or sealed, either for lack of building permits, or for alleged security offenses by family members. Demolition of homes by dynamite and bulldozer number 1,860. Left homeless, the typically large Palestinian family faces greater health risks and consequences by doubling up in the temporary shelter

of friends or in tents erected beside their demolished homes. (Peretz, 1990)

The Center for Rapprochement in Beit Sahour has been nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize. The Christian village of Beit Sahour overlooks Shepherd's Field where, in New Testament lore, angels exclaimed, "Peace on Earth, Good will toward Men." (Luke, 2, 14). Here, pressures for peace involve non-violence, tax resistance, and the development of parallel services at the grassroots and self-help level. The development of parallel health care, small businesses and administrative services join in a commitment to ongoing dialogue with Israelis from West Bank settlements as well as from Israel. However, few Israelis come to Beit Sahour to talk peace.

On August 3, 1991, a diverse group met at the Beit Sahour Rapprochement Center. This group consisted of ten Palestinian men of various professions, ten American male professors, two British women representing law and film, three female academics from the U.S. and one Palestinian woman, an immunologist. They exchanged ideas on non-violent resistance in light of heightened Israeli military force. The sole Palestinian woman, in an exhausted appeal, confronted her foreign interviewers, saying, "Let me ask *you* a question. Americans and Europeans visit us all the time, and listen to evidence of unequal treatment under the law and *nothing changes*. Economic aid from the U.S. to Israel, \$10 billion expected this September, continues to support settlement policy and military occupation. What can you do to influence the American media to pay attention to the crisis of Palestinians under Israeli occupation?" One response to this plea from the American delegation was offered by Congressional candidate, Dolores Sandoval, Professor, University of Vermont. She suggested that to court the U.S. media, a dual approach is necessary for Palestinians. "Spotlight Hanan Mikhel Ashrawi, who, in many ways, is far more attractive than Yasser Arafat, and consult with slick "Madison Avenue" public relations types." In any case, Palestinians are hard pressed to compete with the Israeli public relations machine in the U.S.

For most grassroots organizations in the West Bank and Gaza, strategies of non-violent resistance include: the boycott of Israeli goods and transportation; strikes; resistance to taxes, the military,

subpoenas and settlers; and the filling of jails. There is a commitment to make occupation expensive for the occupiers, and to create a national, political and religious identity for Palestinians. (Awad, 1985)

Palestinian Authority

Today, in 1995, one year after assuming responsibility for Gaza and Jericho, the Palestinian Authority (PA), the interim self-governing authority for Palestinians in the occupied territories, chaired by PLO Chairman, Yasir Arafat, despite positive action on human rights, is criticized by Middle East Watch (Feb., 1995) and Amnesty International (1994, 1995) for its sweeping and arbitrary political arrests, censorship and failure to credibly investigate suspected abuses.

At the same time, Israel continues to control the lives of Palestinians in self-rule areas. Twenty-seven years of occupation cannot be underestimated. Israeli soldiers based in Gaza continue to restrict Palestinian freedom of movement, negatively effecting the economy and imposing restrictions indiscriminately, considered a form of collective punishment. Workers have lost jobs, university students have been forced to miss semesters, and the lives of thousands of persons with businesses in Jerusalem and the West Bank have been disrupted. (Middle East Watch, 1995)

In 1995, the Palestinian Authority is confronted with the challenge of governing a population restive after twenty-seven years of military occupation. It is underfunded, and its powers are limited by the Israeli-PLO agreements. The two territories (Gaza and Jericho) under its aegis are separated by the State of Israel, which does not permit easy access between the two. Palestinian security forces lack experience, training and equipment for ordinary police functions. These handicaps, however, do not fully excuse the emerging patterns of human rights violations, nor failure to take action to protect rights.

The Palestinian Authority is under enormous pressure from Israel, the United States and others to eliminate attacks by militant groups and factions under their jurisdiction. In 1994, bombings of a bus in downtown Tel Aviv and Israeli towns of Afula and Hadera killed a total of thirty-four persons. On July 24, 1995, seven Israelis

died on a Tel Aviv bus, as a result of another Palestinian suicide bombing. The attack came on the day before negotiators were to have secured an agreement on extending Palestinian self-rule to most of the West Bank. Condemned by Israelis and Palestinians, terrorist acts of suicide bombings threaten livelihoods and peace in both areas forestalling the promise of Palestinian self-rule. (New York Times, 7/25/95)

Ultimately, the security of Israelis and Palestinians is interdependent. Most people in both communities are convinced of the futility of endless conflict and have expressed a willingness to live in peace as neighbors.

Conclusion

One sign of hope is that Israeli and Palestinian women persevere in their dialogue, in their mutual respect, and in their deep desire for an end to hostilities. This proves, beyond a doubt, that cooperation, as women, influences positive and constructive social change. These are lessons, however unfortunate, from which the parties of the Middle East conflict, have yet to recognize and learn. Mordechai Bar-On, former Member of Knesset, Ratz Party, and current activist in Peace Now, in an interview in Jerusalem on August 4, 1991, asserted, that in the end, "Peace does not come by the wisdom of women but by the conditions that prevail."

The great political philosopher, Hannah Arendt, once remarked that it is far less important for the political thinker to tell others "what is to be done" than to help others "to think what we are doing." Women's stake in the peace process is great. Today, Palestinians, Arabs in general, and Israelis alike, look to the U.S. as mediator/liberator. To follow the path of the Hannas is destined to reap benefits of increased tolerance, caring citizenry and certain community, all of which are critical for harmonious co-existence. (Elshtain, 1990)

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Note

(1) Content for this article came in part from the following observations and regional print media:

- August 3, 1991* - Dehaishe Refugee Camp, Hebron; Ramallah area
- August 5, 1991* - Al-Ittihad Hospital, established by the Arab Women's Union of Nablus (c. 1921); Nablus area
- August 10, 1991* - Gaza; United Nations Works and Relief Agency Clinics (UNWRA). Gaza area
- Arab councils to strike if urgent help is not received. (1991, August 8). *Jerusalem Post*, p. 12.
- Minority communities discuss unequal health care. (1991, August 7). *Jerusalem Post*, p. 12.
- Soldier commits suicide. (1991, August 2). *Jerusalem Post*, p. 20.
- Settler gets four months for murder. (1991, August 20). *Jordan Times*, Amman, p. 1.
- Three jailed for refusing areas' duty. (1991, August 7). *Jerusalem Post*, p. 10.
- Woman runs amok on flight. (1991, August 7). *Jerusalem Post*, p. 12.
- Women of the wall sue rabbi of the wall. (1991, August 8). *Jerusalem Post*, p. 3.

Christina Carver-Pratt observed Israeli military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1991. The Middle East Council of Churches coordinated the study/tour offered through the Joseph J. Malone Faculty Fellows Alumni Program—National Council on U.S./Arab Relations, Washington, D.C.

Refugee Resettlement in the United States: Implications for International Social Welfare

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An analysis of U.S. refugee resettlement policy reveals approaches that do not address several root causes of resettlement difficulties: cultural differences, post-traumatic stress disorder, and discrimination by the host culture. Several recommendations are made for policy improvements, and suggestions for the future of international social welfare are presented.

Traditionally, United States social workers engaged in international social welfare have focused on three areas: technology transfer (e.g., Chatterjee & Ireyes, 1981; Martinez-Brawley & Delvan, 1993), social development (e.g., Lusk, 1992; Midgley, Hall, Hardiman, & Narine, 1986; Midgley, 1994), and cross-national comparative analyses of social policies, programs, or practices (e.g., Elliott, Mayadas, & Watts, 1990; Hokenstad, Khinduka, & Midgley, 1992; Midgley, 1995). As such, the field has tended to address the needs of nations as a whole, as compared to the needs of specific subpopulations within those nations. One such subpopulation is refugees, that is, persons who have been forced out of their countries due to "persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion" (United Nations, 1951). Currently, there are over 16 million refugees worldwide (U.S. Committee for Refugees, 1994a). Refugees experience massive social problems including trauma, acculturation stress, economic disadvantage, and discrimination, to name a few (Holtzman & Bornemann, 1990; Ryan, 1992). Although the social work profession has identified refugee issues as an important concern (National Association of Social Workers, 1990), the topic has not been given as much attention as is needed.

Since refugees are, by definition, persons who have crossed national boundaries, they are clearly within the purview of

international social welfare concerns. The refugee experience consists of three stages which provide multiple time points for social work intervention: premigration and departure; transit; and resettlement (Drachman, 1992). Since most refugees cannot return to their countries of origin due to continuing political oppression, resettlement in a host country is the long-term solution. The resettlement phase is therefore an appropriate starting point for international social welfare scholarship in this area. Further, for U.S. social workers, an appropriate starting point is with the examination of resettlement in this country. Approximately 120,000 refugees have been resettled in the United States each year since 1990, with a total of nearly 1.5 million having been admitted since 1980 (U.S. Committee for Refugees, 1993, 1994b). These have consisted primarily of Soviets, Eastern Europeans, Southeast Asians, Cubans, Ethiopians, Afghans, and Iranians (U.S. Committee for Refugees, 1993).

One means by which to investigate refugee resettlement is through policy analysis. Considerable public debate and academic scholarship in disciplines outside of social work have focused upon immigration and refugee policy. However, existing policy critiques have been largely limited to asylum and admissions policy (e.g., Charlton, Farley, & Kaye, 1988; Zolberg, 1988). Little attention has been given to resettlement policy, which concerns the needs of refugees once they are legally admitted into the United States. Therefore, the present paper is intended to address this gap in the knowledge base.

This critical inquiry into refugee resettlement policy applies Chambers' (1986) social policy analysis framework. This particular framework was selected because it was designed for maximum relevance to front-line social work practitioners (Chambers, 1986). The framework consists of two major components: social problem analysis and social policy analysis. The problem analysis is composed of four dimensions: problem definition; identification of the causes of the problem; identification of ideologies that underlie the problem definition; and identification of who gains and loses from the existence of the social problem. The policy analysis consists of five dimensions or "operating characteristics" (Chambers, 1986): entitlement rules; goals and objectives; types of benefits and services delivered; administrative or service delivery

structure; and financing method. Each of these operating characteristics is examined to evaluate the adequacy of the policy in ameliorating the problem it addresses. Following this evaluation, recommendations for policy improvements are made.

U.S. Refugee Resettlement Policy

U.S. refugee admissions and resettlement policy is set forth by the Refugee Act of 1980 (P.L. 96-212). Prior to enactment of this legislation, the United States had no stable process for refugee admissions and assistance. Admissions and services were provided on an ad hoc basis, usually in response to crises in different parts of the world. In the late 1970's and early 1980's hundreds of thousands of refugees arrived from Southeast Asia and Cuba. Congress passed the Refugee Act in response to the need for a coordinated effort to resettle these refugees. The Act has been reauthorized yearly since then. This policy is the enabling legislation which provides for financial, social, medical, and educational assistance to refugees following admission.

Problem Analysis

Effective analysis of a social policy is predicated upon a thorough understanding of the social problem which the policy addresses. The driving force behind this understanding is the definition of the problem (Chambers, 1986). Of the multitude of social problems faced by refugees, resettlement policy focuses on one: "welfare dependence," i.e., the number of refugees who receive public assistance. Almost 50% of refugees who have been in the country 24 months or less receive public assistance (Office of Refugee Resettlement, 1993). All of the benefits and services provided by the Refugee Act are targeted toward decreasing the welfare dependence rate and increasing refugee economic self-sufficiency.

An important component of understanding a social problem is the identification of ideologies and value biases that are implied in the problem definition (Chambers, 1986). The primary ideology that appears to underlie the problem definition of refugee welfare dependence is that of individualism, or as it is sometimes termed, "rugged" individualism. This prominent American value

holds that the well-being of the individual is more important than that of the social group; that government presence in individuals' lives should be minimized; and that individuals should pull themselves up by their own bootstraps (Sue & Sue, 1990). Thus, individuals who do not "pull their own weight," such as children, homemakers, the elderly, the disabled, and refugees are devalued under this ideology.

An accurate identification of the causes of a social problem must underlie any policy aimed at alleviating that problem (Chambers, 1986). The causes of refugee welfare dependence are numerous. One of the most obvious is lack of English language skill. Another is lack of appropriate job training. Many refugees do not come from urban, industrialized areas and thus have no vocational preparation for work in the environments in which they are placed. Another cause of welfare dependence may be inability to work due to physical or mental disability as a result of traumas suffered. Many refugees have experienced or witnessed imprisonment or torture in their countries of origin. In addition, they may have been victims of violence during their flight from their country or while in a refugee camp. Certainly all have experienced tremendous loss of family, friends, home, possessions, and status in their society (Holtzman & Bornemann, 1990; Ryan, 1992). As a result, many refugees suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder (Westermeyer, 1987).

A final cause of welfare dependence among refugees is discrimination by potential employers (Gold, 1992). Some employers do not want foreigners or racial minorities working for them, or they feel that training refugees and assisting them in adapting to their work environment is not cost-effective and is disruptive to the workplace.

Gainers and losers

The existence of a social problem always entails certain gainers and losers; the identification of these reveals those forces which maintain the problem and those which can be harnessed to resolve the problem (Chambers, 1986). One of the gainers from the existence of welfare dependence among refugees is native-born workers. In times of high unemployment, many Americans prefer to have the available jobs go to natives rather than to foreigners. Another gainer is the illegal labor market, which pays workers

less than minimum wage in under-the-table arrangements. The workers can thus supplement their welfare benefits without losing them because the income is unreported. The employer profits not only by paying under minimum wage but also by maintaining substandard, unregulated working conditions. The final gainers from the welfare dependence problem are the welfare recipients themselves. Although the amount of assistance they receive may provide for only a minimal standard of living in relation to that of other U.S. residents, it may be a substantial improvement on the living conditions to which the refugees were accustomed. Also, the refugees may gain from not being in the work force by being able to minimize contact with the new culture and thus being able to maintain their own culture within their home or small community.

The two losers from the existence of the problem are also two of the gainers, namely, the taxpayers and the refugees. If the number of refugee welfare recipients were lower, taxes could either be reduced or used for other social needs that might have more direct benefit for the taxpayers. For the refugees, welfare dependence may make them prone to unhealthy social isolation, low self-esteem, and social stigmatization (Westermeyer, Callies, & Neider, 1990).

Policy Analysis

Social policy goals possess both manifest and latent aspects (Chambers, 1986). Whereas manifest goals are the explicitly stated purposes of the policy, latent goals are those functions that must be discerned by "reading between the lines." The manifest goals of the refugee resettlement policy are (1) to provide for effective and coordinated resettlement efforts and (2) to increase self-sufficiency and decrease welfare dependence of refugees. These goals are accomplished through numerous objectives. For example, one of the objectives for goal 1 is to provide oversight for resettlement efforts through the Office of Refugee Resettlement in the Department of Health and Human Services; one of the objectives for goal 2 is to provide job training to refugees.

These goals and objectives have the positive feature that they are clear and unambiguous. However, decreased welfare dependence is unlikely to be attainable within the short time frame

(8 months) that refugees are eligible for services. This time limit was not based on research data; in fact, evidence from Europe suggests that refugees need long-term services, sometimes for decades (Westermeyer, 1987).

Two latent goals may be identified in the Refugee Act. The first goal is to acculturate refugees to the Western work ethic. This ethic holds that work is of prime importance in individual's lives, and that moral people work. The second latent goal is to assimilate the foreign cultures into the dominant culture as efficiently as possible.

Benefits and services

The refugee resettlement policy provides for cash assistance, medical assistance, English as a Second Language training, job training, job placement assistance, special education for refugee children, day care, and referral. These benefits and services accurately target some of the underlying causes of the problem; however, they do not address others, such as acculturation difficulties, traumatic stress and employer discrimination. For these reasons, the policy may not be optimally effective. Another difficulty with these benefits and services is that there is no clear provision for client empowerment. Clients have little choice about the benefits and services received and the manner in which they are received. Yet at the end of the short period of service delivery, the refugees are expected to have adopted the individualistic philosophy and to be self-sufficient, even though they have had few opportunities to practice these behaviors.

The rules for entitlement to benefits and services under the refugee resettlement policy are clearly spelled out. Any refugee who has been in the United States for 8 months or less is eligible provided that he/she registers with an agency providing employment services, participates in a program providing job or language training, and accepts appropriate offers of employment (as determined by the client's caseworker). These entitlement rules clearly define the target population so that no persons other than refugees are entitled to the services and benefits. The rules clearly attempt to reduce the potential for work disincentives by conditioning receipt of benefits and services upon employment-seeking activities and acceptance of appropriate employment offers. However, the time frame for eligibility has gradually been

decreased from 36 months in 1981 to the present 8 month limit. As noted, this eligibility period is inadequate to meet the goals of the policy.

Administrative/service delivery system

Refugee resettlement services are delivered by state and private agencies through grants and contracts with the federal Office of Refugee Resettlement. Although one of the goals of the policy is to improve integration and continuity of services, this is frequently not realized in practice. Often many agencies compete for the available funds, reducing interagency cooperation. In addition, services are fragmented such that a refugee usually receives different services from different agencies, leading to added confusion for the client (Boehnlein, 1987). Further, due to a lack of overt attention to removal of cultural and language barriers, the policy may not provide for maximum accessibility to services and benefits. In addition, there is no provision regarding policy adaptability to accommodate the varying needs of the very diverse ethnic and racial groups that make up the refugee population; the policy treats all the groups as identical. Finally, although there are detailed provisions for agency accountability to the federal government, there are no provisions for accountability to clients or to the public.

Financing methods

Financing of this policy depends upon year-to-year funding continuity allocation by Congress. Funds are allocated to each state based upon the number of time-eligible refugees living there. Over the years, funding has declined relative to the number of refugees admitted (Office of Refugee Resettlement, 1993). The year-to-year financing method provides little long-term financial security for the agencies delivering these services and benefits. Further, history has shown that refugee issues are not recurring crises, but are a persistent presence that will continue into the future; year-to-year financing does not reflect this reality.

Improving Refugee Resettlement Policy

Several changes can be made in refugee resettlement policy to make it more effective in serving the needs of refugees and the general public. Some of the changes that are recommended are

already manifested in some individual programs. However, they are manifested not because of overall policy guidance but in spite of it. In these cases, policy changes are recommended in order to make policy consistent with practice.

First, mental health services should be a central provision of the policy. The traumatic suffering and culture shock experienced by refugees cannot be underestimated. These individuals have lost much of what they valued in their lives: family, home, sense of belonging, and social status. Their personal integrity and sometimes their bodily integrity have been violated. They have no hope of return to their former lives. They must begin new lives, often at a developmental stage when major change is difficult even for those living within their own culture. These emotional difficulties are one fundamental cause of unemployment and welfare dependence (Uba & Chung, 1991; Vu, 1990).

Under the current policy, mental health services are peripheral to the other program features. In practice, dedicated workers in health care, English language training, and job training programs attempt to provide mental health services "on the run." This approach is inadequate to meet the need. Further, the quality and appropriateness of mental health services for refugees is unregulated. Clearly, refugee mental health is a specialty requiring trained workers. Most workers in mental health settings are not trained in this specialty. Thus, even if a refugee were able to cross the cultural and accessibility barriers to getting these services, the chances of his/her returning for a second session are small. Thus, the policy should establish a separate mental health component, which should include a provision for worker training, including training of indigenous workers.

Second, the policy should explicitly address issues of client empowerment. Empowerment efforts would provide refugees the opportunity to gain the assertive, decisionmaking, participatory skills that are necessary for self-sufficiency in U.S. society. Refugees should have the opportunity to practice these skills during the period of assistance, thus more effectively preparing them for self-sufficiency at the end of that time. Client empowerment can include strategies such as encouragement for client feedback about programs and practices; increased freedom of choice in decisionmaking; assertiveness training presented in a cross-

cultural context; client representation on agency decisionmaking bodies; procedures for agency accountability to clients; and mentorship by refugees who have successfully adopted empowering behaviors.

Third, the policy should include measures to decrease employer discrimination against refugees. Strategies for achieving this can include educating employers about the refugees' cultures and experiences; teaching employers effective ways of relating to refugees; and mediating in employer/refugee disputes. Some individual programs include efforts of this sort; however, these activities are not specifically addressed by the policy nor are funds targeted for them.

The policy changes that have thus far been recommended can be accomplished while maintaining the problem definition, ideology, and goals that underlie the policy. However, two changes can also be recommended that would require a shift in these underlying facets of the policy. First, a latent goal of the policy is to assist refugees to quickly and fully assimilate into the "melting pot" of the dominant American culture. An alternative is to adopt the cultural pluralism approach, which values cultural difference and focuses on effective functioning in a multicultural society (Sanders, 1980). Within this outlook, the policy should more clearly address cultural sensitivity. The service delivery system should be proactively flexible to allow for unique approaches to working with the diverse cultures that make up the refugee population. Increased attention should be given to removing cultural barriers to accessibility. The policy should also focus on enhancing the use of clients' natural helping systems. Again, many individual programs include these components; explicit attention to these issues within the policy would ensure that all programs address them.

The second change that would require a shift in underlying ideology is related to how welfare dependence is measured. It is presently measured in terms of whether or not a given individual is on welfare. Society "values" each individual based upon how much he/she gives to society relative to how much he/she takes. This is consistent with the ideology of individualism. However, many refugees come from cultures in which collectivism, not individualism, is the valued ideology. Under this ideology, the

welfare of the individual's social group takes precedence over his/her own welfare (Sue & Sue, 1990). Thus from the viewpoint of individuals from these cultures, the unit of concern is not the individual but the group.

Therefore, perhaps U.S. society should evaluate refugees' relative contributions using the social group rather than the individual as the measuring unit. It is possible that while an apparently high percentage of refugee individuals are "welfare dependent," this is balanced or exceeded by the societal contributions of other individuals in that social group. This issue has been researched at an aggregate level whereby the economic contributions of immigrants as a whole have been shown to exceed their intake (e.g., Jensen, 1989). Further such research is needed specifically with regard to refugees' micro-level social systems (e.g., households or other social groups as defined by the refugees themselves). In addition, intergenerational research is needed to determine the societal contributions of the children and grandchildren of resettled refugees.

Conclusion

Refugee resettlement provides an important arena for discourse in international social welfare. The present paper has illustrated some of the relevant issues through an analysis of U.S. refugee resettlement policy. The Refugee Act of 1980 represents a major commitment by the United States to alleviating the plight of refugees. This policy has a number of positive features, including clear goals, clear entitlement rules, and accurate targeting of some of the underlying causes of refugee welfare dependence. Building upon these strengths, a number of recommendations have been suggested for facilitating more effective and humane integration of refugees and the host culture. Social workers involved in international social welfare are in a position to advocate for, implement, and evaluate the suggested changes.

This paper has focused upon a specific segment of refugee issues. Future international social welfare scholarship should be expanded to address the other stages of the refugee experience (i.e., premigration/departure and transit). Issues such as asylum, repatriation, and cross-national comparisons of refugee policies are all appropriate areas for future inquiry.

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Technology Transfer and Integrated Social Development: International Issues and Possibilities for Social Work

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Technology transfer and integrated social development are closely linked aspects of social work practice that deserve more serious attention than they have received to date. Social workers need to play more knowledgeable and active roles in utilizing a broad-scale partnership model that will help communities and societies screen and adapt technologies so that they can be appropriately integrated with people's values, culture, concerns and aspirations. Everyone should ultimately benefit if the poor and disempowered peoples of the world in particular become the primary focus and the beneficiaries of less arrogant and more inclusive strategies of technology transfer. The aim of the paper is to examine models for screening and transferring technology and reviewing practice principles and prospects for achieving a concerted social work approach to technology transfer and integrated social development.

The extent to which technology for human welfare can be successfully transferred and applied across cultures has been repeatedly and vehemently questioned by scientists from a variety of disciplines (Conyers, 1982; Bonair et al., 1989; Madu, 1992; among others). In fact, analysts have documented that the *transfer* of technology too often has served as a means to exploit communities or countries and make them culturally, economically or politically dependent, often for the benefit of a relatively few of the political and economic elite in donor countries and receiving countries

(Jarrett, 1989; Hellinger et al, 1988). Therefore, although international technology transfer can play a decisive part in the process of furthering the social development of the broad masses of people, experience has shown that much transfer of technology in the latter part of this century "has not helped in the relief from poverty and hunger in the Third World . . . most of which remains ill-fed, ill-clad, ill-housed and illiterate" (Patel, 1978, p. 304–305). As one analyst has indicated, the consequences of technology causing concern at the present—pollution and damage to the environment, occupational and social dislocations, threats to significance of the individual—are in large measure because nobody has foreseen them. "They have fallen between innumerable individual decisions to develop individual technologies without explicit attention to what all these decisions add up to for society as a whole and for people as human beings" (Mesthene, 1993, pp. 79–80).

Several authors have written on ways for social workers to participate in improving cross-cultural technology transfer. (See, for example, Khinduka, 1971; Sanders, 1977; Midgley, 1981; Healy, 1986; Abrahams and Chandrasekere, 1990; and Kondrat, 1994). The focus of these endeavors has been centered primarily on the transfer of social work intervention models and social work programs of education (processes Meinert and Faherty, 1981, and Chatterjee and Ireys, 1979, have referred to as "social technology transfer", and Abrahams and Chandrasekere, 1990, have termed "educational technology transfer"). Yet, on the whole, close attention to the role of social work in dealing broadly with the effects of international and cross-cultural technology transfer on the lives of the masses, and particularly of the poor, has been rather conspicuous by its absence.

The highly complex and troubled world of today forces a compelling new challenge for social workers to contribute much more consciously and actively than heretofore to the field of technology transfer. In addition to technology-promoted problems of a social nature already cited, substantial worldwide poverty, accelerated population growth of aged persons, increases in rates of refugee flight, and spread of inter-ethnic and international conflicts are but a few of the additional social problems that are likely to alter profoundly the patterns of human service delivery in coming years (Estes, 1992). Few existing social welfare systems are proving adequate, and consequently, governments and others

are seeking new, better organized human service technology to address such problems throughout the world.

Given the challenges just outlined, the aim of this paper is to examine models for screening, transferring and using appropriate technology for achieving improved human service delivery and for realizing long term, concerted and integrated processes of socio-economic development. Such efforts at service delivery and socio-economic development, as the literature recognizes, need to be reasonably sustainable, broadly based and people-oriented. Technology so viewed as a philosophy or set of design criteria that is increasingly transferred across cultural and national boundaries has sometimes been referred to not only as appropriate or alternative technology, but also as "self-help technology, or democratic or people's technology—a technology to which everyone can gain admittance and which is not reserved to those rich and powerful" (Schumacher, 1973, p. 54).

Integrated Social Development

Ideally, the integrated social development to which the above technology can contribute is geared to developing the long-term capacity of communities and societies to function for the well-being of all of their members. According to Heller (1986), an inclusive, integrated development is a means by "which people and their communities change to improve their lives [through] . . . economic, social, [and] at times technological, and political (i.e., decision making) processes" (p. 3).

As opposed to relief efforts which focus on current crises, integrated socio-economic development efforts are aimed at correcting the underlying causes of problems and, in the process of doing so, they seek to empower people (Rosenthal, 1990, p. 225). Such efforts include "not only specific technical objectives but also . . . regard for the social well-being of citizens through their own participation. Integrated development efforts are well rooted in and congruent with the culture and traditions of communities" (Martínez-Brawley & Delevan, 1993, p. 178).

Technology and its Transfer: Pros and Cons

Technology of various kinds, but particularly the aforementioned alternative people's technology, is integral to sound social

development of organizations, communities and societies. Such technology arises from the demand for solutions to problems associated with human needs and when put to use in people-oriented ways refers to knowledge, procedures, and materials aimed at improving quality of life (Svob-Dokic, 1986, p. 180). Technology in the human services and social professions is broadly considered to consist of "the procedures, methodologies and processes—the inventions—through which an organization [or community or society] accomplishes its goals" (Brager and Holloway, 1978, p. 47). Such technology with a human face tends, perhaps most often in the less industrialized societies but on occasions in industrialized societies as well, to "stress simplicity, individual worth and self-reliance, labor-intensiveness rather than capital intensiveness, minimum energy use, consistency with environmental quality, and decentralization rather than centralization" (Teich, 1993, p. 229).

Wide-ranging perceptions vary from technology serving at one extreme as a panacea for all ills (Roche, 1983, p. 343) to the other extreme of reducing the capacity of people to care for themselves (Illich, 1976). Some authors argue that problems with technology often arise either from the nature of technology itself (Long, 1979, p. 273) or from the insufficiency of support systems to enable people to receive, use and benefit from those technologies (CSDHA, 1989, p. 278). For other observers the negative impacts of technology are not necessarily inherent in the technology or in the recipients' supportive systems, but lie, instead, in the imperfect transfer processes.

Technology transfer, according to Derakhshani and Van Gigch (cited in Madu, 1992), refers to the acquisition, development, and utilization of new knowledge and related "inventive activity" within an organization, community or country other than that in which the knowledge and activity originated (p. 2). Such transfer often implies either expensive outlays, an established reservoir of expertise or an importation of expertise, any of which simply may be unaffordable or unrealistic for many of the poorer communities or countries of the world (Armijo, 1989, p. 51). Transfers of alien interventions detached from indigenous realities typically have been "supply oriented programs" (McCormack, 1989, p. 683) controlled largely by transnational corporations, universities,

governments and other groups of the industrially developed countries that frequently have been far removed from the reality of the receiving country's hunger, poverty, illiteracy, social injustice, and diseases (Roche, 1983, p. 349). Based on the mistaken assumption that "Western technology is *ipso facto* appropriate" for the advancement of developing countries (Reddy, 1977, p. 152), many efforts at development planning and programming in developing countries have been focused to date first and foremost on what could be done for the good of the elite few. Classic examples have been the transfer of technologies for the establishment of expensive "high tech" medical facilities provided largely for the wealthy populations of poor countries when the institutionalization of simpler and much less costly but basic prevention—e.g., universal childhood immunizations or oral rehydration programs—would have been much more beneficial to the population as a whole.

Technology Transfer and Social Work

Much international, cross-cultural transfer of social work practice methodology has been a reflection of those widespread technology transfers that have had scant relevance to the needs of the poor. In social work the transferred technology flowing from the global North to the global South, has been judged frequently to have assumed something of the character of professional imperialism. That is, "inappropriate ideas, institutions and technologies have been replicated in the Third World" (Midgley, 1981, p. xiii). In the Westernized countries, social work is commonly understood to mean working with people one-to-one. "Critics see this . . . as unrealistic because the human problems this approach seeks to tackle often are social in nature, arising out of relationships" and conditions and consequences which extend well beyond the individual (Jones, 1990, p. 189). In countries of the South, people customarily share problems and arrive at solutions within the context of a family or other village or community group rather than in the one-to-one privacy characterized by an individual interview.

In much this same vein, Kondrat (1994) points to a South Asia experience of inappropriately transplanted social work

technology. She has noted, how social work education models emphasizing knowledge of social action, social development and structural change would serve the cultural values and needs of India more appropriately than the transferred educational models that have overemphasized alleviation of personal distress and individual adjustments.

While technology transfer in general and social technology transfer in particular can represent a valuable humanitarian action, mishandled transfers and the cultural invasion by the transported technology can lead to cultural dependency, erosion and retardation. Lay citizens and professionals in the technology-receiving social units may be diverted from designing and implementing their own strategies of self-reliance, self-sustenance, confidence and competence (Sikkink, 1989) by "modern conquistadors" (Ovitt, 1989). "The invasion of underdeveloped countries by new instruments . . . organized for financial efficiency rather than local effectiveness and for professional rather than lay control inevitably disqualifies tradition and autonomous learning . . ." (Illich, 1976, p. 218).

Our contention is that all professionally educated social workers should be made aware of these kinds of dangers. Moreover, members of the profession and of related fields need to possess the fundamental competence to contribute knowledgeably to people in organizations, communities and societies in their efforts at developing, receiving or adapting technology that is appropriate for indigenous, local cultures and for integrated social development. A problem noted by Cetingok and Hirayama (1990) and Lyons (1983), however, is that by and large students in current-day social work educational programs tend to be exposed to a microcosmic view of the world that seriously limits their ability to understand such macro issues. Put another way, in the USA and in many other parts of the world, social work remains more concerned "with the biography of the person than the drama of society" (Khinduka, quoted in Midgley, 1981, p. 148). This may be due, at least in part, to the prevailing professional perception that "intrapyschic technologies have been relatively well developed . . . while the technologies directed toward influencing environmental arrangements remain relatively undeveloped and untaught" (Frumkin and O'Connor, 1985, p. 15). For whatever the reason,

social workers entering the profession customarily do not hold a sufficiently broad understanding of technology transfer and how it can both influence and be influenced.

What then appears to be at the heart of the problem and a possible solution? Patel (1987) points to two limitations to social workers taking on an inclusive social work practice commitment and approach in helping people to influence more appropriate technology development and transfer decisions. She asserts that the major social work limitations are 1) a lack of sufficient professional education and 2) the consequent practitioner resistances and fears about change (p. 233). Since resistances and fear can often be overcome with the help of strengthened knowledge and resulting competence and confidence, the educational shortcomings Patel identifies may be most directly and readily addressed with the help of the introduction of new and strengthened curricula emphases and content in schools of social work.

Screening Technology

Our examination of the above issue indicates three broad areas of new knowledge and competence needed by social workers—skills in identifying appropriate technology; in aiding development and adoption of appropriate technology by and from within a community or society; and in facilitating the transfer, adaptation and integration of such technology from outside a community or society. For example, before helping people in communities or wider social units to implement change efforts aimed at improving human well-being, Piachaud (1979, pp. 640–641) maintains that the technology-related kinds of questions social work professionals skillfully need to help people answer are ones such as these. 1) How many people will the technology serve and what will be the benefit? 2) How many people could be served, and to what benefit, through alternative uses of resources? 3) What would be the likely costs, i.e., not only in capital outlays, but in availability of the skilled person-power to apply the technology and to keep it going?

Reddy (1977) has set forth other useful criteria for screening technology for people-sensitive appropriateness. They include consideration of 1) ability to make use of local skills; 2) conduciveness to indigenous participation and self-reliance; 3) low

cost; 4) ability to be incorporated into the fabric of social life and blended with traditional technologies; and 5) ability to lead to an enhancement of the quality of life rather than an increase in consumption of technology (pp. 160–163).

Naess (1989) raises still other questions to test whether or not a supposed technical advancement will benefit a society and its people. Among his questions are these: "Is it conducive or dangerous to health? How meaningful . . . to the self-determination and inventiveness of the worker? Does it strengthen harmonious togetherness with other workers? . . . Does it promote equality or class differences? How vulnerable [is it] in times of crisis? (p. 95).

Finally, Madu (1992) adds that among other requirements, technologies must be compatible with the prevailing ethical and value system of groups to be effected. Technologies must be introduced gradually (given that the innovations are based on knowledge and skills that may need to be slowly developed), and they must be invested in training and education (this latter requirement is also considered the most important criterion by Roche, 1983, p. 354).

Models and Prospects

At minimum, the process of analyzing appropriateness of technology, and its development and transfer, requires an ability to make sensitive use of an analytic three-level framework (Bonair et al., 1989). The three levels are 1) an understanding of the dynamic interplay of individual carriers and receivers of technology, 2) the structure of the receiving social system, and 3) the technology itself (pp. 772–773). A thorough-going mindhold on the social work simultaneous dual commitment and focus on people and environment and their transactions fits well with such a paradigm. It calls for polyvalent change agents to embrace an ecological orientation, to operate within an interdisciplinary context, to facilitate people empowerment rather than dependency, to respect cultural differences, and to utilize indigenous resources and practices. Thus, social work principles that sensitively stress collective participation of people in the defining of their own needs and goals, planning and choosing alternative courses of action, implementing such plans and actions, and evaluating the

outcomes must be essential to the entire process if careful and effective creation, transfer, adaptation and integration of appropriate technology is to take place and to "stick."

The social worker's aim in use of such an integrated ecosystemic-oriented model is to collaborate with people to "make sense and find meaning" within their circumstances (Goldstein, 1986, p. 153). In this vein, the advantage, if not the outright necessity, of incorporating indigenous knowledge of local people with that of the "experts" in planning, implementing and evaluating development projects and technology transfer has been illustrated dramatically in a number of experiences. In addition to the earlier brief mention of medical and social work examples, one taken from a rural development project further exemplifies this theme. A new irrigation project in Nepal, described as a marvel of engineering design, provides lift pumps and piped water to supply precise water control to farmers. However, the farmers, without voice in the design decisions, preferred a gravity flow system with technologies they knew and could manage. Instead, they now must cope with interrupted water supply whenever hydroelectric power is diverted to Kathmandu. Moreover, the system of piping does not allow the cold river water to warm in the sun, as happened with their traditional gravity-channel system. Crops do not do as well because of the differences in water temperature. Farm operations suffer. (Uphoff, 1991, p. 475). Clearly, this technology transfer would have been modified or even refused outright by the people had a participatory partnership model been implemented and the goal of farmland irrigation had been viewed as more than a problem to be solved by the "outside" elite, bankers, government officials and engineers alone.

Unfortunately, in some communities and countries on the world scene, a more inclusive participatory approach of integrated development as the vehicle for transfer, adoption and/or modification of technology is unlikely to gain acceptance or to be effective due to the local political climate or the established, culturally determined ways of doing things. Nonetheless, several promising trends should give advocates of a broadly based social development-oriented social work considerable encouragement. Uphoff (1991) notes that some changes have been occurring in various parts of the world that now seem to favor programs aimed

at "bringing in the poor," not just as beneficiaries, but as real partners. These changes are:

The expectation that strictly technocratic, nonparticipatory approaches can 'deliver the goods' has lost credibility in recent years Political elites . . . and some leading actors . . . [now] champion bottom-up approaches . . . because of favorable ideological orientations, fear of . . . disorder, or apprehension over what an increasingly unjust future otherwise holds for the next generation.

Governments are facing overwhelming fiscal problems There is more need than before to put all available resources to their best possible uses . . . [and this] requires greater local participation.

[Moreover, in some parts of the world] . . . capabilities of the poor majority have been upgraded over the last thirty years by education, health, communication and other investments. . . . Self-management of development tasks is now more feasible (p. 503).

Conclusion

Making new social and educational technology available in culturally sensitive ways with respect to marginalized, poor and deprived peoples is an area of publicly avowed concern of a growing number of social work professionals world-wide. However, this concern has not been translated sufficiently into professional social work education or practice. Much more concerted efforts are needed to develop and adopt a professional partnership model of social work. Such efforts are necessary to help counteract any tendency to contribute to the widespread technological arrogance that has been defined as "a support for technologies, often of limited social utility or questionable technical feasibility, whose introduction leads to an underestimation of environmental or social costs" (Josephson, 1992, p. 26).

Certainly, new and more appropriate technology developed from within a community or society, as well as technology transfers from outside, continue to be necessary for any community or nation that desires to help large numbers of its people break out of the cycle of poverty. However, while technology can be used to the benefit of humankind, concern must also be focused on how it is often used to the detriment of people. Inappropriate technology creation and transfer is described as a sometimes subtle and sometimes blatant form of institutionalized violence that results from a small elite group of privileged people benefiting

in great excess at the expense of the majority of the population who in many societies are the poor. It is one of many types of violence that needs to be recognized and countered by the social work profession everywhere if, as Van Soest and others (1987) have observed, "The task of social work is to reaffirm its alliance with the oppressed and extend its commitment to the principles of respect and non-violence into areas where up to now it has not been generally acknowledged" (p. 83).

A major challenge is for social workers to join actively with other socially concerned and culturally sensitive professionals, social scientists, citizen leaders and government officials in providing new forms of local, national and international technology development, transfer, adoption or adaptation to support the well-being and human realization of all people. Until now, however, except for a relatively few, social workers like others in the social sciences and social professions "have been busier advocating [such] participation than working out social techniques for organizing it" (Cernea, 1991, p. 25).

To be effective, polyvalent agents of integrated social development must become proficient in the organizing and implementing skills that facilitate broad-scale participation of all social interests and groups, and particularly those people who are the poorest and most disempowered, in defining the types of technologies most affecting their lives. To do this is likely to require increasingly careful educational preparation and deployment of many more social workers with a combinative knowledge base and a practice repertoire that draws from generalist, feminist, eco-systemic and social development orientations (Billups and Juliá, 1991). Such a practice frame of reference and approach can serve a cross-commitment of goals that reflect concerns and aspirations for and of all people. Moreover, such an inclusivity model will help social workers to act on their belief that communities and societies are measured ultimately by the way they treat their members, particularly those who are their least privileged.

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Book Reviews

Allan Cochrane and John Clarke, *Comparing Welfare States: Britain in International Context*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1993. \$21.95 papercover.

This collection of articles sets out to shed light on two issues: (1) to show the value of cross-national comparison in social policy; (2) to develop "understanding of welfare systems in a range of countries, both to see whether broad international trends can be identified and to use the experiences of others to inform domestic (British) debates." (p. xi) Based on a very loose definition of welfare state ("the involvement of the state in social security and social services"), five "welfare states" are examined: Britain, Hong Kong, Germany, Sweden, and Ireland. The book's framework of analysis and subsequent choice of countries draws on Esping-Andersen's regime analysis: liberal, conservative and social-democratic. In addition to state welfare, it examines the conditions of women and minorities in these regimes.

Most readers would welcome comparative welfare development which aims at deciphering complex social reality on an international plane. Three different strands of inquiry are commonly seen in this field: descriptive/analytic account of welfare programs across nations; theoretical discussion of the determinants of welfare development; and evaluative work on the impact of the welfare state. This book focuses mostly on the first strand. While it presents a current view of different welfare systems and adds to the growing pool of knowledge on comparative welfare development with particular reference to women's roles and minorities' rights, the discussion fails to advance existing knowledge of the determinants for welfare development. No new variable or credible generalization is made. On the debate of welfare convergence versus divergence, the authors obviously favor the latter and do not see a clear pattern of development in these countries. Their attempt to apply Esping-Andersen's regime analysis is not successful, remaining cursory at best and adding little to his explanation other than intellectual cachet.

Methodologically, the study is historical and qualitative in character, But many publications in this field are quantitative,

the leading example being Esping-Andersen's *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* on whose framework the authors rely. Yet, the editors only make passing reference to comparative quantitative research of welfare states. Obviously, they see many weaknesses with this strand of statistical analysis. But no attempt at comparative study can afford to dismiss or oversimplify the conflicting results of quantitative analyses without weakening the conclusions at which one arrives.

As the title of the book suggests, Britain receives extended treatment and serves as the focus of study. The editors justify the inclusion of the four other countries on their relationship to the United Kingdom, and whether there is a degree of convergence between welfare states within Europe. However, the choice of these countries is not well justified if one is to examine Britain in international context. A case in point is the omission of the United States whose liberal regime is deemed by many to become internationally dominant. Instead Hong Kong is selected to be illustrative of the liberal regime. The juxtaposition of Hong Kong with other European countries is not natural, since welfare development there lacks behind all the major advanced industrial countries and certainly both government and local scholars would dispute the ascription of the label "welfare state." The concluding chapter by Allan Cochrane almost excludes Hong Kong in his analysis as it is mainly devoted to a discussion of the European welfare states. As it stands, a more appropriate title would be: "Comparing welfare states: Britain in the European context."

In fact, Eugene McLaughlin (ch. 5) defends well her study of Hong Kong when she observes that it is important to analyze the welfare framework of the powerhouse economies of the advanced Asian Pacific Rim, Hong Kong being the prime example of such development. This would entail a reinterpretation of welfare development of Hong Kong in the context of high-income developing countries which are all bound by socioeconomic, cultural and political environments but all manage to develop their style of social policy to meet social needs, with probable lessons for the international community. Instead of attaching the liberal regime to Hong Kong, she should go beyond the confines of regime analysis. The inclusion of comparative welfare policy research into the developing countries would have enriched the analysis.

Unfortunately, Hong Kong is being reduced to just another example of residual regime and its significance as a developing country is not brought out in the end. Further, her study contains two obvious omissions. It is wrong to say that poverty research in Hong Kong is scarce, considering that a major study on relative poverty was first undertaken in 1980s. Secondly, a noticeable gap in this chapter is the lack of discussion of the situation of the women in Hong Kong, an area which is growing in importance as evidenced by various studies undertaken by the Association for the Advancement of Feminism in Hong Kong in the late 1980s.

Those who are familiar with comparative social policy will find that the studies on Britain (chs 2 & 3) and Sweden (ch. 7) yield few new insights, except for Norman Ginsburg's discussion of women and family policies in Sweden. Fiona Williams' study (ch. 4) of gender, race and class in British welfare policy is interesting, bringing out the international dimension of the issue. But it fails to relate its findings to wider research. An interesting discussion is provided by Michael Wilson on Germany (ch. 6). The German unification and its financial strain on the social security shows the impact of historical events (i.e. political changes) on social policy and how this might propel the country toward residualization of welfare. Eugene McLaughlin's discussion of the Irish welfare state (ch. 8) rightly draws our attention to the pivotal role of Catholic social teaching and the principles of subsidiarity and social consensus in shaping social policy. One would have liked more elaboration of the process on how the Church has modified its position against welfare expansion since the 1960s.

All in all, this book is commended for its incorporation of minorities and women in comparative study. Although it is certainly not ground-breaking, it is a text suitable for students who need to have a quick grasp of the British social policy in the context of European welfare development.

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Alan J. Hahn, *The Politics of Care: Human Services at the Local Level*.

Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994. \$63.00 hardcover, \$19.95 papercover, 256 pp.

Our era is the first to witness national and state leaders who do not come to power with a vision and then attempt to persuade and influence their constituencies and colleagues to follow this vision. Current leaders are those who research public opinion and employ market analysts to identify what the majority expects in an attempt to increase their popularity and to be re-elected. This is known as the "theory of electoral accountability." The generation of politicians who had the public follow them or were comfortable at making unpopular, though important, political decisions is vanishing. This old generation is termed by Hahn as the "unitary model." When "policy makers somehow rise above the fray of politics to make decisions that reflect the good of the community or society as a whole" (p. 240). One area that is suffering from the consequences of the rising "electoral accountability" is welfare and human services as politicians happily cut budgets to satisfy electoral sentiments. The paradox is that we may currently have a greater number of democratically elected officials who more readily respond to public opinion, but we lack brave politicians who dare to do what is right. We no longer have leaders who will support human services; thus, the political support and advocacy for these services should come from within. The ruling by majority interest and opinion and its impact on human services is the context for Alan J. Hahn's *The Politics of care: Human Services at the Local Level*.

In the introduction to this book, Alan J. Hahn states that "the purpose of the book is to help people interested in human services develop a better understanding of the local political arena and increase their capacity to work effectively within that arena (p. 4). Hahn's assumption is that "service providers have impressive resources" (p. 44) which, in a political context, can be applied to obtain power. However, "the autonomy of service providers produces a tendency for them to have a narrow view of their political environment" (p. 51). That is they apply an isolationist approach and "are in touch with only a limited range of other participants in public decision making" (p. 52). "In short, it appears to me that at

all three levels in human service agencies—policy, management, and service—human service workers should be thinking more than they do about the political environment” (p. 57).

In order to accomplish his purpose, Hahn first discusses how certain issues are raised, debated, and decided upon in the local political arena. Then, in chapter two, he reviews various roles for human service workers in making and influencing decisions. This section (in my view the most interesting chapter) is followed by five chapters which are more specifically devoted to the key players in local politics. Chapter 3 discusses local governments, and it emphasizes the impact of business people on local political decision-making. The remaining chapters address the following: social movement organizations, federal and state governments, courts, and the news media. “Finally, chapter 8 offers suggestions on how human service workers can become more intelligent about influencing public decisions . . .” (p. 5).

In order for the reader to be able to absorb the various issues, the author provides many examples in the text as well as many boxes (side bars) with short summaries of studies that support his statements; this practice is very helpful, especially as the text is geared toward the novice. However, I was disappointed that there were no index of authors and no organized bibliographical list at the end of the book.

In many parts of the book, it appears as if the role of human service workers is to influence local politicians. Although the author acknowledges nonprofit and proprietary services, the focus is on the struggle between human services and public sources. This perspective is emphasized in the final chapter when the author stresses: “*The primary objective is to obtain approval from the authorities for an outcome favorable to one’s interests*” (p. 226, italicized in original). I tend to consider this view as reductionist, especially in the United States, a country in which many human services balance their budgets through client fees, donors, endowments, grants, and foundation support. When the state relinquished its obligation to human services, other players, such as religious auspices, assumed responsibility for some of these services. Furthermore, a large segment of human services is and was provided under non-governmental auspices. While the government is still the key player in the human services arena, focusing

almost entirely on local officials is a European tradition artificially applied to the United States.

Alan J. Hahn is a professor of human service studies at Cornell University. As I noted above, most of the analysis of the book comes from a political science perspective and not from social work or human services literature. Throughout the book I was under the impression that the author has very little familiarity with social service workers or their working conditions, abilities, and experiences. The book gives the impression of being written from an ivory tower perspective for those human service workers who are not intelligent enough to be political. I counted over 30 times that the phrase "human service workers need to . . ." (or its equivalent) appear in the text. The author applied an interesting and helpful political science framework to human service politics, but in the process it appears condescending to those who are expected to implement these suggestions; this is most regretful. What was even more disturbing is that, on the one hand, Hahn reprimanded social workers for being politically naive; however, on the other hand, his proposed solution was both naive and unattainable. Hahn advocates a politics of care in which all parties come with good intentions, attentively listen to each other, and jointly come to a constructive compromise that takes into account the needs of the weak members of society. To accept this as anything but utopia is unrealistic, and to assume that human service workers will believe that they can bring this utopian approach into reality is insulting.

The book as a whole reads like a text on local politics 101, which, with varying degrees of success, is adapted to meet the interests of human service professionals. Chapters 3 to 7 move from local governments to the news media and span pp. 61–220; they also do not deal with the book's purpose. It is my assumption that they were (and clearly could have been) written regardless of the book's purpose as a primary text of local politics and power. Only the two introductory chapters and the final chapter were seriously transformed to meet the author's declared purpose. These five chapters are a good review of the local political scene from a political science perspective. The final chapter comes too late and includes too little that can be of practical help to practitioners. The author could search the rich community organization literature

and find suitable examples where human service professionals indeed were highly effective in influencing local politics. An incorporation of human services material in these five chapters and a less condescending approach would have made this book an important addition into macro practice literature. Still, the ones who can benefit from this book are community-practice students in introductory courses.

Ram A. Cnaan
University of Pennsylvania

Björn Hvinden, *Divided Against Itself: A Study of Integration in A Welfare Bureaucracy*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1994 # 45 hardcover (Distributed in the United States by Oxford University Press, 200 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016).

In European social research, the "Matthew effect" is a notion associated with the Flemish researcher Herman Deleeck, a continental equivalent of Richard Titmuss and T. H. Marshall. Whether the young Norwegian sociologist Björn Hvinden will invent a "Mark effect" remains to be seen, but he is absolutely on his way towards recognition and academic respect. Like Deleeck, Hvinden has modelled the title of his book on a quotation from the New Testament: "And if a house be divided against itself, that house cannot stand" (St Mark III:25). However, Deleeck is focussing on distribution, Hvinden on organization and implementation.

Divided Against Itself is a pioneering study of frontline social administrators inspired by Michael Lipsky's streetlevel bureaucrat approach. In focus are two of the most important social policy agencies in Norway: local offices of the National Social Insurance Administration, and local government social service departments; and ambitions to coordinate their efforts to serve the local community and develop human resources.

Hvinden undertakes an in-depth study through "indirect participatory observation" of eight paired offices of the two branches of government. He looks into what the employees and local managers actually are doing behind their desks and computers, and traces their way of problem-solving and problem-avoidance. The

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practical starting-point is the national social policy goal of integrated services and cash benefits: help to self-help (a key concept that Hvinden's proof-reader quite a few times has turned into "self to self-help"). The analytical point of departure is a penetrating discussion of the concept of integration, which ends up with a plea for a focus on horizontal integration. The overall finding of the Norwegian case study is a lack of integration between the two types of welfare authorities; in other words, failure to achieve the policy goal.

A little more than a third of the book is devoted to this thorough, theoretically informed descriptive analysis of the workload and work culture at two different welfare agencies in five geographical areas. Here, participant observation is carried out with great skill and Hvinden's strength as a sensitive listener and knowledgeable social researcher stands out.

Added to this demanding task—not least in hours spent at the agencies—Hvinden makes a significant addition through an, admittedly downsized, comparative study of Scottish civil servants involved in providing similar social benefits in cash and in-kind at two different public agencies. The Scottish results are contrasted with the Norwegian, and end with a very stimulating discussion of inter-agency similarities and differences in Norway and Scotland in terms of reciprocal vs unilateral dependence. My concern, however, is the relationship of the latter concept to that of horizontal vs vertical integration, and my fundamental disagreement with Hvinden is that Scotland is not an example of horizontal but of vertical integration. Unilateral dependence seems too close to vertical integration to go unremarked.

At the very end, Hvinden summarizes the theoretical approach as well as the methodological design of the study in an analytical chapter and continues with a discussion of the implications of the results of his study in terms of theory, management and effects on society and individuals. Like all thought-provoking research, this study leaves more questions unanswered than "solved" or transcended. Social insurance is Hvinden's point of departure, and he makes a thorough presentation of the modern Scandinavian approach to welfare policy, including an extended discussion of the current symbolic role in this type of policy of the totality as against societal parts. Why he chose to compare the

administration of social insurance with municipal social work, and not employment agencies, which are also considered by Hvinden, never become entirely clear to me.

Furthermore, in his discussion of municipal social services, Hvinden never mentions their roots in the Norwegian poor law tradition. There is an ahistorical stroke through Hvinden's work despite lip service to institutional inertia as theorized by Theda Skocpol and Arthur Stinchcombe. He shows no interest in the findings from research on the roots of the Norwegian welfare state, perhaps most eminently carried out by the Oslo historian Anne-Lise Seip.

My main doubts concern the overall findings that there is weak horizontal integration or an absence of inter-organizational cooperation (collaboration) in the Norwegian welfare system, in particular on the street level between central state insurance offices and local government social service offices. The Scottish case may not lend itself to such a comparative conclusion. Perhaps a comparative study of a Danish or Swedish counterpart would have substantiated Hvinden's claims. Whatever St Mark had in his mind, compared to many other buildings, the Norwegian house seems rather firmly erected. By striving for integrated cash and in-kind social benefits help to self-help—the Norwegian welfare state is actually searching for the almost impossible task of excellence in management.

Overall, to a Scandinavian reader like this writer, it is a little sad that the book does not contain any recent research on similar topics in Denmark, Finland or Sweden. Anglo-American research, and in particular sociologists such as Peter Blau and Robert Merton, have definitely provided important impetus to Hvinden's work. Still, Hvinden's discussion of welfare bureaucracy is to my mind too influenced by an American interpretation of Max Weber's analysis of bureaucracy. Although there are some parallels in terms of rule-abiding and formal procedures, I am not sure that the kind of lay, amateurish and almost anti-professional type of bureaucracy that characterize Scandinavian social insurance in particular, is particularly close to the Weberian model of bureaucracy. Here, I think Hvinden would have benefited from the results and theoretical implications of some other Scandinavian studies of welfare bureaucracies. For instance,

in works inspired by the street-level approach, Rothstein in his seminal work on employment services has manage to capture their lay character through the concept of "cadre" organizations, while Roine Johansson focussed on the client-relation in a study of agencies very similar to Hvinden's research objects.

Whatever criticisms and questions that this book might provoke, there is no doubt that it is an innovative and at times brilliant study of the administration of social welfare.

Sven E. Olsson Hort
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Sweden

Richard Neely, *Tragedies of Our Own Making: How Private Choices Have Created Public Bankruptcy*. Urbana, IL. University of Illinois Press, 1994. \$19.95 hardcover.

By Richard Neely's statement the purpose of his book is to pull together the various strands of our perception of public bankruptcy in US social programs; (1) the belief in the declining efficacy of social welfare programs despite the infusion of more dollars, (2) the collapse of public education, (3) the failure of industry and governments to deal with declining productivity of the American labor force, and (4) rising crime along with rising expenditure on crime control. We are also promised to be provided with a blueprint to cheap and efficient ways to reverse the deterioration in public programs and the loss of faith in government. This is an ambitious task.

Neely, from his experience as judge and later Justice of the West Virginia Supreme Court structures his argument around the obvious truth that bad private choices lead to unintended public problems. He is most specific with regard to decisions about the creation and dissolution of the family unit. He argues that citizens need to be better informed about the real costs and the real benefits of the private choices that they make. He argues that it is in the interest of society to subsidize good choices and penalize poor ones through programs of social intervention.

The concept of social intervention implies a "rebuttable presumption" that the most desirable mode of choice is a network

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The concept of social intervention implies a "rebuttable presumption" that the most desirable mode of choice is a network

of private arrangements; a justification of social intervention is based on the definition of conditions where the central presumption is rebuttable. In a democratic society we define that condition through a political process.

Neely begins correctly, in my view, by establishing the point that social problems have social causes that is choices by individuals in social situations. Individual choices are often irreversible but new social interventions can make "bad choices" less likely. These social interventions while providing a net social benefit also have real social costs. Neely proceeds to show that the distribution of social costs of corrective action and the distributions of social benefits of that corrective actions are often at political odds with one another. Those who benefit are not expected to, or are unable to, bear the costs; those who are expected to bear the costs do not directly receive the benefit. This mal-distribution of costs and benefits of social programs leads to under investment in social programs from a societal prospective. Neely cites such diverse economists as Nobel Laurelist James Buchanan and Kenneth Arrow to support his view. More to the point the first two chapters of his book are a lucid and readable restatement of their arguments.

Neely makes a further point; there is a tendency to mal-invest in social programs because providers, (social workers, teachers, health care providers etc.) establish the political support for programs rather than those who are targeted to benefit. The providers benefit from the program being in place without regard to the net social benefit of the programs or even the benefit to the recipient.

Efficiency in social programs is at bottom a problem in who is measuring the costs and benefits of social interventions and their capacity to translate that perception into public programs. Simply because you or I or Judge Neely does not see or feel a social cost does not mean a social cost is not there. In the final chapter Judge Neely tells us for example that "free norplant" is the ideal solution for our illegitimacy problem. He doesn't entirely forget his argument that someone has to pay for the norplant. He suggests that if we would be but willing to give norplant to rich teenagers as well as poor teenagers, the mal-distribution of costs and benefits would be solved. He asserts, as an aside, that this would be politically difficult but says that the political difficulty does not reduce the argument that it would be an efficient way

to reduce illegitimacy. It is politically difficult not because of any defect in who pays for the implantation. It is politically difficult because we are divided on the valued definition of the problem. Many Americans believe that it is the notion that teenage sex can be had without adverse consequence, not illegitimacy, which is the real problem; while many other Americans believe that sexual "misbehavior" is inevitable and we should seek to control its consequences i.e. norplant.

Neely seems to forget that by the simple device of ignoring the costs beliefs of those whose perceptions differ from our own, all social problems become capable of easy and efficient solution. Judge Neely says that the centerpiece of his whole book is a need for a massive publicly sponsored advertising campaign *to explain to the public what is happening to us*. (p. 150, Neely) He admits that "when we are talking about divisive political matters (like whether to raise taxes or invade Cuba) propagandizing with paid media is entirely inappropriate." (ibid.) He then likens the ads for norplant to the ads for the polio vaccines. The difference he tells us is that there is no political lobby against vaccines the way their is against contraceptives. In fact there were several groups against the vaccine but they lost the political battles. Who is going to write the ads about the social benefits and costs of norplant; The Catholic Council of Bishops or the National Organization of Women? The question is whose values about "sexual misbehavior" and whose values about the "illegitimacy" should guide us about public policy towards norplant and a public subsidy for its use. We already have a massive advertising campaigns *to explain to the public what is happening to us*; they are called media campaigns of interest groups. The political lobby against contraceptives, which Neely deplores, is simply someone else's effort to explain to the public what is happening to us.

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Diane Wiatt Rich, Thomas A. Rich and Larry C. Mullins (Eds.). *Old and Homeless: Double Jeopardy*. Westport, CT: Auburn House, 1995. \$49.95 hardcover.

John C. Rife, *Employment of the Elderly: An Annotated Bibliography*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995. \$59.95 hardcover.

Each of these publications provide useful materials in subject areas that are difficult to access for research and practice. Certainly there are few comprehensive descriptions available on the characteristics of the homeless elderly in the United States. Despite the apparent growing incidence of older people without adequate shelter, income and health care, this population has received little policy or social service-oriented attention. One reason for the apparent lack of interest may be the complexity of acquiring adequate and reliable information on a population which, as Harold Sheppard notes in the Foreword to this edited text, is a very heterogeneous group. It is difficult to compile data on a diverse and widely dispersed population who are often without mailing addresses or permanent community attachments. Even when the homeless elderly are located, it can be an onerous task to structure a feasible way of getting information that can be persuasively used to influence policy makers to redirect limited resources.

This text illustrates some of the problems in getting good material on significant issues affecting the homeless elderly. The book is structured around a survey of homeless elderly in the Tampa Bay, Florida area conducted in 1991. The survey is included in an Appendix for ready reference. The text goes beyond the survey, however, providing an introductory glimpse into the main areas of concern related to health and mental health, housing policies, social service, consumer participation, and community resources.

While the range of topics discussed is useful in an introductory text, there are considerable differences in the quality of the scope and depth of discussion which detract from its overall utility as a resource. Some chapters are quite analytical, offering interesting perspectives and interpretations of how the subject under discussion has a unique impact on the elderly homeless population. This is particularly true of the chapters on substance abuse and on outreach and empowerment. Several other chapters

are extremely abbreviated which severely constrains their value other than as a very brief introduction to the topic. For example, the chapter on ageism is only three pages in length. The area of social service needs and policy implications is covered in only four pages. The complex issues of housing policy and mental health are discussed in a little over four pages each.

While there seems to have been an original intent to organize each chapter around a set of guidelines, there is a marked difference in the format and focus of the various chapters. The chapter on community services is a summary of case illustrations and a listing of innovative programs. The chapter on psychotropic medication could best be described as a literature review. An overview chapter of medication issues is an analysis of secondary data and the literature, as is the chapter on substance abuse. The chapter on outreach and empowerment is primarily a guide to the steps required for community involvement with the elderly aimed at their self-empowerment.

Thus, a contributing factor to the unevenness in the quality and depth of the book's chapters is the inconsistent use of a standardized analytical format or structure. The longer contributions do seem to follow general guidelines, but these are unspecified and difficult to discern. It would have been helpful for the editors to deal with the structure of the text in more depth in the introduction. Despite these shortcomings, the book is a useful reference for students engaged in aging studies. It is a welcome addition to the literature on an under investigated area of growing importance.

In the second review text, John C. Rife has compiled a valuable resource on the employment of older persons. This is clearly a significant policy issue that has major implications for a number of public programs, including social security benefits. The employment rate of persons age 62 and over directly affects the financial security of the old-age, survivors and disability (OASDI) program in terms of cash outlays and contributions paid into the system. The situation is compounded by rising health care costs that is the social security system's greatest challenge. Older individuals out of the labor force are particularly vulnerable to the related risks of a loss of income and of health insurance. Unemployed older persons who are not yet old enough for eligibility to Medicare are faced with additional problems of income and health care

protection. These serious concerns are taking place in a rapidly changing work market shaped by new technologies which often puts the older person at a competitive disadvantage, especially re-entry or initial entry women in their 40s, 50s and 60s. Minority populations of both gender face even greater challenges in getting suitable employment in their later years.

This annotated bibliography is an excellent resource for anyone interested in exploring these and other issues related to the employment of older persons. It covers both historical and current literature and would be of particular use to students in aging studies in economics, sociology and social work. It has an unusually extensive section on displaced women, which is too often neglected in the literature and in reference guides. Its data base offers a wide range of references of journals as well as texts. The book is very well organized, making it easy to use and to find references to specific topics.

Both of these texts are welcome additions to the literature in subjects that will become increasingly important areas for research and practice.

Martin B. Tracy
Southern Illinois University

Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Whither Socialism?* Cambridge, MA: The NUT Press, 1994, 338 pp.

According to conventional wisdom, the collapse of socialist governments in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union in the late 1980s symbolized the failure of socialist ideals and, in particular, the economic and political structures developed since 1917 to implement them. This assumption has profoundly affected public dialogue in the United States over social and economic policies of direct concern to social workers, most notably debates over the relationship between individual and society, and the extent (even the existence) of what Walter Trattner termed "collective responsibility for collective need," in the form of welfare state policies and programs. If, as Vic George and Paul Wilding argued in *Ideology and Social Welfare*, 20th century welfare states are the offsprings of a curious marriage of capitalist and socialist

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ideologies, the future of these middle aged phenomena are seriously threatened by the purported terminal illness of one of their parents.

Joseph Stiglitz's new book, *Wither Socialism?*, presents a scholarly and enlightening analysis of the issues raised by the recent demise of socialism. It is not, however, a book for the casual reader. Stiglitz, a member of the President's Council of Economic Advisers and the Joan Kenny Professor of Economics at Stanford University, is writing for an audience that is familiar with the economic theories and debates of the past half century. While his prose is clear and his arguments well developed, they are difficult for a neophyte to follow without frequent reference to a basic text on macro economics. The book, therefore, is of limited utility to most social work educators and social work students who, regrettably, lack the sophistication to apply Stiglitz's ideas to their research, teaching or practice.

Despite its provocative title, the focus of *Whither Socialism?* is less on an exploration of the future of socialist ideas or economic systems than on the underlying economic theories which misguided them. Unlike many modern critics of socialism, however, Stiglitz identifies the fundamental flaws of socialist economics as lying not only within socialist models of society or the production-distribution-consumption processes these models generate, *per se*, but also in the classical and neoclassical economic ideas upon which socialist thinkers founded their initial critique of capitalism. He argues that "indirectly and unintentionally, neoclassical models of the economy played a central role in promulgating and perpetuating a belief in market socialism . . . as an alternative to capitalism. . . . [I]f the neoclassical model . . . had provided a correct description of the economy, then market socialism would indeed have had a running change of success. Thus the failure of market socialism serves as much as a refutation of the standard neoclassical model as it does of the market socialist ideal." (p. 2) The book is actually a series of lectures in which Stiglitz elaborates on this central theme, identifies what he considers the flaws in the neoclassical model and attempts to provide the basic ingredients of an alternative paradigm.

Two introductory chapters set the stage for Stiglitz's systematic critique of the First and Second Fundamental Theorems of

Welfare Economics and of the Lange-Lerner-Taylor Theorem which addresses the issue of incentives. Subsequent chapters address individually the issues of market efficiency (rationing), competition, innovation, centralization/decentralization, and privatization. The final third of the book focuses on an analysis of what Stiglitz terms "the Socialist experiment," the refutation of certain prevailing economic myths about capitalism and socialism, and recommendations and speculations on the future of socialist economies. It is this section of the book which has the most potential interest for social workers and social work educators.

Although a summary can hardly do justice to the depth of his analysis, Stiglitz identifies the following causes for the failure of socialism, beyond its reliance upon the neoclassical model: excessive centralization; inattention to product quality; absence of incentives directed at economic efficiency (which he considers a problem of information), because of socialism's emphasis on equality and development of political control mechanisms; an engineering approach to economics (which results in fatal errors in decisionmaking); the lack of an adequate pricing system; the lack of competition; and the absence of innovation and adaptability. Unlike many contemporary critics of socialism, his seven recommendations for the future attempt to synthesize diverse ideas rather than rely on those derived from purely capitalist or purely socialist economic models.

Briefly, these recommendations are: (1) Maintaining the centrality of competition (a critical point in an era dominated by the growth of multi-national monopolies); (2) Identifying an appropriate role for government—i.e. as the body which establishes "the rules of the game" (a rejection of those economists and policymakers who would place sole authority in the hands of the market); (3) Taking a long-term view of economic policymaking (as opposed to the quarterly "bottom-line" perspective so prevalent today); (4) Reforming financial institutions, especially in terms of their role in pricing policy (This contradicts the trend towards banking mergers and the expansion of banking into other financial areas.); (5) Keeping inflation in check (but not necessarily by keeping wages low); (6) Promoting the development of new enterprises; and (7) Privatizing sectors of the economy controlled

by the state. While these prescriptions are directed primarily at economies in transition from socialist to market-driven models, they have obvious implications for the United States and other Western industrial societies, which are also going through their own dramatic transitions today.

Stiglitz concludes by raising certain broad philosophical issues about the kind of society we wish to create through economic and social policies. While he is critical of the institutional features of socialist societies, he has far more sympathy than most capitalist economists (particularly in the 1990s) for the values which provided the foundation for socialism (such as cooperation, trust, equality and altruism) and for the critique of capitalism which emerged from those values. In his view, "the question is whether the insights of modern economic theory and the utopian ideals of the nineteenth century can be brought closer together?" (p. 277) While he provides no definitive answer to what may be the central dilemma for all societies in the 21st century, he expresses the hope that the former socialist economies focus on both the economic issues he has raised in the book and the "broader set of social ideals that motivated many of the founders of the socialist tradition." (p. 279) It would be worthwhile for policy makers and social workers in the United States as well to follow this advice as we struggle with critical social choices in the years ahead.

Michael Reisch
University of Pennsylvania

BOOK NOTES

Glenn Drover and Patrick Kerans (Eds.) *New Approaches to Welfare Theory*. Brookfield, VT: Edward Elgar Publishing Co., 1994. \$69.95 hardcover.

There are, as social philosophers assert, many different ways of comprehending the real world. These ways are, of course determined by the theoretical perspective employed by the observer. The same phenomena have been viewed and interpreted differently, and this has often resulted in the adoption of quite different policy responses.

The study of social policy has long been dominated by a macro-statist perspective in which social welfare is viewed as the prerogative of government and its administrative apparatus. Drawing on the insights of the major social sciences, the analysis of social policy has focused largely on the study of the modern welfare state, its origins, scope, size and impact.

In this book, Drover and Kerans approach the study of social policy from a radically different viewpoint. They focus on the subjective experiences of those groups of people who make claims on society in order to promote their own well-being. This perspective asks different questions and yields quite different insights from the traditional social policy approach. Instead of analyzing the state-bureaucratic welfare system from the macro-level, this approach deals with individuals, their experiences, the moral basis of their claims and the results they achieve.

To foster this perspective, Drover and Kerans utilize a long standing subjectivist tradition in social theory which can be traced back to Weber's seminal work on human action, the symbolic interactionism of Cooley and Mead, phenomenological sociology and ethnomethodology and the contemporary constructivism of Kitsuse. By adopting this perspective, the book makes an important contribution. However, like many other publications based on conference proceedings, it has some weaknesses. The individual contributions do not fully answer the formative questions asked by the editors, and despite a helpful introduction, the book lacks coherence. Nevertheless, this pioneering work deserves to

be widely read. Hopefully it will stimulate further analyses based on the subjectivist tradition.

William A. Kelso, *Poverty and the Underclass: Changing Perceptions of the Poor in America*. New York: New York University Press, 1994. \$34.95 hardcover.

Countless books and academic papers have been written on the subject of poverty in the United States. Most experts agree that poverty is a huge and apparently intractable problem. Many also believe that compared to the other advanced industrial nations, America has a higher incidence of poverty, its consequences are more severe and it has been singularly unresponsive to policy solutions.

William Kelso offers one of the most wide-ranging analyses of poverty in America to date. This prodigious work provides information on nearly all aspects of the problem. It provides a current statistical profile of the poor; examines theories of the nature and origins of poverty; and analyzes policy approaches for its amelioration. The comprehensiveness of the book will be appealing, particularly to students, who will thank the author for squeezing so much useful information into a single volume.

However, Kelso is not only concerned with summarizing the vast literature on the subject but seeks to make his own contribution to the poverty debate. He contends that the problem of poverty has mistakenly been attributed to single causes and that this simplistic analysis has effectively stymied the formulation of workable policy solutions. He also contends that ideologically determined views of poverty have provided an ineffective basis for action. To make matters worse, these perspectives have been reversed over the years. The traditional liberal view that poverty can be eradicated through employment and upward mobility has been replaced by a subsidization approach which seeks to mitigate its worse excesses. On the other hand, the conservative view that poverty cannot be solved has been replaced with a belief that employment and increased opportunities can abolish want. These shifting ideological perspectives have confused efforts to reduce poverty and need to be addressed if the poverty problem is to be effectively addressed.

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Although some will question the validity of Kelso's own analytical contribution, this book provides a helpful overview of the subject of poverty and should be widely read not only in academic but policy circles as well.

Lester M. Salamon, *Partners in Public Service: Government-Nonprofit Relations in the Modern Welfare State*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. \$55.00 hardcover, \$16.95 papercover.

The nonprofit sector has not received as much attention in social policy research as it deserves. Despite its importance, social policy analysts are still primarily concerned with public provision and the role of the state in promoting human welfare. The neglect of the so-called 'Third Sector' by academic investigators is, as Salamon points out, one of the reasons that popular beliefs about voluntary action remain inaccurate. For example, it is widely assumed that with the expansion of the modern welfare state, voluntary social services have shrunk in size and importance. However, as Salamon demonstrates, the growth of the public sector has been matched by a proportionate increase in the size and importance of the nonprofit sector. The reason for this is the close integration of the two. The public sector makes extensive use of the nonprofit sector to deliver services, and it finances a great deal of voluntary effort.

Salamon argues persuasively for a better understanding of the way the nonprofit and public social services sectors are integrated and how they cooperate to enhance people's welfare. His book makes a major contribution to this task. It documents the nature and size of the nonprofit sector in the United States, reviews the extent of the services it provides, and examines its relationship with public provision in considerable depth. Despite the fact that much of the material has been published previously in the form of separate articles, the book is well structured, coherent and comprehensive. In addition, the book contains an informative chapter dealing with international developments. This is one of the best books on voluntary social welfare. It may become the definitive work on the subject and should be widely consulted.

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David Macarov has written a handy introductory social policy text for undergraduates which transcends the descriptive accounts of the social services that pervade the literature. Unlike many other introductory texts, Macarov does not seek to list the major social services and describe their functioning but focuses instead on the role of ideas and wider social forces in social welfare.

The book is divided into four parts. The first attempts to formulate a workable definition of social welfare based largely on the work that has been done on the concept of social need. Part II traces what the author calls 'motivations' for social welfare: these include mutual aid, the family, religion, politics and economic institutions. It also discusses the role of ideology as a motivator of social welfare. Part III examines 'influences' on social welfare such as the work ethic and social Darwinism. The final part discusses 'issues' in social welfare including poverty, unemployment and welfare reform.

The division of the material into these sections appears to be somewhat arbitrary. For example, it is not clear that why the work ethic or social Darwinism are influences rather than motivators. Also, some of the topics are dealt with in a limited way. The chapter on ideology deals primarily with individualism versus collectivism, ignoring the influence of many other ideologies in social welfare. However, these limitations do not detract from the book's overall value in stimulating undergraduates to think about social welfare from an issue-based perspective. Instead of memorizing the facts of social service provision, the author challenges students to consider wider conceptual issues. The book is easy to read and thoroughly supported with recommendations for additional reading. It is a useful addition to the literature.

John McKnight, *The Careless Society: Community and its Counterfeits*. New York: Basic Books, 1995. \$21.00 hardcover.

The author of this readable book claims that traditional forms of social organization at the community level, which previously provided extensive support networks and effective responses to social need, have been undermined by professionalization, the

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medicalization of social problems and the imposition of services by formal agencies. For most of its history, American society has solved its own social problems through the intervention of relatives, neighbors and caring community members. In recent times, these endogenous forms of care have been replaced by outsiders who have succeeded in imposing a medical interpretation of social problem on local communities and in persuading them that they need professional help to deal with their problems.

McKnight provides a graphic illustration of this argument by arguing that professional bereavement counselors have infiltrated local communities to provide professional assistance at a time when the bereaved previously turned to relatives and friends for support. Through their intervention, there has been a decline in the support offered by traditional carers. To make matters worse, professional undermine personal care. The author contends that unless the process of medicalization and professionalization is reversed, the very moral basis of American society will be subverted creating serious problems in the future.

McKnight's book will have resonance with many Americans. This is, after all, a culture where communitarian and populist beliefs are deeply ingrained. However, the book overstates a problem that has been debated before. The writings of Illich, Lasch and other popular intellectuals who are hostile to formalized responses to social need are now well known. Nevertheless, McKnight's book is worth reading. It provides interesting insights into the way populist ideas continue to exert a powerful cultural influence and, despite its tendency to exaggerate, it demonstrate the need to maintain a balance between community and formalized systems of support.

Desmond King, *Actively Seeking Work: The Politics of Unemployment and Welfare Policy in the United States and Great Britain*.

Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1995. \$17.95 papercover.

The modern welfare state is based on the notion that employment is the primary mechanism by which people earn income and thus maintain adequate levels of welfare. Social policy and the social services should function to supplement income earned from employment or substitute for it when employment is interrupted or terminated. This idea was institutionalized in

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Bismarck's original social security proposals, in the New Deal job creation programs, and in Beveridge's insistence that full employment is a precondition for effective social intervention.

It would seem, therefore, that employment policy should form an integral part of social policy. However, as Desmond King points out, social policy in Britain and the United States has paid scant attention to employment issues. Instead of seeking actively to promote employment, social policy has sought to provide assistance to those who are, for various reasons, unemployed. Unlike the Scandinavian countries where labor market and social policies are highly integrated, work-welfare programs in Britain and the United States operate at the margins of the welfare state catering to groups who are themselves marginal to society.

King's definition of work-welfare programs include employment exchanges, job-training schemes and workfare programs which require employment as a condition for benefit. He argues on the basis of an extensive analysis of the evidence that all three have failed to promote the goal of fostering employment and independence for persons receiving social aid. They have failed not only because wider liberal attitudes in society undermine their purpose but because they have become institutionalized within the social welfare system and are thus resistant to much needed attempts at reform. The identification of these programs with the hard-core unemployed, the indolent and, in the United States, with a 'welfare culture' effectively prevents them from making a positive contribution. It is only when the compartmentalization of these programs is ended that reform will be possible.

Although some analysts will disagree with King's rather pessimistic analysis, this important book is one of the first to provide a comprehensive account of work-welfare policies and programs in Britain and the United States. It is richly documented, theoretically grounded and interesting. Hopefully, it will foster more research into the relationship between employment and social policy. Given the current challenges facing traditional social welfare approaches, research of this kind is badly needed.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR AUTHORS

(Revised June, 1995)

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.

Submission Process. Submit manuscripts to Gary Mathews, School of Social Work, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 49008. Send *three* copies together with an abstract of approximately 100 words. Since manuscripts are not returned by reviewers to the editorial office, the editorial office cannot return them to the authors. Submission certifies that it is an original article and that it has not been published nor is being considered for publication elsewhere.

Reviewing normally takes 120 days.

Preparation. Articles should be typed, doublespaced (including the abstract, indented material, footnotes, references, and tables) on 8½ x 11 inch white bond paper with one inch margins on all sides.

Anonymous Review. To facilitate anonymous review, please keep identifying information out of the manuscript. *Only the title* should appear on the first page. Attach cover pages that contain the title, authors, affiliations, date of submission, mailing address, telephone number and any statements of credit or research support.

Style. Overall style should conform to that found in the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*, Fourth Edition, 1994. Use in-text citations (Reich, 1983), (Reich, 1983, p. 5). The use of footnotes in the text is discouraged. If footnotes are essential, include them on a separate sheet after the last page of the references. The use of italics or quotation marks for emphasis is discouraged. Words should be underlined only when it is intended that they be typeset in italics.

Gender and Disability Stereotypes. 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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Books for review should be sent to James Midgley, Office of Research and Economic Development, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA 70803.

Founding Editors

Norman Goroff and Ralph Segalman

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