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Editorial

This edition of ERIS Web Journal followed the call for papers focusing on 'Migration across Europe', in which we highlighted the contemporary political nature of this topic with a huge impact on people's daily life conditions and prospects for themselves and their families. Hardly a day passes without a headline reporting the diverse, dangerous and often fatal attempts by refugees to enter one of the EU member states. Lampedusa, an Italian island that was previously known for its tourist industry has sadly become an instantly recognizable keyword in debates surrounding the controversial issue of "Fortress Europe". Social work with its newly agreed and widened definition promotes "social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people." Furthermore "Principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect for diversities are central to social work." (IASSW/IFSW, 2014, Melbourne). Within this issue of EWJ we can publish articles focusing on theories and practice of social workers in the field, mainly dealing with relevant issues around asylum seekers within Europe.

The first article, **Social Work as a Human Rights Profession in Theory and Practice: The Alice Salomon University Reacting to Violation of Refugees' Human Rights in Germany, by Nivedita Prasad** proclaims social work as a human rights profession and clearly outlines how the Alice Salomon University was able to establish, through a diverse range of activities, at least the beginning of a public stand on the issue of safeguarding human rights of asylum seekers in its regional neighbourhood. In the article a strong connection is drawn between theory referring to human rights paragraphs/or declarations and the practical situation found in Hellersdorf, Berlin.

The second article, **Separated and/or Unaccompanied Children Placed in Care: Perspectives and Experiences of Professionals Working in Sweden, by Nair Costa** provides an overview of perspectives and experiences of professionals involved with the care for separated and/or unaccompanied refugee children. First results are taken from a qualitative research study including 25 interviews and a documentary analysis with professionals.

The third article, **A Restrictive Social Work, Working with Asylum-seekers in Austria, by Matthew Randall** explores the professional limitations existing for social workers who provide support and advice for refugees in Austria. Particular focus is placed on the cumulative effects of, on the one hand, institutional discrimination impacting on the basic needs of the clients and, on the other, a lack of regard for minimum standards of professional practice.

The fourth article, **Measuring Ethnic Attitudes of Young People: Methodological Examinations for Cross-national Research, by authors Juha Hämäläinen, Inger Kraav, Anna Bizaeva and Jari Kainulainen** reflects the

complex issues of a cross-national comparative study linked with the equally complex issue regarding measurement and research of ethnic attitudes, and the development of the required methodology. The article offers an insight into Estonian, Finish and Russian developments in the field of ethnic attitudes, but also an intensive focus and discussion on the difficulties and concerns within this field of research.

In addition readers can find the following book review and brief news about research activities.

BOOK REVIEW

Huber, Renate. 2013. Wie gehe ich mit Vielfalt um? Eine Handlungsanleitung nach dem Sudoku-Prinzip (How do I cope with diversity? –An approach according to the principles of Sudoku). Münster (u.a.): Waxmann Reviewed by Prof. (FH) Doris Böhler, MA.

NEWS FROM RESEARCH

Mariusz Granosik, Anita Gulczyńska, Renata Szczepanik (University of Lódź, Poland): Social climate of educational institutions and its determinants. Perspective of employees and the service users of youth care centers (MOW) and youth sociotherapy centers (MOS), Łódź, Poland.

Väisänen Raija: A Doctoral Dissertation of Social Work Approved at the University of Eastern Finland.

Prof. (FH) ***Doris Böhler****, MA,*
Issue Editor

Social Work as a Human Rights Profession in Theory and Practice: Alice Salomon University Response to Violations of Refugees' Human Rights in Germany

Nivedita Prasad

Prof. Dr. Nivedita Prasad[1] is a professor at the Alice Salomon University of Applied Sciences, who is very engaged in the activities of the school in an asylum seekers' accommodation in their neighbourhood. Since 2010 she is the director of the German Master's program "Social Work as a Human Rights Profession".

Abstract

This article focuses on human rights abuses encountered by refugees in Germany and other countries of the European Union, which are frequently witnessed by social workers in the field – but seldom analysed using UN human rights as a source of reference. I describe this and other core elements and resources for an understanding of social work as a human rights profession and apply them to the situation of refugees in Germany, introducing minimum standards that states must fulfil in order to guarantee a human rights based approach towards refugees. Activities of the Alice Salomon University of Applied Sciences in the context of an asylum seekers' accommodation in Berlin in response to racist attacks against refugees in the same neighbourhood are described as an example of the use of structural power. The activities (classes in the accommodation facility, counselling for refugees, raising public awareness, critical monitoring, –interpreting services, etc.) show how universities can take up social responsibility in their communities, thus making the political mandate of social work visible and the gap between theory and practice negligible. This raises the question of whether these activities can be seen in the tradition of the Hull-House and generates questions for further discussion.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) contains 26 human rights, of which 24 have been codified in UN conventions, and thus justifiable through complaint mechanisms and monitoring bodies. Shamefully one can determine that one of the two rights that have never been codified in a binding document by the international community is the Right to Seek Asylum as stated in Article 14.1 of the UDHR. The implication of this failure is that asylum seekers can refer to their violated human rights and also take action against such violations, but they cannot claim a right to actually seek asylum. Their access to justice and protection depends on their immigration status. If they do not have a legal immigration status the state has basically nothing to offer them.

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Keywords
social work, Alice Salomon, refugees, human rights

Social work as a human rights profession

This brings social workers who deal with refugees into very conflicting situations, as they witness human rights abuses against refugees in countries of destination, but have very few means for taking action against it, especially if they have a conventional understanding of social work. The traditional understanding is based on the assumption that social workers only have the broadly known double-mandate of "helping" (assigned by the service user) and "controlling" (assigned by society). An understanding of social work as a human rights profession would imply that social workers work with a triple-mandate (Staub-Bernasconi): they are bound on the one hand to the needs of the client (help), and on the other, to the conditions of the national judicial system or social policy (surveillance and control) and to an additional third mandate, encompassing scientifically grounded theories and methods of social work as well as an orientation towards the code of ethics of the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW) and the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW). This international code of ethics (IASSW/IFSW 2004a, n. p.) and the recently published global definition of social work (IASSW/IFSW 2014, n. p.) leave no doubt that the principles of human rights and social justice are of fundamental significance for social work. Besides these two documents, the following documents are also of crucial importance for an understanding of social work as an ethically reflected human rights profession:

- United Nations (1994): Manual: Human Rights and Social work
- IASSW & IFSW (2004b): Global Standards for the Education and Training of the Social Work Profession
- IFSW Europe (2010): Standards in Social Work Practice Meeting Human Rights
- IASSW/IFSW & the International Council on Social Welfare (2012): Global Agenda
- IASSW & IFSW (2014): Global Definition of Social Work.

All these documents leave no doubt that human rights are a core issue of the social work profession. They "introduce human rights as a central regulatory concept for training and practice... however, the demands which follow from these documents are still far from being common knowledge in the 'scientific and professional community' let alone their being put into practice. Wherever they have actually been adopted and integrated into education and training has been done so in very diverse ways" (Alice Salomon University of Applied Sciences et. al [ASH], 2013: 4f).

Understanding social work as a human rights profession also means encouraging students to use the above mentioned documents in every day social work practice as sources of ethical reference, when employers and/or state institutions ask them to provide services that are not in the mandate of social work, for example, the surveillance of the departure of migrants, or requests for information from immigration authorities for the purpose of deporting service users.

Understanding social work as a human rights profession translates:

"the often very abstract and appellative discourse on human rights into the theory and practice of social work" (ASH et. al, 2013: 4).

It encourages all social work stakeholders to use human rights as a frame of reference for the analysis of everyday practice. It also encourages practitioners to use the human rights framework as orientation in situations where dilemmas arise. And finally, an understanding of social work

as a human rights profession also implies the use of the complaint mechanisms as a method in professional social work.

Historically speaking, there has been some debate as to whether social work is a human rights profession or not, and this even though social work pioneers such as Jane Addams, Alice Salomon and Eglantine Jebb left no doubt that their understanding of social work was very closely linked to social justice and human rights. But the last two decades have seen the development of an understanding within the profession on the international level, that social work is certainly ONE human rights profession. It is exciting to observe that this understanding is gaining more and more importance outside the profession as well. For example **Régis Brillat,** Head of the Department of the European Social Charter, in his keynote speech at the 2013 ENSACT conference stated that "social workers are human rights workers" (keynote speech on 19th April 2013 in Istanbul).
The above mentioned documents and work by Ife (2001), Reichert (2003, 2007), Wronka (2008), Healy (2008), Healy, Link (2011) and Staub-Bernasconi (2009, 2010, 2012) and many others provide the basis for a professional understanding of social work as a human rights profession, that helps establish a professional identity.
Analysing the situation of refugees in Germany and comparing this with human rights standards defined by the UN leaves no doubt that refugees experience massive human rights violations in Germany.

The right to fair trial

Many human rights guarantee a fair trial for all people, most prominently mentioned in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) in Article 14 (fair and public trial). Even though this right is only mentioned in relation to criminal hearings, one can argue that the right to fair trial is extremely trimmed by provisions that flank the asylum seeking procedure.
Germany has a so-called "Airport Procedure" for refugees who apply for asylum at specific international airports (Frankfurt, Hamburg, Düsseldorf, Munich and Berlin). People who come from so-called "safe countries", who presumably have false documents or in cases where the state assumes that identity and travel documents have been destroyed, can be put through this procedure, which can only be seen as a short cut to a real asylum application. The maximum duration of this procedure is 19 days, during which refugees cannot leave the airport's transit area!
Usually the authorities decide within two days if the person may be allowed to enter the country or if his/her application is "apparently unfounded"! A fair process within two days can certainly be doubted, if not considered completely out of the question. Even though in theory people can go to court against these decisions, it is unlikely that people who have just entered the country and cannot leave the transit area will have the resources to actually legally object to this decision, violating their right to an effective remedy.
People who enter Germany via land come in contact only with the German border police, who decide whether they will be allowed to enter the country, which obviously has an impact on the refugee's access to justice.

Non-refoulement state obligations in the entry phase

Article 33 (1) of the 1951 Convention relating to the status of refugees states that no state shall expel or return ("refouler") a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership to a particular social group or political opinion. Thirty years later, the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT) proclaims in Article 3 that no state party shall expel, return ("refouler") or extradite a person to another state where there are substantial grounds for believing that he would be in danger of being subjected to torture.
CAT makes very clear, that states have a non-refoulement obligation, which is regularly challenged

by the so-called Dublin regulation, according to which asylum seekers have to apply for asylum in the first EC country of entry. If an asylum seeker decides to travel on to another EC country he/she will be returned to the first country of entry. As the situations refugees encounter in countries like Greece are more than alarming, courts have decided not to send back refugees from Germany to Greece and in some cases also to Italy, Hungary and Bulgaria (Flüchtlingsrat Niedersachsen, 2014: 16), but refugees are still being regularly returned to countries like Poland, where the situation is not significantly better (Jakob, 2014: 11). Returning refugees to such countries raises issues of grave concern, especially with regard to the non-refoulement obligations of states.

Right to adequate housing and standard of living

Once a refugee enters Germany, he/she is expected to apply for asylum immediately. With this application the refugee is obliged to move into an asylum seekers accommodation facility. The design of these accommodations raises grave concerns in reference to the human right to adequate housing as mentioned in Article 11 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR see also CESCR, 1991).

The UN reminds us that the right to adequate housing includes, amongst other core elements, the freedom to be free from arbitrary interference within one's home, the right to privacy and family and the entitlement to participation in housing-related decision-making at the national and community levels. According to the UN, housing is not adequate if it does not guarantee physical safety or is not adequately spacious, as well as if it does not protect against cold, damp, heat, rain, wind and other structural hazards and threats to health. The same applies to the shelter if the location is cut off from employment opportunities, health-care services, schools, childcare centres and other social facilities, or if it is located in polluted or dangerous areas (UN Habitat n. d.: 3f).

The standards of accommodations for asylum seekers in Germany vary from building to building but have many things in common that do not fulfil the conditions of adequate housing. The most problematic issues are:

- people have to share rooms with strangers as assigned by the management of the accommodation facility;
- common bathrooms and kitchens;
- the accommodation facilities are often in remote areas, with little infrastructure and poor connectivity;
- some accommodation facilities are in neighbourhoods which are known to be very hostile towards immigrants and people of colour;
- surveillance of the entrance of the accommodation facilities;
- (predominantly male) security forces in the buildings;
- arbitrary quarantines.

The ICESCR proclaims in Article 11 that every person has the right to an adequate standard of living, including adequate food, clothing and housing. Some accommodation facilities, especially those for newly arrived refugees, provide cooked meals. Accommodation in a shared prison-like space with prepared meals can hardly be considered to comply with these obligations.

State obligation to protect people from harm

Refugees who live in shared accommodation facilities are usually "distributed" by nationality, which makes it very easy for them to be detected by state forces of the country they are fleeing from. Another problem is that people belonging to the same nationality in one accommodation facility can be on opposing sides of a conflict, making these facilities a space where conflicts may continue. For example, the presence of other people from Pakistan in the same place may be very threatening and intimidating for somebody who comes from Baluchistan – a region fighting for

independence from the state of Pakistan. In more severe cases, victims and perpetrators of crimes have found themselves in the same accommodation – due to a shared nationality/language.

Right to health

Article 12 of the CESCR states that everyone has the right of enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health (see also CESCR, 2000). Refugees in Germany are far from able to enjoy this right. Those who are in the process of applying for asylum fall under the scope of the Asylbewerberleistungsgesetz (Asylum Seeker' Benefit Act), which states in §4 that the state will only pay for health care if the illness is acute and causes pain. Other health concerns are not considered relevant!

Right to work

Article 6 of the CESCR recognizes the right to work, which includes the right of everyone to have the opportunity to earn his/her living by work that he/she freely chooses. Refugees in Germany are not allowed to work for the first nine months after having applied for asylum! After that, they are theoretically allowed to work, but practically this is nearly impossible, as Germans, EC citizens, permanent residents of Germany and acknowledged refugees have a "preferential" status; the practical implication being that jobs have to be first given to them! It is only after four years of a legal stay in Germany that refugees have free access to the labour market. The effect of this regulation is that many refugees work in very exploitative situations, as employers know that it is very unlikely that a person without permission to work will actually complain against exploitation and in some cases slavery-like working conditions.

Freedom of movement

ICCPR Article 12 states that everyone who is lawfully within the territory of a state shall, within that territory, have the right to liberty of movement and the freedom to choose his residence. This right is violated through the so-called "Residenzpflicht", (residency obligation) that is based on §56 Asylverfahrensgesetz (Asylum Law) and forbids refugees to move freely within Germany. Refugees who apply for asylum are not permitted to leave the city/district where their accommodation is located, which is a clear violation of their right to freedom of movement.

Specific situation of refugee women

The situation of female refugees has been an issue of grave concern for many UN expert committees and special rapporteurs; the committee on the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) has formulated its concerns and recommendations in its recent General Recommendation Nr. 32 (CEDAW, 2014). Here the committee reminds states of the structural inequalities refugee women experience and requests states to ensure that these inequalities are not continued in the asylum seeking process. In this statement, the CEDAW committee requests states to:

- ensure that women are encouraged to reveal gender-specific reasons of persecution such as sexual violence, while keeping in mind that it is very unlikely that this will be shared in an initial encounter, and reminding states that this should not automatically lead to an adverse judgement of her credibility
- provide safe and adequate accommodation for women
- enable women travelling with family members to file their own cases
- provide same sex interviewers and give women the possibility of interviewing without the presence of other (male) family members
- acknowledge gender specific reasons of persecution, keeping in mind that women might be persecuted by non-state actors
- screen whether a so-called "internal flight" alternative is actually appropriate, as according to the

CEDAW committees, women should only be returned to countries where they can practically secure accommodation, childcare and economic survival (CEDAW, 2014).

Germany, like many other countries, has in theory acknowledged that gender specific asylum claims are important and should be investigated. The practical implementation, however, is far from satisfactory. Women, especially women who fled without other adult family members, in shared accommodation facilities are in an additionally problematic situation, contributing further to their vulnerability, especially when bathrooms and kitchen are in public spaces.
Women who report (sexual) violence through non-state actors always must prove that they tried to complain against this in the country they are fleeing from, creating a problem of credibility, as also in cases where women did not report the experienced violence in the initial encounter with state authorities. Many (men and) women are returned to countries, in cases where states assume an "internal flight" alternative. A screening as to whether women can actually relocate to a different place without financial and social resources is not part of the state procedure.

Theory and practice in social work as a human rights profession

The Alice Salomon Hochschule Berlin – University of Applied Sciences (ASH) has been dealing with migration and racism as core issues in social work studies, with an explicit focus on the situation of refugees and the very restrictive framework within which social work has to operate. Also students of the university have traditionally been engaged and involved in support systems for/with refugees, for example in an initiative called "Grenzen_weg" ("away with borders").
In summer 2013 the university learned that a new accommodation facility for asylum seekers was opening in our neighbourhood, the district of Hellersdorf in Berlin. Hellersdorf is known to be a very poor district with "a firmly entrenched unfavourable social structure with relatively low development and stability" (Senatsverwaltung für Gesundheit und Soziales, 2013: 16) and with a history of right wing voters. In the federal elections of 2013, 20.3% of the residents in the vicinity (constituency 618) voted either for the NPD, AfD or Pro Deutschland, all parties with clearly racist and in some cases fascist ideology.
While residents in other districts had protested against refugee accommodation facilities through juridical measures, the accepted educated middle-class means (Obermüller, Reinhard, 2013), the displeasure of the residents in Hellersdorf was openly racist. This was partly because the NPD, presenting itself as a citizens' action group, was involved in the protests from the beginning. This ensured the protests would get media attention, and this in turn increased the NPD-tourism to Berlin-Hellersdorf. The polemical statements of the protesters were shockingly reminiscent of the racist attacks in Rostock-Lichtenhagen[2] over twenty years ago. On the other hand, representatives of democratic parties were expressing their understanding for the fears of these demonstrators. It was shocking to see that the expressed fear used traditional racist imagery, such as fear of "their" wives being raped and/or "their" children being kidnapped and a general increase in crime! Democratic parties are yet to take a clear stance against this racist propaganda and/or on human rights violations experienced by refugees in Germany. Even though for some time things appeared to have quieted down, "citizens' action groups" and the NPD continue to mobilize residents against the refugee accommodation facility. On the other hand, numerous civil society support networks have developed locally, showing solidarity with refugees and providing them concrete assistance.
When news of the vehement protests against the establishment of the asylum seekers' accommodation facility first came out in the summer of 2013, the university had just begun

[2] In August 1992 an accommodation facility for asylum seekers and Vietnamese contract workers in Rostock-Lichtenhagen was attacked by extreme right racists, who had an applauding audience of about 3000 people who did not allow the police and the fire brigade to rescue the inhabitants. One building with about 100 Vietnamese people inside was set on fire. The police left the scene, leaving the inhabitants alone, who barely managed to escape through the roof.

its break. This was hardly a good time for organizing collective action. But it was a good time to establish sustainable structures and networks. Understanding social work as a human rights profession implies the responsibility of taking a stand in situations where people's human rights are being violated – basically in front of our own door. Even during the semester break, a call for a meeting at the university brought together 50 participants including activists from the refugee movement.

It was clear very quickly that everyone present shared the desire to do something, making the political mandate of social work very visible. It was however, difficult to find common ground to define this "something". While some had a donation drive in mind, others wanted to "politicize the refugees". Though well intentioned, some of the suggestions were highly paternalistic and questionable. One activist let herself get carried away to comment "refugees must learn what democracy is, as they come from countries where there is no democracy." A statement, which George Bush made to justify the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. As we neither wanted to practice "white charity", nor wanted to reproduce a paternalistic practice, and did not at all want to act in the tradition of alms-givers, it became clear quickly enough that we would need to know what the residents of the accommodation themselves wanted.

Activities of the Alice Salomon Hochschule[3]

Establishing contact with the residents proved, however, to be very difficult as most of them did not dare venture out of the accommodation, and we could not simply go in. Initial conversations revealed that the residents were afraid of their surroundings and the high degree of hostility/racism they experienced made it hard for them to feel like they could settle or orient themselves here. At the beginning, for instance, they did not know that it was not only right-wing demonstrators mobilizing against the asylum seekers' accommodation facility, but that left-wing demonstrators and supporters were also actively demonstrating. For them it was a homogeneous and a rather threatening, screaming mass of people. The central idea behind the actions of the ASH emerged against this backdrop: we would open the university for the refugees and simultaneously make the asylum seekers' accommodation facility a place where something other than living, waiting and prescribed idleness could occur. It made sense for us to continue doing what we nevertheless do and relocate a few of our courses in "asylum".

Related to this were other objectives such as

- to establish contact with residents – if they wanted to – and to learn more from their perspectives
- if desired, to hold seminars for refugees to counteract the structurally prescribed idleness
- to establish "another" presence in a neighbourhood that is extremely hostile to people of colour
- to organize a "walking bus"
- to establish a regular presence inside the facility, which is normally isolated from the outside world
- to bring in information and news (in multiple languages).

In the particularly threatening situation in the summer of 2013, it did not require much persuasion to find people who would be responsible for the implementation of these ideas. The director of the Landesamt für Gesundheit und Soziales (State Office for Health and Social Policy) immediately granted the ASH a room inside. Both the mayor of Hellersdorf as well as the city councillor for health and social policy supported these plans.

By the start of the Winter Semester 2013/2014, a classroom[4] had been arranged. Seminars were held from 9 am on Monday until Friday afternoon, and ten professors and lecturers were regularly

[3] For a detailed report on the activities of the ASH see Prasad, Borde (2014)

[4] This room is on the ground floor, where there are only offices, kitchens etc.; the living spaces are on higher levels. The students, of course, do not go there unless personally invited by residents.

holding courses with their students in the accommodation facility. Some 400 refugees were living there, while around 300 students, lecturers and professors from the ASH were there regularly during the previous semester.
In early conversations with the management, it was also agreed that students of the ASH could do internships at the asylum seekers' accommodation. The interns are supervised by a professor of the ASH, firstly because there are no social workers at the facility in the capacity of intern supervisors. Secondly, this ensures that the interns are not subordinate to the management, which might have other interests than those of the mandate of social work. Besides establishing our presence there, we also wanted to signal that refugees were welcome at our university. This was possible through an easy and effective offer: the possibility of using our computer centre (free of cost) at certain times.

Volunteer work by students of Grenzen_weg

Many students – especially those active in the student initiative Grenzen_weg – organize and offer a range of services and projects. They translate, accompany refugees to official appointments and doctors, help them find jobs or apartments and organize activities for children and youth. They help with school-work, organize sports tournaments as well as donation drives for "cool clothes". The so-called apartment clinic deserves special mention. The project is based on the "law clinics" of U.S. American law school programs, where students gain practical experience before graduating, and can share their knowledge from the beginning. To be sure that they have the basic knowledge to counsel others, they organized a workshop with an expert from the Refugee Council. Since April students have been advising and counselling refugees on finding an apartment, a project which has been very well received. These sessions are either in a language spoken by the refugees or translation is organized. The students do all this on a volunteer-basis, alongside their studies and frequently also alongside a job. For organizing political events and for building a garden on the premises with the residents, students were granted 6,500 Euros by "Youth in Action", which enables them to finance their political activities.

Teaching theory and practice

After almost three semesters at the refugee accommodation facility, several male residents, some families and a few female residents have established connections with students and a few professors. They come to us with a range of issues. In some cases it was possible to find jobs and apartments together. Students who have been accompanying refugees to banks, just to open a bank account, to which they are entitled, are realizing how institutionalized racism works.
Adults hardly attended the seminars. It was mostly children, seeking to break the boredom of their day, who came to class. This desire, however, is not always easily integrated in the seminars. This again gives students the opportunity to learn how to engage with children who "disturb" the class, a reality they will later encounter in counselling jobs. Adults, however, use the time between the courses to meet students or to clarify something quickly. Buffets organized by the students, and attended by more than 200 students and refugees have been the best-attended events and also the best opportunity to establish informal contacts, which is again a useful experience in social work practice relevant to their studies.
As expected, there were some obstacles and problems with the internships at the asylum seekers' accommodation facility, which were partially caused by the fact that the social workers are under the authority of the accommodation's management (as is the case in most of the refugee accommodations). This brings with it the danger that only the second mandate of social work (control and surveillance) can be served. The question raised by this dilemma is whether social work can/should be performed within such a restrictive setting, which is again a question of great relevance, which has been discussed in classes in the accommodation facility.
Teaching social work as a human rights profession in an asylum seekers' accommodations nullifies the (artificial) gap between theory and practice. It is not possible to "just teach" about the restrictive

measures that refugee are exposed too, as students witness these measures just by merely being in the same building. For example, the surveillance at the entry door elaborates what it means to live in inadequate housing with very little privacy. Also the fact that the whole facility was under quarantine and none of the children was allowed to go to school, just because some had measles, is an experience that German students could hardly have anticipated. Students have developed friendships and established language tandems with refugees and regularly experience what it means to be a refugee. For example, they applied for money for a training course in Austria, which they intended to attend with a refugee. He, however, could not leave the country because of the so-called Residenzpflicht, an explanation that this restriction of his human right to freedom of movement was needless. And finally students experience how vulnerable refugees are made by the state, if they are not allowed to work, as they are witnessing the exploitative conditions in which some of their friends are now working. All these experiences are collected in order to critically monitor the accommodation.

Media attention: a double-edged sword?

Unexpectedly for us, the media was very much interested in the activities of the ASH, and indeed some seminars were visited by journalists almost every week. One the one hand, for both students and teachers, this presented a challenge. On the other this gave students the chance to work with public relations (a rather neglected method in social work) and test its limitations and possibilities. Students could give interviews, translate interviews by refugees, and see how the media used clips from their seminars. Despite the fact that students and teachers almost always expressed critical opinions on asylum policy, described human rights abuses against refugees, these were barely ever reproduced in their reports. Rather, they focused on the activities of the ASH, the dangers to migrants and people of colour in the district and the presence of active support networks for refugees and initiatives to facilitate understanding in the neighbourhood. Criticism of the conditions of the accommodation, of the restricted residence requirement or of the Asylum Seekers' Benefit Act were rarely mentioned in the reports, rightly frustrating many students. Students gained valuable experience and knowledge through the seminars in the accommodation facilities, which will certainly help them in practical social work later.

ASH in the tradition of the Hull House?

When the ASH was given the seminar room in the asylum seekers' accommodation, and we started with all our activities, there was no time to define or even discuss our actions conceptually. It was only with time that it became clear that the engagement of the university could be seen in the tradition of the Hull House.

The Hull House was established in 1889 by Jane Addams and others and was an institution of the Settlement movement, a social reform movement that is now considered the basis for community development. The basic idea was to move members of the educated middle-classes to so-called slums, so that they could connect with the local residents and offer them opportunities for further training. The goal was to activate the self-help potential of the residents instead of the typical "donations and alms". The Hull House became a place where new immigrants could receive practical support. One of the goals was to share art and literature with those who had little access to them otherwise and to thus help improve their chances on the job market. So for instance, classical music concerts were held on Sunday afternoons (frequently the only day off for the people working there). Simultaneously twenty children were offered piano lessons, two of whom eventually got admission to the Chicago Conservatory with scholarships. There was a reading room sponsored by the city library on the ground floor as well as rooms for exhibitions and projects for children. In addition excursions and various courses on sewing and cooking were also organized. In order to help employees to form unions, the Hull House offered its rooms to groups with names such as "The Jane Club" (for young women) and "The Eight Hour Club" (Residents of Hull-House, 1896: 210ff).

Conclusions

Of course, the activities of the ASH in the asylum accommodation facility are in their early stages, and cannot compare with the Hull House's 46 years of engagement, but a certain proximity to some of the projects and ideas cannot be dismissed. This is clear in this statement from the Jane Addams Hull House Museum:

"Hull-House became not only a cultural centre with music, art, and theatre offerings, but also a safe haven and a place where the immigrants living on Chicago's Near West Side could find companionship and support and the assistance they needed for coping with the modern city" (Jane Addams Hull House Museum n. d. & n. p.).

The main motivation behind the engagement of the ASH Berlin is and was to ensure that at the very least residents of the asylum seekers' accommodation are not alone when they face racism. Residents are still insulted and populist right-wing propaganda continues to be distributed in the vicinity of the accommodation. But through the visible and consistent presence of the university community, at least the fears of the residents, students and teachers of the university of being attacked on racist grounds have been somewhat assuaged.

The duration of the university's activities in the asylum seekers accommodation has not been fixed. It does not currently look as if the situation in the area will improve significantly, but rather the opposite. While in 2013, 20.3% of the residents in the neighbourhood of the accommodation facility voted for extreme right parties. During the European elections in 2014, it was 24.7%, even though only 18.1% of the residents turned out to vote as opposed to 40.4% in the federal elections (Landeswahlleiterin, 2013, 2014 n. p.).

In consideration of the fact that more refugees will be arriving in Berlin, the state has announced the opening of further accommodation facilities for refugees. Some of these do not even fulfil minimum standards that have been defined by the state. For example in some places 200 people have been put up in a gym, with absolutely no privacy and/or security for the refugees. On the other hand, the NPD and other right wing parties are still continuing to protest regularly against these new accommodation facilities, making it even more necessary for our university to continue taking a public stand on the issue.

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Separated and/or Unaccompanied Children Placed in Care: Perspectives and Experiences of Professionals Working in Sweden

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Abstract

According to the United Nations Refugee Agency, nearly half of the thirty four million people registered as refugees are children. In 2011, 2657 separated and/or unaccompanied children arrived in Sweden, which was the highest number ever registered in the country.

This research has been developed in order to understand and acknowledge the care provided to separated and/or unaccompanied children in Sweden using the perspectives and experiences of professionals working with this field, with a special focus in the Västra Götaland region.For this purpose a qualitative research strategy has been followed using the methods of documentary analysis and semi-structured interviews of 25 professionals.

From the findings of this research an effort has been made to highlight: the impact of national and international instruments on the 'best interest of the child', implementation of the children's rights and participation in decision-making; professional experiences and challenges within this field and the identification of the differences between care provided in foster and residential care. 'Resettlement', 'integration', 'social inclusion' and 'reunification' are important concepts, which have also been discussed during the interviews and have been analysed by professionals according to their own perspectives of ties of kinship, resettlement and social inclusion/exclusion.

Keywords

separated and/or unaccompanied children, foster care, residential care, resettlement, integration, social inclusion, reunification

Introduction

According to the United Nations Refugee Agency nearly half of the thirty four million people registered as refugees in the World, are children. When fleeing from danger many of these children get separated from their families due to persecution, international conflicts, civil war and trafficking, in various contexts and forms.

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Sweden has been a country of refuge for families and children for many years. By August, 2012, the Swedish Migration Board received 2113 applications for asylum from separated and/or unaccompanied children, including 331 girls (16%). In September 2012, 1213 (63%) children were granted permits to stay in Sweden; 283 cases were rejected and 264 cases were under the consideration of the Dublin Convention (Migrationsverket, 2012).

This article is an overview of the perspectives and experiences of professionals working with separated and/or unaccompanied children in Sweden and includes the results of a multi-methodological qualitative research performed by the author among Swedish Municipalities, with a special focus on the Västra Götaland region.

Despite the regional and municipalities' diversities, which concern methodologies and policies applicable on the reception of separated and/or unaccompanied children, some social policy facts and social work responses can be generalized (migration processes, municipalities responsibilities, legal guardians responsibilities, care placements tendencies, resettlement, social inclusion/exclusion and integration); some of the results of the research which are being exposed in this article were also transnationalized (children and human rights, national and international laws and policies, Dublin Convention, among others).

The historical context and theoretical framework taken into consideration in this research aims to provide the readership with a better understanding of the actual situation of separated and/or unaccompanied children, in the actual social welfare processes as well relating it with ecological and system perspectives which influence their lives when fleeing from danger.

Therefore, this article provides an understanding of the situation of separated and/or unaccompanied children placed in care: their needs, their care placements and care provided, their inclusion and integration in the host community, their "best interest" and their "participation in decision-making".

Through the findings and analysis of this research, which are resumed in this article, the author intended to obtain Professional recommendations for practice in order to improve the actual situation of separated and/or unaccompanied children in Sweden.

Perceptions on separated and/or unaccompanied children

Separated and/or unaccompanied children as young adults

Professionals perceive separated and/or unaccompanied children as autonomous; they referenced that these children are used to taking "*much responsibility*", being used to "*live alone*" and "*pay their rent*", considering them as, perhaps, "*caretakers of their mothers and sisters/brothers*". On the other hand, one professional also referenced that some of these children are emotionally more dependent, mentioning that "*all of them need contact with people like everyone, every human needs people who look after them and who are asking "how are you today, how was it in school?"*. At the same time, professionals referenced the child's history and observed that "*maybe they don't tell or if they tell you can't know, because there are things they don't tell anyway*", as a way of reminding that these children have been through different experiences in their lives that might be difficult to deal with or which can be still affecting the child in various different ways.

As Astor et al. (2011) referred, separated and/or unaccompanied children are exposed to several events which punish them in various different ways and which force them to assume certain behaviours as '*coping strategies*'. One of these behaviours is the adult behaviour, as many of these children have been taking care of their siblings or assuming their parents responsibilities before fleeing, or even during their journeys. Therefore, even if these children present situations of trauma and special needs, Professionals consider that these children have been through circumstances of their life that force them to find *coping strategies* to behave as '*young adults*', and to be strong and resourceful individuals.

Perceptions on separated and/or unaccompanied children's needs

Children's needs are a very subjective concept, to individual concerns and opinions. As a base of understanding the children's context in Sweden, it is known that Sweden has *"(…) a legislation that puts the child in the middle of the social welfare legislation. (…)"* (P9), following the BBIC-model (Barns behov i Centrum). The BBIC-model aims to strengthen the child's situation in the welfare, enhancing the cooperation within family, care-givers and the social network. This method is based on the BIC-model, proposed by Kalverboer, Zijlstra (2006).

Professionals revealed the practical concern to find the child's "*physical and psychological needs*" through professional meetings: however, also identified the different needs among children in different states of their process: seeking asylum and with their residence permit; while children and youth who have not received their permit are more concerned and worried about their process and its durability and have therefore more emotional needs; children and youth who have already received their permit face more needs regarding their practical life, to study, to get a job and to seek asylum for their families, which suggests the emergence of more practical needs.

Emotional and practical needs and needs for socialization and belonging

At the same time that informants identified separated and/or unaccompanied children as ambitious and motivated; they also distinguish their needs of socialization and social inclusion.

Separated and/or unaccompanied children are first children and secondly in a condition of a migrant and in increased vulnerability for being without their legal care-givers or family. However, it is important to always have in mind that not all of these children have a trauma over past experiences, and at the same time that not all of them have a good mental well-being.

Also, Professionals demonstrate other practical needs, such as guidance, supervision and the need for a protective figure as the most obvious, and which have been described by Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979) through the Social Ecology of Children's rights, a rights-based approach which place the child in the centre of multiple interactions of the support network. However, Professionals had also referenced their needs for socializing and belonging, which are related to their role of social actors, '*shaping and being shaped*' by the surrounding (Hedin, 2012).

The interaction theory together with the *Interaction Ritual Chain Theory*, proposed by Collins (2004), helped us understand the interactions needed between children, family and community and how this interaction influences positively and negatively the child. The interactions within children and family in the home country and the interactions with the network in the resettlement country can be considered as successful or failed, as the successful interactions can be translated through symbols of relationship, solidarity and 'emotional energy'. While interactions that are are failed can result in feelings of depression and loneliness (Collins, 2004). As well systems theory and ecological perspective help us in understanding the importance of the systems around the child and how they contribute to '*socialization and belonging*'. The systemic theory, as well as the ecological perspective, defend that all organisms are systems, composed by super-systems forming a whole and in which any change in one of the parts affects the whole (Bertalanffy, 1950; Payne, 1996).

Thus, considering that separated and/or unaccompanied children, such as the organisms around them, are in constant process of creation, reconstruction and adaptation with the environment, it has been important to understand how these processes affect their emotional needs and their needs of socializing and belonging.

Considerations on care provided to separated and/or unaccompanied children

Perspectives regarding care (Residential care versus Foster Care)

Among the various different answers obtained from the 25 interviews, an assessment on the best interest of the child, an age perspective and the child's own motivation were considered as the major reasons to choose between these two types of care placements.

Professionals consider that an age and needs assessment should be taken into consideration in order to place the child adequately.
For this, Professionals have as instruments the BBIC/BIC-model, based on the CRC from 1989 and the '*child rights framework*' which Urie Bronfenbrenner has developed in 1979. All Professionals referred to take their decisions having in consideration the principle of '*best interest of the child*', as well as, an age and needs assessment.
In general, Professionals commonly agreed that younger children should be placed in foster families rather than in residential care and the opposite with older children; as a reason for this belief, professionals mention the fact that when it is a smaller child there is a need to have adult figures who are close and with whom the child can connect and trust, while if it is an older child, the more important will be ways of practicing their independence.
It has also been considered that if a child is under the regulation of the Dublin Convention, in those cases the child is bound to stay in a transit home, which apparently is a challenging situation for a child.

Cross-cultural placements versus Same-cultural placements
When analysing experiences from separated and/or unaccompanied children placed in residential care, Professionals referred commonly to the child's bonds of being like "*sisters and brothers*" inside the house, as even not having the same cultures they have been through similar situations and treat each other as a family.
Foster care has also been referenced among all the interviews. Professionals perceive foster care as able to provide a familiar environment to the child, promoting "*long-lasting relationships*" and working on their specific needs. However, it could be understood that most of the times professionals were referring themselves to the regular cross-cultural foster care which, according to them, is almost non-existent for separated and/or unaccompanied children.
Cross-cultural placements are mostly regarding residential care, as in these situations Professionals have to undertake knowledge about culture and values which differ from a Western individualistic society and a collectivist way of life (Lundberg, Estabraghi, 2010).
Professionals refer to this type of cross-cultural placements as important for separated and/or unaccompanied children to learn Swedish culture and values faster, without losing their own and consider that by providing cross-cultural placement we would emphasize the importance of having a diverse network and provide a long-term network to the child, in which the family is not only seen as professionals, but as families. However, cross-cultural foster families are almost non-existent in Sweden, and Professionals reference the importance of investing in them.
In conclusion, professionals suggested that if priority is given to the principle of '*best interest of the child*', by allowing the child to stay in the family regardless of rigorous criteria, there has to be a better support provided to the cross-cultural foster families who themselves have special needs.
Regarding same-cultural placements, professionals consider that there are numerous positive factors when placing a child with a family from the same background, however they also mentioned situations in which the child is neglected due to the circumstances of the family. Professionals believe that same-cultural placements or '*referenced families*' are a great resource, however, they consider that there is not enough following-up in order to ensure that the needs of the child are covered and that the '*best interest of the child*' is being followed.

Perspectives regarding the Legal Guardian
Every separated and unaccompanied child has the right to legal representation.
The legal guardian is the representative of the child during the time of the asylum seeking process. When the child gets his positive decision, this legal guardian changes to a '*special appointed custodian*', which can still be the same person, if it is of their mutual interest, however, has different responsibilities.

Characteristics such as availability, engagement, good listening skills, to have life experience and knowledge about Sweden were described as basic characteristics that Professionals consider that the legal representative should fulfil. At the same time, professionals manifested that there should be a clear definition of roles and tasks and that should be understandable for children and professionals.
Professionals added as well that there should not me a misinterpretation of the legal guardian role. Legal representatives should help the child with his/her asylum process but not to give false hopes that can increase the vulnerability of the child, such as in the situation bellow:
In sum, all professionals consider that guardians have a major importance in separated and/or unaccompanied children's life. Professionals have described guardians differently according to their experiences, however along all the interviews they referred that guardians are more prepared now than before. Still, from the interviews it has been possible to understand that Professionals consider that Guardians should have better defined their role in order to avoid situations of misunderstanding or neglect to the child, as well as that education for Guardians should be mandatory among all Municipalities.

Perspectives regarding separated and/or unaccompanied children leaving care

a) 'Suddenly you are a grown up' - According to the Care of Young Persons Act (1990: 52), the termination of care should happen when care under this Act is no longer necessary. Therefore, it shall cease no later than when the child turns 18, if decision has been taken according to the 2nd article, or shall be phased out when the young is 21, if the decision has been made according to the 3rd article of the Act.
As professionals referred, becoming 18 years old does not mean anything in the "*social sense*", but "*in a legal sense means everything*". Professionals shared the idea that even though separated and/or unaccompanied children are resourceful and with good networks, they are not ready to live an independent life from the moment they become 18, as they still need practical support and to keep contact with professionals.

b) Moving out - Professionals consider that even though these children appear to be very independent, there is a great need for more support and more assistance in the care-leaving process, in order to assure that they have a good transition to the independent life and to avoid their reliance on the social services' economic support. Professionals referenced that the expectations are higher when comparing the transition to independent life of this target group. As the limit for care is considered to be 21 years old and when comparing to normal situations, Swedish children only live an independent life when they are *"(…) sort of 28 or 25 (…)"*.
Therefore, Professionals identified the transition from care placements to apartments with supervision as a majority measure for separated and/or unaccompanied children leaving care. These training apartments allow youth to maintain the possibility of receiving assistance, at the same time that prepares them for their independent life.

c) Lack of flats - The lack of apartments has been pointed out as the main concern in the process of care-leaving. Professionals referenced that in many situations youth are not able to move from their care placements or from the training flats due to the lack of apartments in Gothenburg city. However, professionals from Stockholm and Malmö referred the same challenges.

d) Coping strategies - After an understanding of the challenges identified by Professionals, it was also necessary to understand the coping strategies used to deal with these situations. Professionals referred that they try to give support and to prepare youth for the process of care-leaving, and they also referenced that in some situations they advise the trustees to keep contact.

Considerations on integration: obstacles and challenges

a) Integration as a two-way process - Professionals consider integration as concept which is difficult to describe, integration has been considered as '*something in between*', or a '*two way process*' between assimilation and segregation. Professionals referred to integration as a process in which

individuals and a host community adapt, a process in which individuals do not have to leave behind their values, culture or religion, but have to acknowledge the context (culture, religion and values) of the host community.

b) Rights, duties, values, religion and social culture as main aspects of Integration - While professionals approached what integration means to them, they also referred to the inter-relation between rights, duties, values, religion and social culture in the integration process. Professionals referred to the importance of cultural aspects and the respect for each other's point of view. Being part of the society, by acknowledge and defending the same rights, responsibilities and social culture, have been overall manifested as essential for integration.

c) Individual integration and society acceptance - When responding regarding integration, Professionals could not avoid talking about segregation, which is considered to be the greatest barrier for integration, mostly in cases in which asylum seeking and refugee children do not have much contact with the Swedish community.

By approaching Professionals perspectives regarding integration, it has been possible to notice that, in many situations, professionals consider integration to be linked to the knowledge about the society and to the condition of rights and duties holder, which allow individual participation in the society.

Professionals referred that the concept of integration is very broad. However, if considering integration as individual autonomy, knowledge about rights and duties and participation in the society, it means that Governments are responsible for creating and implementing measures that facilitate all these matters. According to professionals, even though a Government's discourse about integration, their policies are much more towards the opposite: assimilation approach and to an individual's integration into the resettlement country. This is, therefore, a contradictory approach if considering integration as the *something in between*.

d) 'To find your own way in the society' - As referred before, Professionals identified '*integration*' as a '*two way process*' and as '*something in between*' segregation and assimilation; meanwhile, they referred that integration is about finding '*your own way in the society*', by acknowledging the social culture, the Swedish system and finding a way not to lose the culture of origin but at the same time understanding other cultures, religions and beliefs; a balance between the country of origin and the country of resettlement in which the individual is able to feel "*part of the society*", to participate "*and feel that you can contribute*".

Professionals related integration to a perspective of rights-owner, individual integration and society acceptance, to know the language, to have a network, which is a closer definition of 'social inclusion' that defends this principle linked to policies designed to ensure that everyone can participate in the society, regardless of the race, language, culture, gender, etc.

Considering an 'inclusive society' a society characterized by the respect for the identity of all individuals and a reasonable balance between the rights and duties of everyone and of the society as a whole, we can consider that along all the interviews, Professionals have been talking about the need for social inclusion.

Moreover, Professionals have also identified the designation as meaningless, but about the procedure, Governments tend to talk about '*integration*' without providing the structure for it, promoting situations in which separated and/or unaccompanied children feel '*not fitting in the system*', and excluded.

Perspectives regarding children's integration in the society

After an analysis of Professionals responses, their answers were divided into 5 different categories: Previous knowledge/Educational background barriers; Care provided and network; Residential Care *versus* Foster Care; Lack of network and Loneliness feelings; Contact with home country as key to resettlement; Asylum status (and structural segregation); Swedish Educational System barriers; Municipalities and their different plans of action.

While discussing integration, Professionals identified a large range of factors which might prevent the child's integration, such as their previous knowledge/educational background that has influence in their learning; the care which is provided, as it differs depending on the type of network they must facilitate; their social inclusion – the positive and negative outcomes from the interactions; and asylum status which contributes to the process of resettlement.

As Professionals referred from the beginning, separated and/or unaccompanied children are very resourceful and strong individuals usually with '*coping strategies*' and '*problem-solving*' skills which are crucial in their process of '*resettling*' in the host country (Newland, 2002). Therefore, resettlement is a process composed by events and experiences commonly found in refugees and asylum seekers.

Factors that condition integration, or, social inclusion are the same that condition resettlement. Berry (1991) proposed a framework which explains the phases, events and experiences that influence separated and/or unaccompanied children during this process. Separated and/or unaccompanied children, such as other refugees, are through different stages and experiences since the moment they prepare to flee their countries. The claimant, settlement and adaptation phase are the phases which Professionals identified when the child has arrived in Sweden, since he/she applies for asylum through the next stages.

Social Work with separated and/or unaccompanied children: Challenges identified by Professionals

a) Lack of network – The lack of children's network is crucial as it influences their process of resettlement and social inclusion, described above. Therefore, special attention should be placed into these situations in order to promote children's interaction with other organisms and individuals of the society, to avoiding social exclusion and promote social inclusion. As well, Municipalities' responsibilities have been one of the challenges found by Professionals as interfering with their practice. Municipalities in Sweden assumed their responsibility with separated and/or unaccompanied children since 2006, whereas previously it was the Swedish Migration Board having this responsibility.

b) Municipalities responsibilities – As described before, there are two types of Municipalities, Municipalities of arrival and Municipalities of introduction. However, the concerns Professionals have are related to the fact that, in 2012, out of 290 Swedish Municipalities only 237 are Municipalities of introduction which generates a lack of placements for these children.

Combining the two challenges identified: the lack of network and lack of municipalities responsibilities with these children; and working with them in a positive way, such as by creating projects or programs which provide these children the interaction with other youth or adults in ways that they can extend their networks, or even creating different structures for care placements, for instance, by promoting cross-cultural foster care, and by raising consciousness and awareness in the Municipalities to receive their children, the result would be not only the extension of the child's networks, but also in developing the role of community-building possessed by the youth and civic engagement, which is by itself a synonym of using social capital (Saguaro Seminar on Civic Engagement in America, 2011).

Professionals´ perspectives, considerations and coping strategies regarding asylum seeking rejections

a) Dublin rejections – As we could understood from the interviews, when working with separated and/or unaccompanied children, most of the cases which Professionals meet are Dublin cases, meaning cases which are under the Dublin Regulation and there are almost no rejections considering other cases.

That Sweden is a country in the extreme North of Europe, rare are the cases in which children haven't been through other European Countries, so these children who haven't been marked as

'*Dubliners*' are considered to be '*the lucky ones*'.

b) 'Living in worries' – During the interviews, all Professionals referred to feel very uncomfortable with the situations of separated and/or unaccompanied children who are under the Dublin Regulation; they manifested many times that the '*Dubliners*' are under special circumstances in their lives, they said that these children have, most of the times, been through harsh situations before arriving in Sweden. They have mostly been through Turkey, Greece, Italy, Spain, Germany and other countries by the time they reach Sweden and the conditions in which they have been in those countries were not the most desirable. Once getting to Sweden, they are still under special circumstances for being '*Dubliners*'; most of the times (except cases of Countries such as Greece, to which Sweden is not deporting refugees) they wait for their answers during several months and when they receive their rejection they wait for deportation.

c) Care provided after rejection – Professionals referenced that their practice is governed by the Social Act, which states that the child has the right to receive care independently of his/her status. Therefore, even if the child has received a rejection from the Swedish Migration Board and is not allowed to be in the country, it is not the responsibility of Professionals working with these children to take action, it will only be the duty of the Police to do so. Meanwhile, Professionals referenced as well that children are afraid of being caught by the police when being under these circumstances of possible deportation.

Situations in which separated and/or unaccompanied children 'non-Dubliners' receive rejections are, as said before, uncommon.

d) Strategies to deal with rejections – Professionals referenced that they do not really have coping strategies to deal with situations of rejection, however they manifested that they try to talk with them, to advice and give them skills, such as teaching them English, which can be useful once they '*are gone*' or deported. They referenced that they have to keep their role in order not to give hope and not to discourage, at the same time, not to interfere with the role of the Guardian and Migration Board.

e) 'Living in hiding' – Moreover, all of the Professionals manifested their worries regarding the situation of separated and/or unaccompanied children under the Dublin Regulation, justifying that many of the children who actually '*run away*' before being deported, live 'in *hiding*' under circumstances which place them in even more disadvantaged and vulnerable conditions.

Professionals showed their worries particularly with these situations in which children are rejected and 'run away'. In such situations they are living without fulfilling their rights, '*Living in hiding*' contributes to abuse and violations of Human Rights.

Considerations on children's participation in decision-making

a) Children's participation in decision-making

b) What is decision-making about?

c) Decision-making in a circle

Professionals have been concerned about the role of each Professional in the child's life and in how that affects their participation in decision-making. It is important to have in consideration that the child has many Professionals around him/her due to the asylum process and it is important to make clear each other's role in order to promote the child's participation in decision-making.

According to Smith (2005), there is no clear definition for '*children's participation*', however, it is possible to have a consensus regarding situations of participation in decision-making. This decision-making is a synonym of empowerment and which can help to find out children's needs more easily.

Professionals who questioned the meaning of 'decision-making' and who considered that '*decision-making*' should be improved, justified it relating to situations such as '*Decision making in a circle*', *i.e.*, situations in which a decision is being made regarding a life circumstance of the child, who is involving numerous people from different organisms of the society and the child.

Professionals suggested that there should be a restructuring in terms of these meetings, so that the child could feel comfortable to manifest his/her own opinion and have better circumstances to participate in '*decision-making*'. Therefore, it is possible to remind that, according to Lansdown (2005), decision-making involves: to be informed, to express an informed view and to have that view taken into consideration and, at last, to be the main or joint decision-maker.

Considerations on reunification policies and the role of Municipalities

a) Misconceptions regarding reunification – Professionals referenced many thoughts and myths that took place when considering separated and/or unaccompanied children arriving in Sweden; Political parties which are against immigration have been criticizing this children of arriving in the country to bring their families afterwards, which has already been proven false throughout the statistics of the Swedish Migration Board, which showed that the number of children being reunified with their families is, in fact, very low when compared to the total number of separated and/or unaccompanied children in the Country, which is due to the fact that children have to apply for this reunification before they turn 18 and have to get proper help in order to proceed with the process.

b) Child's responsibility for family reunification – As well, Professionals manifested their worries regarding the situation of these children who receive pressure and tension for having so much responsibility during the process of reunification with their families, not only at an early stage, but as well, when their families arrive; the responsibility of guiding the families, of teaching them the culture, the values and the language, among other responsibilities that they have to face when they have been in the Country for some years and receive newly arrived members of their families.

c) Family separation or Family reunification? – At the same time, Professionals were concerned about situations in which families get separated due to different reasons. Professionals defended that a special understanding has to be given to this kind of situations in order to avoid the collapse of the family and the rupture of family links.

d) Reunification and the responsibility of Municipalities – Professionals think that Municipalities are not prepared to receive an even higher amount of refugees: adults and children; Reasons for this belief were mostly regarding the lack of flats and work opportunities which is already visible with the actual situation of refugees and immigrants. They suggested that new policies should emerge regarding reunification.

e) Policy changes regarding reunification

Responses on this matter were all towards an idea of solidarity, consciousness and awareness among Municipalities; Professionals interviewed referred the importance of receiving this children among all Municipalities instead of allocating them in specific regions, however they also referenced that there needs to be information and training to show to Municipalities the good reasons to be a 'receiving Municipality'.

Professionals interviewed believe that the new changes in the policy are a great development and achievement, as they believe that "family reunification is needed" for separated and/or unaccompanied children, However, they also pointed out the fact that Municipalities are not ready to receive these families due to the lack of places and due to the situations described above, concerning Municipalities responsibilities in receiving separated and/or unaccompanied children and other refugees. Consequently, Professionals believe there needs to be a restructuring of the system in order to provide better care and follow up for separated and/or unaccompanied children and their families.

Conclusions and recommendations for practice

Along the research, Professionals have mentioned a range of challenges in their practice with separated and/or unaccompanied children. Therefore, some recommendations have been provided

in order to address the needs of Professionals across practice, research, education and other policy concerns. The recommendations for practice suggested were among:

• Socializing and belonging
This need has been identified due to the lack of supportive networks. Professionals suggest the implementation of programmes that allow refugee children to interact with local children and youth, as these connections are important in the process of resettlement.

• Support, follow-up and guidance for same-cultural foster families
Professionals identify the need for more support, follow-up and guidance of same-cultural foster families in order to ensure that the principle of the Best Interest of the Child is taken into consideration and in order to avoid situations of negligence or abuse.

• Cross-cultural foster families as resourceful
The lack of cross-cultural foster families has been pointed out as one of the challenges. However, Professionals consider that cross-cultural foster care should be promoted and its number should rise.

• Legal Guardians as protective figures
Legal Guardians have been considered as protective figures for the child, responsible for ensuring that their rights and best-interest, being concerned to identify possible situations of negligence or abuse. However, two great needs have been identified: to clarify Legal Guardians role and to have mandatory trainings and education to perform such role.

• Leaving care – 'Suddenly you are a grown-up'
Leaving care is a challenge for any child who is in a care placement. However, it is an increased challenge for separated and unaccompanied children, due to their lack of network. Professionals recommended that there should be a better preparation for this process and new programmes should be implemented with this goal.

• Social inclusion and integration
The lack of networks and individual's resilience are among the challenges faced by separated and unaccompanied children and youth when integrating into the *Host* society. Professionals recommended the implementation of better schooling programs and different programs of interaction within the *Host* society, which would help these children and youth to find their understanding of the society, as well increase their sense of responsibility, tolerance and belonging; offering, at the same time, a great bridging of social capital.

• The responsibility of Municipalities
Municipalities have the responsibility to receive, allocate and provide care to separated and unaccompanied children and youth. However, due to its rising number, there has been a shortage of care placements. Thus, raising awareness and consciousness shall be principles taken into consideration in order to increase the number of Municipalities providing care to these children and youth.

• Asylum rejections and Dublin Convention
Asylum rejections are, in most of the situations, due to processes taken under the Dublin Regulation, which states that the first country of arrival is responsible for the asylum decision of any asylum seeker. Children and youth under this regulation are in increased level of vulnerability. Therefore, Professionals consider emergent to improve strategies to deal with such cases, in order to avoid situations such as '*children living in hiding*' and other cases of negligence and abuse.

• Decision-making: decision in a circle
When situations around the child are discussed, mostly, concerning decision-making, the child is usually placed within a number of adult Professional figures, which places the child in a vulnerable position and prevents their participation. Professionals considered that in such situations there should be methods or other kind of mechanisms to ensure that the rights of the child are followed and to ensure their participation, without the pressure of adult figures.

• Improvements for the Best interest of the Child
The principle of the Best Interest of the Child has been mentioned among all the Professionals as used daily in their work. However, Professionals also mentioned that in order to ensure that this principle is secure, decision-making processes should be implemented with different mechanisms.

• Reunification and its implications
Challenges identified within reunification are related to the child and his/her position as responsible for bringing their families together, assuming also the responsibility of integrating the family in the society. Professionals also manifested their worries with the increased number of families arriving in Sweden and the lack of support provided.

Every year, millions of people are affected by war and similar armed conflicts in different parts of the world, forcing thousands to flee their homelands and be separated from their families when escaping chaos and violence (UNHCR, 2007).
Earlier, studies have been conducted on the circumstances that compel separated and/or unaccompanied children to flee their homelands and to be separated from their families. However, an utmost need for this research emerged as a consequence of the circumstances that are faced by these children in Sweden as their resettlement country.
By using a combination of qualitative methods, this research intended to understand the situation of separated and/or unaccompanied children placed in care, their needs, their care placements and care provided, their inclusion and integration in the host community, their '*best interest*' and their '*participation in decision-making*'.
Through the findings and analysis of this research it is intended to obtain Professional's recommendations for practice in order to improve the actual situation of separated and/or unaccompanied children in Sweden.
Finally, this research discusses a complementary approach between evidence-based practice and practice-based evidence. In this approach, Professionals applied core competencies and recommendations for practice aimed at improving the actual situation of separated and/or unaccompanied children in Sweden. By addressing structural and individual needs, this research underscores the need for cultural engagement in order to apprehend local meanings of care provided, well-being, resilience, resettlement and social inclusion. Consequently, the research concludes with recommendations for practice that address some of the disparities that exist within the care provision to separated and/or unaccompanied children in Sweden.

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A Restrictive Social Work Working with Asylum-seekers in Austria

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Abstract
This article will explore examples of the inherent structural barriers to professional social work practice with those individuals who have fled their own countries and applied for asylum in Austria. The country specific analysis will be presented as a case example in order to reflect the general practice in Europe.

Keywords
refugees, asylum seekers, social work, caseloads, discrimination, ghetto-effect

Introduction
The aim is to highlight these impediments and to elaborate their effects on the targeted client group with a view to initiating further studies and research in this area. The primary theoretical framework of the article will reference the analyses of discrimination and oppression in Thompson (2011) and Adams, Bell, Griffin (2007) with particular focus on the structural and institutional dimensions. Taking as a starting point the potentially damaging discrepancies that exist between professional standards of social work and the reality of direct practice within this specific field, various examples from the author's own social work experience will be combined with an overview of the relevant international values and standards of social work in order to analyse the effect on the refugees being supported. It will be demonstrated that the special nature of the legal documents governing the protection and care of this client group serve to create a form of institutional cage that presents any social worker attempting to act from either the moral premises of human rights or the professional values of his or her occupation with very little room to manoeuvre.
The analysis will be focused on two mutually reinforcing structural aspects; *the legal and financial discrimination of the client group in comparison to the rest of society* and *the disempowerment of the professional social worker* working with this group. The themes explored with reference to the client will include the special nature of asylum-seekers (both from an intercultural perspective and with regard to the particular social biographies that accompany them), the low level of social welfare provision, limited access to resources and the reoccurring obstacles that exist with respect to personal development. The focus on the social work practitioner will include the damaging effects of high caseloads, the maintenance of professionalism in the face of structural limitations and an exploration of the status of the profession with regard to work with asylum seekers.
In order to provide an accessible picture of how these disparate elements combine to discriminate

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against both the client and the social worker a fictive practice example has been added to conclude the analysis.

Although it is not within the scope of this article to offer unambiguous solutions to the dilemmas this situation raises, it will endeavour to provide a starting point for further debate though its challenge to the fundamental legitimacy of the status quo.

1. Discrimination of the client

Since May 2004 Austria's approach to supporting those who claim asylum within its borders has been founded on a basic care package legislated through a law passed to coordinate this support between the central government in Vienna and the federal states where the asylum seekers reside (Österreich Republik, 2004). The implementation of this package by the federal states results in two clear areas in which the intended recipients face severe discrimination in areas of basic human need.

Social welfare resources that lie considerably under Austria's legally defined minimum for social security.

One essential theoretical concept that lies at the foundation of the provision of social welfare is that the recipient is able to receive a financial sum that provides at least the minimum with which one can exist with integrity in the society in which one lives. In Austria the financial social security for those who are seen as unable to provide for their (and their family's) basic needs has actually been recently rebranded as a "Minimum Security" ("Mindestsicherung") (Bundesministerium für Arbeit & Konsumentenschutz, 2011)). However, not only is this minimum not adhered to when the recipients happen to be asylum seekers but this group is expected to meet basic needs with a considerably lower figure. As the local federal government observed in its last official auditing report, an average family of four seeking asylum in Austria is expected to survive with 48% less financial aid than its Austrian equivalent while single asylum seekers find themselves in a worse situation, receiving well under half of the standard welfare entitlement (Landes-Rechnungshof Vorarlberg, 2009). As of December 2014 the monthly welfare payment to members of this last group has been increased by a paltry €20 from the original figure set when the legislation was passed in 2004; in total a mere €240 per month for an individual. Even this figure is reduced to €200 if the asylum seekers choose to live in private as opposed to state accommodation.

The obvious consequences of an inadequate income for the asylum seekers, the lack of basic necessities such as healthy food and warm clothing coupled with the ever-present danger of falling into debt, are an observable effect of this financial policy, but other less obvious social problems are also apparent. A loss of self-esteem and confidence can often occur along with an enforced separation from mainstream society where a minimum income is often required to participate. This financial discrimination can be clearly defined as operating within a conscious institutional dimension whereby laws directly impact on a minority group holding very little societal power (see *The Three Dimensional Matrix of Oppression* - Adams, Bell, Griffin, 2007).

A further example of this two-tiered hierarchy exists in the form of health insurance for asylum seekers. Although secured through the provisions outlined in the basic care package legislation, the issue of a standardised e-card for health insurance is not permitted. Instead the asylum seeker must attain a written confirmation of insurance for each medical appointment, a process that both stigmatises the individual and increases bureaucratic complexity, something that can have a direct impact on the resources of both the social worker and the client. A statement directly embedded in the government literature proclaims this practice to have ended:

> "E-Card for everyone … Stigmatising social welfare health insurance documents therefore belong to the past." (Bundesministerium fur Arbeit & Konsumentenschutz 2011, translated by the author)

Unfortunately asylum seekers, as in many other aspects of public life, are not considered to belong to the group described as "everyone." The difficulties of communication that already exist through cultural and language barriers are unnecessarily exacerbated by exclusive bureaucratic rules that can cause embarrassment and confusion during simple tasks such as attaining painkillers for a headache. Again the legislation of an institutional system separates out a minority group for collective disadvantage.

Effective structural limitations to activity and employment as defined under Austria's employment laws.

A key aspect of the provision of social welfare involves not just a remedial function (the removal of conditions that lead to hardship and poverty) but also a developmental function in the sense that the recipient is being supported during their personal journey towards independence from state resources. This also aligns with the concept of empowerment which accompanies many key theories of social work (Payne, 2014; Global Definition of Social Work, 2015). However asylum seekers seeking to enhance their life situation and maximise their own independence from state support are confronted with further legal documents that hinder them in taking this important step. Although asylum seekers are not directly forbidden to take employment in Austria, the realities of the Foreign Employment Act (Ausländerbeschäftigungsgesetz) mean that securing a legal work permit for a person with this status is practically all but impossible. The law dictates that the employer has to give precedence to nearly every other category of person, including nearly all other foreign nationals currently residing in Austria. (Österreich Republik, 2014). Again the effects of this legal restriction involve both explicit and implicit aspects for the asylum seeker. The aforementioned financial hardship and danger of debt that accompany the welfare payments remain in place for artificially extended periods of time, long after the person has attained the linguistic and practical skills necessary for securing employment. Furthermore the person is unable to attain the psychological benefits of independence and the sense of purpose and autonomy that can often occur upon attaining employment. Completing useful work within the host society and attaining colleagues outside a private social network can be the first steps for an asylum seeker to feel acceptance and belonging and also provides an intercultural exchange that can serve to remove prejudices within the society he or she is entering.

2. Disempowerment of the social work professional

A social worker working with asylum seekers is faced with a challenging prospect. Clients arrive often without any prior information apart from the basic facts of nationality, age and family status. In Austria they are transferred from the initial refugees centres to the federal states soon after it has been decided that Austria is responsible for their case. There are considerable barriers to overcome including a high level of trauma, grief and depression couple with cultural differences, linguistic barriers to communication, the aforementioned limited resources and structural barriers to self-development. However the situation is often exacerbated by the basic working conditions of the social workers themselves. Two pertinent issues involve high caseloads and what will be called here the *institution ghetto effect*.

Excessively high legally defined maximum caseload in relation to the complexity and risk of the client group involved.

The aforementioned basic care package that was set into force in 2004 delineates the maximum caseload limit for those professionals providing information, counselling and social care (Österreich Republik, 2004). The figure given is 1 professional to 170 clients, a ceiling for a social work caseload that exceeds by a factor of over 5 the recommended maximum set within the range of 10-30 clients by the IFSW in their document "Standards in Social Work Practice meeting Human Rights". (Agius, 2011) According to the recommendations of the IFSW social work caseloads should

typically result in "a *minimum* of 4–12 hours work devoted to direct client work for each client per month" (emphasis added). If a social worker with a 1:170 caseload were to perform nothing else besides direct client work in the hours permitted, then a standard month of employment would yield a maximum of 1 hour per client. The daily reality of indirect client work involving, amongst other aspects, administrative duties, community work, networking, management of voluntary workers, supervision and documentation serves to reduce this time even further.

A clue as to why this dramatic discrepancy exists can be located in the original wording of the law:

> "For information, advice and social care (excluding translation costs), a maximum caseload of 1:170" ("Beratung und soziale Betreuung (exkl. Dolmetscherkosten) nach einem maximalen Betreuerschlüssel von 1:170") (Österreich Republik, 2004, translated by the author).

The German word "Soziale Betreuung", translated here by the author as "social care", has a far more euphemistic meaning than the clarity of "Soziale Arbeit", or "social work" in English. The latter specifically refers to a profession with international standards and values, operating from a core base of scientific methods and theories, whilst the former is a generalist term that can refer to a wide spectrum of social interventions. Throughout the entire legal document the word "social work" is conspicuous by its absence. One conclusion that could be drawn from this is that the legislators have little regard or value for either the social work profession or, as a direct consequence, the client group it professes to be helping. A pertinent question could be: Would a similar legislation allocating medical care omit reference to the profession of doctor or nurse? Would an educational law regulating access to schools and colleges somehow forget to mention the professionals involved? This may appear, at first glance to be a subtle linguistic nuance in a legal document, but, by deleting all reference to the profession of social work as the primary actors in realising the care package it is defining, the door is then left open to leave all the standards and values of that profession behind as well. An unthinkable caseload becomes a possibility.

The interpretation of the caseload figure lies theoretically within the competence of the NGO allocated with the task of applying the basic care package to the asylum seekers in the local federal state. However, as this task is contractually delegated to the NGO from the central and local governments, a certain level of financial accountability is an additional responsibility the organisation has to consider. In the federal state of Vorarlberg a 2009 governmental audit of the refugee work carried out by the local NGO (Caritas) was followed by a 67% caseload increase for social workers offering mobile support to asylum seekers; from 1:60 to 1:100. (Landes-Rechnungshof Vorarlberg, 2009)

High caseloads in social work fields have spawned the creation of various management models in an attempt to assess the immediacy of a client's needs and to ultimately allocate and prioritise the helping resources available to their social worker. The factors of travel, risk and complexity have tended to dominate these models (Summers, 2015) and all three of these form central themes in social work with asylum seekers. Risk factors involve amongst others deportation, imprisonment, mental health, suicide, and debt, while case complexity is enhanced by the special legal status of the clients requiring highly specialised expert support and the language and cultural barriers lending complication to everyday communication. Travel, either to asylum seekers' homes or to institutions such as the federal asylum office has a role to play primarily for those social workers who provide mobile care. Each case would need to be individually assessed to correctly test these models but an initial estimation, taking into account the factors above, would tend to suggest that asylum seekers represent a highly intensive client group requiring a lower average caseload than other fields, perhaps in the range of 15 clients for a full-time social worker. This, as has been seen, is far away from the reality in Austria and asks the question whether the Charter of Rights for

Social Workers formulated by the IFSW in 2011, which explicitly states the right for "reasonable workloads and protection from burnout" (IFSW, 2011), is being considered in any way for the professionals in this field.

The ghetto-effect of the institution.
As has already been explored, asylum-seekers in Austria are clearly seen as a specialist group in terms of the legal and financial procedures specially created to accommodate them. This specialisation often extends to the institution that is charged with coordinating and implementing the basic care package. In some federal states (such as Vienna) there are several different NGO's working with asylum seekers and in others (Vorarlberg for example) just one organisation has been given this responsibility by the local government.
This can have positive effects in terms of collected knowledge, centralised organisational efficiency and ease of sharing expertise but it can have an important detrimental effect on the availability of resources for the client group. Social workers working with other groups in society usually have access to a diverse range of services that are provided by different organisations, either governmental or non-governmental. These could include organisations that work with addiction, homelessness, mental health, qualification and employment advice, psychotherapy etc. By exclusively defining one organisation as "responsible" for asylum-seekers, there can be a tendency for other institutions to shut their doors to this group and not see them as potential clients or service users. The danger here is a one of institutional discrimination, whereby people who are perceived as "different" be it legally, culturally, physically or merely linguistically, are excluded from services that are made available to other members of the population. Examples of this could be psychotherapists refusing to work with asylum seekers due to language barriers, hospitals discharging mentally ill asylum-seekers because rehabilitative group work is not seen as possible or frontline hostels that house challenging clients refusing to take in asylum-seekers because another institution is deemed responsible for them. This "ghettoising" reinforces the separation of the asylum-seeker from the normal citizen, enhancing feelings of dislocation and hindering the creation of social networks in the wider society. This in turn increases the pressure on the social workers within the specialist organisation as they have fewer options for diverse intervention and agency. This "ghetto-effect" provides an example of an institutional structure (the single organisation working with refugees) inadvertently supporting the fostering of a personal and cultural discriminatory attitude in professionals that would traditionally be open to provide support to *all* members of society. Thompson's PCS (Personal / Cultural / Structural) analysis of oppression, emphasising the interrelation of these levels and the interactions between them, is particularly instructive in this regard. (Thompson, 2011)

Example from practice
Both the discrimination of the refugee and the disempowerment of the social worker play important roles in limiting the ability of the latter to make meaningful interventions in the life of the former. The following fictive case example based on real examples from the author's experience working with asylum seekers in Austria has been provided in order to demonstrate how these two factors combine and exacerbate each other in the reality of daily practice.

Social Worker Ms B receives an email at 10 a.m. that Mr A, an asylum seeker from Syria will be arriving from the initial processing centre that Friday evening. He will have no money, speaks no German and English and has only been in Austria for 4 weeks having probably fled from violence and persecution, although these details of his case are not forwarded in advance. The social worker knows his name, country of origin, gender and date of birth, nothing more.
Ms B works 32 hours in the week, as part time employment is relatively common. Resources to employ refugee workers are allocated through direct calculation of current client numbers and this does not always

result in an employment percentage of 100. Ms B will not be present on Monday morning as she only works four days in the week. However she is not able to influence in any way the date or the time when her client will arrive. Mr A is dropped off at 19:30 in the evening at the flat where he has been allocated a room. He receives no professional guidance or support on his arrival in this foreign situation, as Ms B won't be working again until Tuesday.

Ms B has arranged that another asylum seeker is able to meet Mr A and give him the keys and some money for food over the weekend. She also arranges for her placement student to pay a visit on Monday in order to give him the remaining money for the week and to drop off some essentials (cooking equipment, bedding etc.) that he will need. When the placement student arrives he finds a deeply traumatised man who can speak a little English. He begins to tell the placement student why he had to flee from Syria. The information is enormously distressing for the student and he is over-challenged and leaves.

When Ms B is finally able to meet Mr A the next day over three quarters of the two hours she can spare for the meeting is spent with basic administrative tasks that need to be completed when a new asylum seeker arrives. The financial situation needs to be clarified, clothing vouchers passed on, registration has to be organised, various care agreements and house rules need to be signed by the client. As is the case with most clients at this point, the complicated asylum procedure in Austria has not been explained or clarified with regard to their own situation. Ms B spends considerable time on this task, helped by the legal paperwork the client has brought with him. The meeting is slowed down by the need to have a translator present.

During the meeting with the Mr A other asylum seekers who live in the same house as him are constantly knocking on the door and asking for time with Ms B. She has an additional 30 single asylum seekers and 20 further clients living in family units that include several toddlers, a pregnant mother and a severely disabled child. Regular contact with her clients is a prerequisite of her job. However Ms B has other responsibilities she is expected to fulfil in her 32-hour week. Regular team meetings, professional documentation of her client interventions, community work in the neighbourhood (including neighbourhood conflicts) administrative and financial tasks such as the payment of tickets, responsibility for reporting (and in some case organising) repairs on the buildings where the asylum seekers live, coordinating voluntary workers. She must also travel to her different properties and take on a proportion of her colleagues' clients every time they take a holiday. This occurs on average six to seven times a year doubling her case load during this time period.

When Ms B is finally finished with the administrative duties she has barely half an hour to make an assessment of her client's needs. In this short space of time she is able to note that Mr A is sleeping badly and is having constant nightmares that relate to his recent experience of seeing several family members murdered directly in front of him. He is constantly sweating, has several skin conditions and severe pain in his back and legs due to a beating he received in his home country. While this conversation is taking place she receives a text from another asylum seeker telling her that the boiler is broken and water is leaking out onto the floor. She has to interrupt the conversation and attend to this emergency. When she has arranged for a plumber to come, she returns to Mr A and realises that the translator has left as he had another appointment. Due to language difficulties (Mr A's English is rudimentary) she is not able to further discuss any sensitive issues with him but manages to find out that he was a qualified electrical engineer in Syria. He states that he doesn't want to live on state benefits and is willing to take on any work that is available. She has to explain to him that that law restricts him from any paid work but Mr A finds this very difficult to understand.

She has to leave because she is accompanying another client to an appointment with the federal asylum office and she is already running late. The documentation of her conversation with Mr A will have to wait.

Two months later, Mr A has been to see a psychiatrist and has received some medication that helps slightly with his sleep. Despite this, he is showing signs of withdrawal and possible depression. His initial enthusiasm to find work has been replaced by a frustration and finally resignation. He sleeps on during the mornings and is often late for his German courses in the afternoon. A psychotherapist who specialises in grief and trauma counselling has recently replied to Ms B that Mr A cannot be referred to her practice as his broken German is not adequate and translators are not appropriate for her work. On her most recent

visit Mr A presented Ms B with debt letters from a mobile phone company asking him to pay back a sum of 500 Euros. Ms B has contacted the company to organise payments of 30 Euros a month which reduces Mr A's monthly income to 210 Euros.
Ms B has over three weeks of documentation to catch up on and has been working far more that her 32 hours in the last few months resulting in overtime that causes tension in her private life and with her supervisor who is responsible for workers keeping their designated hours. Her work with her clients has become reactive, prioritising either emergency interventions or essential administrative duties. Her meetings with other professionals including other social workers leave her with a sense of inadequacy as she feels she is merely providing a minimum service for her clients. She is inundated with suggestions from other people how life could be made better for her clients but she does not have the time to implement them. The theories of diagnosis and intervention she learnt during her social work studies seem far away. When a new worker asks whether each client has an evaluated care-plan she feels embarrassed to say that time does not permit such things in her work with asylum seekers.

Conclusion

The above fictive case study might appear to paint a bleak picture of social work with asylum seekers but all the elements described have, at some time or another, surfaced in the experience of the author in his ten years working in this field. The discrimination of the client group financially and in the employment market coupled with low regard for the social work profession through excessively high caseloads and resource isolation has resulted in Ms B's situation representing the normal state of affairs in organisations working with asylum seekers.
This article has argued that such restricted social work practice with refugees is caused by specific structural disadvantages that operate through the legitimisation of legal parameters and are accentuated by the client group's artificial and deliberate separation from the rest of society. In order to remove these restrictions the political lobbying of refugee organisations against discriminatory laws affecting asylum seekers needs to be coupled with pressure on the legislative to recognise minimum standards for social workers with particular regard to caseloads. These need to be brought into line with the standards set out by the IFSW with a genuine appreciation for the complexity of the client group involved.

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Measuring Ethnic Attitudes of Young People: Methodological Examinations for Cross-National Research

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Abstract
Taking advantage of a comparative study, this paper discusses the concept of ethnic attitudes paying attention especially to the challenges of measuring. The concept of ethnic attitudes proved complex and troublesome to be measured. In a cross-national comparison a big number of lingual nuances must be considered in order to create a valid measurement shared by each individual country. The comparative study, on which this paper is based was about ethnic attitudes of young people on three countries, Estonia, Finland and Russia. The characteristics of the questionnaire used in the study were analysed using Principal Component Analysis. The analysis indicated the key factors of ethnic attitudes. Clarifying the concept by providing information about the basic dimensions of ethnic attitudes, this paper contributes both to research, education and practices of social work with people from different ethnic background.

Keywords
ethnic attitudes, cross-national research, component analysis

1. Introduction

Dealing with the problems of studying young people's ethnic attitudes from a comparative perspective, the aim of this paper is to reflect the complex nature of ethnic attitudes and the challenges of research on the subject. The considerations are based on a study in which the

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ethnic attitudes of Estonian, Finnish and Russian adolescents were investigated with a common questionnaire. The basic intention of the study was to profile young people's ethnic attitudes in these three countries in order to compare them. To this end an inquiry form was constructed. This article discusses the methodological challenges that were faced in the process, especially in relation to the characteristics of the questionnaire.

The aim of the investigation was to identify the main dimensions of the ethnic attitudes of young people in the countries stated above. The questionnaire consisted of five sections. Each sector contained variables measuring certain aspects of ethnic attitudes, such as one's general position on ethnicity, communication in a multicultural society, personal cognitive, affective and behavioural ethnic attitudes, ethnocentrism and the ethnic attitudes of parents.

The validity of each sector of the questionnaire was tested with the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin test and Bartlett's test (the method: maximum likelihood; rotation: direct oblimin). The criterion for accepting a sector to the Principal Component Analysis (PCA) was > 0.60 in the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin test and statistical significance in Barlett's test. All five original sectors proved to be appropriate for the PCA.

In this article the process of working with a common questionnaire will be introduced from the point of view of measurement. In cross-national research it is a challenging task to construct a questionnaire that is understood for all respondents in the same manner. Attention must also be paid to the fact that the informants were young people. Respondents in different countries should comprehend the questions equally, although the words may have different nuances of meaning and the connotations are shaped by different cultural and ideological factors.

Attention will be paid to the theoretical and practical problems of measuring the ethnic attitudes identified during the process of constructing the questionnaire and discoveries about the properties of the questionnaire based on data analysis. The conclusions include some advice for comparative research of ethnic attitudes, especially from the point of view of indicator construction.

Because of the potential weakness of representation in the Finnish sample it was not possible to draw solid comparative conclusions about the similarities and differences of the ethnic attitudes of Finnish adolescents compared to adolescents of the two other countries. However, comparative considerations were made paying attention to the capacity of the measuring instrument. Due to the fact that the results must be taken with certain qualifications they are not presented in this article.

2. A review of studies on ethnic attitudes in Estonia, Finland and Russia

A look at studies of ethnic attitudes in the target countries provides a conceptual background for the development of a questionnaire that will be useable for all the target countries. In the following, attention has especially been paid to the methods and key concepts of the studies of ethnic attitudes in Estonia, Finland and Russia. From the point of view of cross-national comparison it is important that the data from different countries corresponds to each other. Attention must especially be paid to lingual issues so that the respondents have enough common understanding of the meanings of the key words. This is challenging because words tend to have culture-specific connotations. Also, for linguistic reasons, it is important to examine the country-specific point of view on the basis of former studies.

Estonia

For historical reasons research on ethnic attitudes of the population in the proper sense of the word did not begin in Estonia until the 1990s. However, ethnicity was somewhat considered and debated in the process of the national awakening of the Estonian people, which started in the 19th century. In the early 19th century attention was paid to the state of the nation. The nation was viewed as a unity formed of individuals and nationality viewed as the mental status of the nation. Nationality was seen as an end of the development of nation that can be achieved by developing the national characteristics (Luiga, 1911).

At that time no studies about Estonian national consciousness had been done. Multiculturalism was not a topic at all. It was only essential to make national values happen in social life, to adopt the Estonian language, mentality and way of life, and to develop national attitudes. The residence of migrants was not seen as a problem: "… we are not interested in Germans, Russians, Jews etc., they may stay or leave" (Luiga, 1919).

In the 1940's, after World War II, the situation in occupied Estonia became more complicated. The amount of Russians increased rapidly from a couple of percent to over a third of population. In the Soviet Union the official ideology, based on Marxism, was that in the Socialist countries there must be no conflict for ethnic reasons. The official policies, media and education emphasized friendship between nations all the time. Political points were emphasized. The proletariat was encouraged show a positive attitude towards the Soviet Union and, independent of nationality, enemies were those who were against the Communist ideology. People from other parts of the Soviet Union moved constantly to Estonia. Russian language skills were required from Estonian people by those in power.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the winning of independence obliged Estonia to take a position towards the question of nationality. In 1989 there were 963,281 ethnic Estonians, 474,834 Russians and 17,547 other ethnic groups. Thus, less than two thirds of the population were Estonians. A third of the population spoke Russian. The multicultural world was there and raised the question of the simultaneous existence of different cultures within one country. This also led to the increase of research activities on ethnic issues. Ethnic questions started to be cautiously asked at the beginning of the 1980's. In the 1990's studies on ethnic issues were mostly quantitative and based on inquiry, and qualitative studies (in terms of qualitative interviews, action research and ethnographies) became more common towards the end of the 1990's. However, the quantitative paradigm has been prevalent until now. The most common themes of ethnic studies were about the relationship between the Russian-speaking population and the Estonians. (Pettai, 2000; Valdma, 2009)

In the first political document (1998) dealing with multicultural education, the principles of integration and the need for balance were emphasized but it also stated that it is important to protect and develop Estonian culture (Heidmets, Lauristin, 1998). Integration was viewed as a process in which the non-Estonians living in Estonia participate equally in social life. In this period inquiries about young people's views on the situation of Estonians and Russians were made in Estonian- and Russian-speaking schools in order to get a better understanding of the question in the multicultural Estonian society. Multicultural teaching was developed in the schools in connection to these studies (Korts ja Vihalemm, 2012; Proos, 2002; Valk, 2012). The aim was to offer equal opportunities to participate in public life and to keep and develop one's own culture (Pavelson, Trasberg, 1998).

Three topics can be identified in the research:

- the opportunities for and the problems of democratic development in a multicultural society (Heidmets, Lauristin, 1998; Pavelson, Trasberg, 1998; Valk, Karu, 2001)
- the integration of non-Estonian people to Estonian society; the changes in the ethnic and cultural identity of the young Russian people after the collapse of the Soviet Union and bilingualism (Kymlicka, 2000; Pettai, 2002; Pedastsaar, 1997)
- comparisons of the attitudes of Estonian- and Russian-speaking people (Kruusvall, 2002; Pettai, 2002).

After Estonia gained independence the interaction with people from different countries strengthened the ethnic identity of Estonians. It offered opportunities to compare their country and its culture to other countries and their cultures. This opened up new perspectives on Estonian ethnic identity.

The number of migrants from other countries is very small in Estonia, only 5.5% of the population, and migration has not become a broader research topic in the country. It is common to analyse and compare different aspects of the lifestyles and cultures of people from different ethnic groups, such as the frequency of their social interactions, interpersonal trust, etc. Acculturation has been an important topic in terms of cultural and psychological changes in the context of interactions between different ethnic groups (Sepp, Kalamees-Ruubel, Läänemets, 2012).
Studies about ethnic issues are mostly based on inquiry. The identities and attitudes of Russian-speaking young people are especially analysed by using quantitative methods. Recently, qualitative methods (in terms of qualitative interviews, action research and ethnographies) have been used more and more.

Finland
In Finland investigations of people's ethnic attitudes have been done in different methodological ways, primarily with questionnaires and interviews (Jaakkola, 2005; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Vesala, 2002; Puuronen, 2006; Virrankoski, 2001; Weissenfelt, 2007). The first investigation about the attitudes of Finns towards immigrants was made in 1987, and after this the inquiry has been redone every fifth year (Jaakkola, 1989, 1995, 1999, 2005, 2009). This enables a systematic monitoring concerning the transition of the ethnic attitudes of the Finnish people.
In the Finnish studies attention is often paid to ethnic conflicts and racist attitudes in everyday behaviour (e.g. Liebkind, 1994, 2000; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2002; Puuronen, 2001, 2006). Ethnic attitudes that reject minorities have been expressed mostly with concepts of discrimination, racism, ethnic intolerance, xenophobia, hate of the foreign and ethnic prejudice. This terminology has been significant in studying ethnic attitudes because of the resulting complexity created by the varieties of the meanings of terms and their reciprocal relations. A layman can hardly understand the nuances of the terms, making the study of people's ethnic attitudes somewhat difficult.
According to the Finnish studies many immigrants from different nationalities have experienced discrimination, both in everyday life and in the labour market in Finland, but positive attitudes particularly towards job-oriented immigration have increased among the Finnish population, especially in the 2000's (see Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2002; Jaakkola, 2005, 2009). Finland was for a long time ethnically a very homogenous society. Immigration started to grow in numbers in the 1990's. In the 2000's it has become more common, and at the end of the first decade of the 21st century the amount of critics of immigration, immigrants and liberal immigration policy had increased. The elementary question is about weighing the positive and negative consequences of immigration in society.
In several studies in Nordic countries it has been discovered that negative ethnic attitudes towards immigrants are connected with socio-economic fear, a fear that immigrants will take jobs, dwellings and social benefits, and utilize the welfare system to the detriment of the original population (Jaakkola, 2005: 27–28, 2009: 39–40). In addition to the socio-economic anxiety, negative ethnic attitudes have been explained to be results of prejudice towards and anxiety about cultural differentness (Raittila, 2004: 22–23). Neither of these factors can be conceptualized in terms of racism but they are rather expressions of socio-economic and cultural self-defence. Despite this, they exemplify a rejecting stance towards immigrants.
There are signals about increasingly hardening rejecting attitudes towards immigrants. Political parties relating critical views on liberal immigration policy gained increased endorsement in all the Nordic countries at the end of the first decade of the 21st century. It is more and more frequently asked by people if the social benefits, financed by tax paid by the original people, shift into the pockets of foreign people who have not participated in the common effort of constructing the welfare state. The Nordic countries are principally open democratic societies but due to massive immigration some people are suspicious about the misuse of the welfare system resulting in prejudice towards immigrants. Regardless of this, ethnic tolerance is the dominating political attitude in the Nordic countries and the only politically correct one.

In a Finnish study the concept of 'ethnic tolerance' was found to be unclear as well as difficult to express in variables (Suurpää, 2002). In general it refers to acceptance towards people whose ethnic background differs from the ethnicity of the person in question. The basic dimension of this attitude is acceptance–rejecting in terms of views, emotions and behaviour towards foreigners. Expressions of ethnic tolerance are a mix of the cognitive, affective and behavioural characteristics of a person, like their trust, openness, friendliness, readiness to interact and to accept differences. In addition to these there is the level of the social and political opinions of a person concerning the acceptance of immigrants as members of society and the immigrants' equal rights as citizens.
Ethnic attitudes can be seen as a subarea of attitudes towards different people in general but there are significant differences in people's attitudes towards separate nationalities (Jaakkola, 2009; Puuronen, 2006). People have a more or less ethnocentric view of life and their attitudes towards foreigners and foreign cultures may be more or less tolerant, or rejecting. People's interaction with foreigners is associated with positive ethnic attitudes, i.e. permissive attitudes towards foreign people (Allport, 1988; Weissenfelt, 2007; Jaakkola, 2009). There is also evidence to assume that contact with foreign people decreases negative ethnic attitudes and make people more tolerant.
According to a wide, cross-national study of 38 countries based on IEA/CIVED and IEA/ICCS data, young Finnish boys showed the most negative attitudes towards foreign people (IEA, 2009). The international comparisons concerning young people's ethnic attitudes in different countries will continue as a part of international school achievement studies.

Russia
Ethnic issues play an important role in the social and political life of contemporary Russia. The breakdown of the USSR and the appearance of new independent states resulted in tremendous social and ethnic transformation, due to which about 60 million people found themselves living abroad (according to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees; Lebedeva, 1999). Nowadays the migration process in Russia is still under way: a high number of people immigrate to Russia; the number of immigrants was 12 million in the beginning of the 2000s (United Nations, 2005). These circumstances could not but affect strained ethnic relations. Seeking optimum ways to handle the ethnic issues became a challenge to Russian society.
A brief overview of a great amount of publications in cross-cultural and ethnic sociology and psychology makes it possible to identify two main areas of investigations: (1) personality in ethno-culture concerning mentality, socialization, communication and behaviour, and (2) inter-ethnic relations in terms of ethnic identity, ethnic attitudes, and ethnic conflicts (Khotinets, 2010). A problem regarding inter-ethnic attitudes takes a significant place in sociological and psychological research that is being carried out with a versatile methodological approach. The most widely used methods in ethno-sociology are public opinion surveys and polls.
According to surveys, no increase of hostile attitudes towards people of other ethnicities was registered among Russians – even at the time of great hardships in the 1990s and in the critical period of the 2000's. The Russian identity has been an important subject in the multi-national country (Danilova, 2004; Drobizheva, 2008) and attention has also been paid to the aspects of nation and nationalism (Tishkov, 1996). Sociological polls from 2002 to 2008 report that respondents experienced a feeling of hostility to "others" to the following extent: 10–17% "very often" and "often", 25–32% "seldom"", 53–60% "never" (Drobizheva, 2010).
The European Social Survey reported about 27.6% of respondents who were strongly against ethnic migrants to Russia (to compare: at the same time the same opinion was shared by 39.4% of respondents in Hungary, 29% in Portugal, 29% in Cyprus, 23.5% in Bulgaria and 23.6% in Estonia) (Drobizheva, 2010). It is noteworthy that inter-ethnic attitudes differed between age groups. The opinion "I don't object to people who are different from the majority of the country by their ethnicity or race moving in to live in our country" was shared by 78% of young respondents (to compare: 68% of the respondents of other age groups shared this opinion).

Discussing the reason for negative attitudes towards the immigrant flow, to inter-ethnic business and to personal contacts, researchers interpret it as a reaction to a number of circumstances: 1) limited survival means (20% of the population "hardly make ends meet. There's little money, even for food"; 40% had "enough money for food but little for buying clothes"); 2) a perceived threat to preserving their life interests (e.g. business competition); 3) uncertainty in the future – mistrust of social institutions (Russian Public Opinion, 2006, 2009), which had been described in ethno-psychology as a manifestation of ethnic trouble due to the perceived out-group threat (Pettigrew, Meerstins, 1995).
This interpretation correlates with the results of field research of intergroup attitudes in multicultural regions of southern Russia (N = 723). They demonstrate that the intolerance of the intergroup attitudes among the majority of group members is predicted by the perceived discrimination (Lebedeva, Tatarko, 2005). Other factors predicting intolerant intergroup attitudes among members of different ethnic groups in Russia's multicultural regions are the uncertainty (or ambivalence) of ethnic identity, the high level of religious identity, the type of settlement (dense/sparse) and group status (majority/minority). The salience of ethnic identity and the high level of religious identity predict intolerant attitudes among migrants settled densely, and the valence of identity and perceived discrimination predict intolerant attitudes among the sparsely settled migrants. The willingness to distinguish between people by religion provides the maintenance of their group boundaries and identity in multicultural regions of Russia. The growth of uncertainty about ethnic identity, the decrease of perceived discrimination and the level of religious identity, as well as general ethnic tolerance, provide better conditions for the adaptation of migrants to multicultural regions of Russia (Lebedeva, Tatarko, 2008).

3. Constructing the instrument

Our questionnaire is partly based on former studies but mostly constructed by ourselves. In the construction process the special social and cultural characteristics of Estonia, Finland and Russia were taken into consideration from the point of view of ethnic attitudes. The aim was to create a questionnaire that enables comparisons between the countries on the basis of survey data (e.g. Hofstede, 2001). The theories of ethnocentrism and ethnic tolerance were the leading theoretical starting points but the questionnaire was not based on any particular theory of ethnic attitudes in terms of theory confirmation.
In constructing variables the attitudes were conceptualized on the basis of three components: cognition, emotion and behaviour. From this point of view the ethnocentrism and corresponding ethnic attitudes were asked in terms of views (cognition), feelings (emotion) and actions (behaviour). Attention was also paid to some family aspects because the purpose of the study was to compare young people's ethnic attitudes and the family was thought to play a more or less important role in the respondents' everyday lives.
In practice, the questionnaire was worked on by three researchers out of the four authors of this article, who represented the countries which were going to be compared using versatile theoretical tools. Four languages were used for common meanings of terms comparing the Finnish, Estonian and Russian alternatives and, in addition, all with English. It was a demanding process involving wide cultural and lingual reflection through which the country-specific views were fitted together. The basic challenge was to identify the nuances of the central terms, not only in different languages but also in different social systems and political traditions. The denotations, connotations and reciprocal relations of some basic terms, such as 'ethnicity', 'citizenship' and 'nationality', were unclear, entailing a lot of trouble (Table 1).

Table 1: The terms 'ethnicity', 'citizenship' and 'nationality' in the Estonian, Finnish and Russian languages

	'ethnicity'	**'citizenship'**	**'nationality'**
Estonian	*rahvus* ('a group having a common ethnic identity based on a common language and culture')	*kodakondsus* ('the status of being a member of a state')	*rahvas,* ('a member of a nation based on residency') *rahvus* ('a synonym to ethnicity')
Finnish	*kansallisuus* ('belonging to an ethnic group')	*kansalaisuus* ('the status of being a member of a state')	*kansalaisuus* ('the membership of a state') *kansallisuus* ('the membership of a nation based on the residency')
Russian	*natsionalnost* ('belonging to an ethnic group')	*grazhdanstvo* ('the status of being a member of a state')	*natsionalnost* ('the membership of a nation based on residency')

In addition to these three terms, in all three languages there are even more words based on the same stems but having different nuances. Some of these words are used synonymously and some of them have different meanings, although being very similar. There are also many language-specific characteristics in the meanings, which makes it difficult to create a commensurate questionnaire for cross-national research.

In the Finnish language the concepts have a very similar phenotype: 'kansallisuus' ('ethnicity') and 'kansalaisuus' ('citizenship') are somehow overlapped by the term 'a membership of a state' or 'the membership of a nation' ('nationality'). For a long time Finland has been an ethnically relatively homogenous national state in which ethnicity, citizenship and nationality have largely been expressions of the same totality, with the actual exception of two small national ethnic minorities: the Same and Roma people.

In the Russian language the terms 'ethnicity' and 'nationality' are synonymous. 'Ethnicity' is a new notion that came into use in scientific language after the collapse of the Soviet Union. It nearly replaced the term 'nationality' but it was not adopted by the people. In the Estonian language there are two connotations for the term 'nationality'. Due to this, the terms 'ethnicity' and 'nationality' can be used both as synonymous and in a distinctive way. The Finnish 'kansa', the Russian 'natsija' and the Estonian 'rahvus' refer mainly to an ethnic population sharing national identity but not necessarily common cultural elements, for instance, a common language.

As a consequence of the ambiguity created by the connotations of these concepts and their unclear relations with each other it was difficult to make clear what a 'foreigner' means. You can speak about 'foreigners' in the sense of 'foreign ethnicity' ('somebody who has another ethnic background compared to mine'), 'foreign citizenship' ('somebody who comes from another country'), and 'foreign nationality' ('somebody who is a member of another state'). However, we did not try to clarify these meanings with the respondents because of their semantic complexity. When considering youngsters' ethnic attitudes it does not necessarily have a remarkable meaning if they use the mentioned concepts inexactly.

The term 'foreigner' was used in the questionnaire although it can be understood in different ways in different countries. In addition to this, other similar terms were used, for example 'a person who belongs to another ethnic group', 'a person who belongs to another nation', 'some races' and 'some nationalities'. It was thought that the use of many different terms was important for conceptual validity. The term 'immigrant' was not used because it was obvious that this term has different meanings in different countries. Russia consists historically of many nations but Finland and Estonia are historically more homogenous. In Estonia, for example, there has been a large Russian minority since the Soviet era and it is quite difficult to say if they are 'immigrants' or not. Correspondingly, in Russia mainly, people are called 'immigrants' who have moved to Russia

from outside of the geographical area of the former Soviet Union. Anyway, it is now possible to call people who originate from the former states of the Soviet Union 'immigrants' if they move to Russia.

The questionnaire was constructed to aim at the identification of the attitudes of young people towards foreign people, cultures and races. In addition to this, attention was also paid to attitudes towards the respondents' own ethnicity; their ethnic identity, ethnocentrism and solidarity. The three basic components of attitudes – the cognitive component, the affective component and the action relative component – were borne in mind when the questionnaire was constructed. There are variables for each component. Former studies of ethnic attitudes were reckoned into the process of operationalization, especially by Liebkind (1994, 2000) and Puuronen (2001, 2006). The questionnaire is not based on any particular theory. It was constructed with regard to the special characteristics of the three countries and the aim was to make a questionnaire that is viable in each of the three countries and suitable for comparative analysis.

The term 'ethnocentrism' is connected with the tendency to measure foreign cultures by one's own cultural yardstick. It is important to distinguish between 'ethnocentrism' and 'positive cultural identity' but it is difficult to say of which people's ethnic pride consists. According to Valk (2012) 'cultural identity' consists of two aspects, ethnic pride and a feeling of belonging, which both belong to the affective component of ethnic attitudes. From the point of view of measuring these concepts the challenge of conceptual validity is connected with the double-meaning of ethnic pride. In our questionnaire this problem was faced by distinguishing between the cognitive, affective and behavioural components of ethnic attitudes when making variables that concern ethnocentrism.

In the questionnaire some variables (the sub-areas A and B) deal with views on ethnic issues in society and social life in general, and some (the sub-areas C and D) with ethnic attitudes at a more personal level. In practice these two levels are closely related to each other. At the general level the attitudes apply to multicultural society and comparison of the characteristics of races, nationalities and ethnic groups. The personal level variables are focused more on attitudes at the grass roots level of private life. Ethnocentrism, racism and attitudes of tolerance or intolerance towards foreigners can be identified in both levels.

4. Data collection

In each of the three countries the data was collected in schools using a school class-based cluster sampling method. The respondents were aged 14 to 16.

In all countries the population of potential respondents was localized in one middle-sized city of each country. In the first stage of sampling, the participating schools were chosen and, in the second phase, the participating school classes were selected in each chosen school. The procedures were not completely randomized in either phases but the schools and school classes, by and large, represented the population of potential respondents in all countries. Every individual pupil of the selected school classes belonged to the sample and they, per se, filled out the questionnaire during a school period.

In Finland the data collection was carried out in the city of Kuopio, in spring 2008 (in four school classes of one school) and in autumn 2008 (in four school classes of one school and five school classes of another school); altogether there were 135 respondents. The Finnish sample is not necessarily representative, due to the difficulties of organizing the permission of the parents and the problem of simultaneous activities for pupils in the school at the time of data collection. However, the Finnish data is valid enough for analysis of the characteristics of the questionnaire together with the data from Estonia and Russia.

In Estonia the data was collected in 2008 in the southern part of the country. The sample was 463 respondents, most of them (203 respondents) from the city of Tartu. In the Estonian data 235 respondents were from nine Estonian-speaking schools and 228 respondents from three Russian-speaking schools. This enabled the comparison of these two groups of young people. It is

important to mention that there can be pupils from different nationalities in all schools and that there are Russian-background pupils in Estonian-speaking schools.
In Russia the data was collected in the autumn of 2008 from two schools in the city of Pskov and from a school of the small town of Opochka, in the Pskov region. The whole sample consists of 201 respondents, mostly of Russian ethnicity (96%).
In both Estonia and Russia the data collection was more successful than in Finland and certainly produced valid and representative data. In Estonia and Russia, virtually all respondents who belonged to the sample completed the questionnaire but in Finland, only part of them. It was not possible to make an exact loss analysis of the Finnish data but it is possible that the data was not representative.

5. Data analysis

The three country-specific data were joined together and analysed using an SPSS programme. Comparative analyses were done from the point of view considering the quality of the measuring instrument. The statistical results were analysed and discussed by researchers in detail from the point of view of the question of what they tell us about the characteristics of the questionnaire.
The data analysis and knowledge production concerning the ethnic attitudes of young people in the three countries in question aimed at processing and refining the questionnaire and producing a better understanding of the theoretical, lingual and technical points involved in measuring ethnic attitudes. Conclusions were made on the basis of deviations and resolutions of the variables, as well as factor analysis and comparative observations based on differences in means and standard deviations between the three countries.
The data was analysed using Principal Component Analysis (PCA) in all five thematic sections (A–E) of the questionnaire. The main aim was to make the information tighter with a view to the development of the questionnaire. PCA made it possible to identify the main dimensions of the ethnic attitudes of young people in the countries involved in the study. These were called principal components (PCs). Concerning the improvement of the questionnaire, conclusions were made about the features of the measuring instrument in relation to the main dimensions of ethnic attitudes.
PCA brought out clear structures of the PCs in all thematic sections (A–E). Only part A needed to be worked on during the analysis process. The PCs explained the joint variance relatively well. It also showed how individual variables related to each other and helped to identify somehow problematic individual variables.

6. Findings

6.1 PCA of the whole data

At first, the reliability of questioning of the thematic sections (A–E) was considered using Cronbach's alpha. This showed that the questioning was somehow inadequate and must be improved, in particular in section A (which deals with "General insights into different nationalities") and in section B (which is about "Living in a multicultural community"). The other thematic sections (C–E) were above the lowest approval level and could be accepted to the PCA.
The PCA based on the whole data showed that many variables of the questionnaire inter-correlated across the sections. PCA produced 13 main components that explained 58.6% of the total variance (Table 2). The components were named with the help of the literature. Table 2 shows clearly that "Interest in other cultures and nationalities" was the strongest explanation for the variance of variables. The explaining power of other PCs was relatively low, but their eigenvalues were relevant. From the point of view of the interpretation of data, the most interesting point is that the factor that expresses positive ethnicity has the most significant position in the data.

Table 2: The PCs in the whole data

PC	**Eigenvalue**	**Explanatory% of total variance**	**Cumulative %**
Interest in other cultures and nationalities	12.3	22.3	22.3
Distrust of foreigners	3.64	6.7	29.0
Parents' rejecting ethnic attitudes	2.32	4.3	33.3
National self-respect	2.13	3.9	37.3
Ethnic equality	1.66	3.1	40.3
Multiculturalism	1.55	2.9	43.2
Racial prejudice	1.50	2.8	46.0
The emotional aspect of ethnic identity	1.37	2.5	48.5
Parents' sympathy towards ethnic equality	1.22	2.3	50.8
Racial 'purity'	1.13	2.1	52.9
The inequality of religions	1.09	2.0	54.9
Cultural assimilation and lingual integration	1.04	1.9	56.8
The right to speak mother tongue	1.03	1.9	58.7

The PCA of the united data provided a holistic picture of the main features of the nature of the data concerning the PCs of ethnic attitudes. "Interest in other cultures and nationalities" explained 22% of the total variance. The most important variable was about general orientation towards ethnicity. The proportions of other variables varied between 2–7% and they cannot be used to explain variables as such. Together, all 13 PCs explain 59% of the total variance.

6.2 Section-specific PCAs – the First Round

In the chronologically first phase the PCA was focused on each thematic section separately (Table 3).

Table 3: The PCs in PCA of the first round

PC	Eigenvalue	Explanatory % of total variance	Cumulative %
A 1. The equality of races	2.77	30,7	30.7
A 2. The 'superiority' of some races	1.65	18.3	49.0
A 3. The equality of religions	0.93	10.3	59.3
B 1. Ethnic and cultural equality	2.84	23.7	23.7
B 2. The right to speak mother tongue	1.55	13.0	36.6
B 3. Cultural assimilation and lingual integration	1.26	10.5	47.1
B 4. Ethnocentrism	0.97	8.1	55.2
C 1. Distrust of foreigners	5.93	39.6	39.6
C 2. Interaction with foreigners	1.42	9.5	49.0
C 3. Ethnocentrism in marriage	1.13	7.6	56.6
D 1. The 'superiority' of one's own nation and culture	3.71	30.9	30.9
D 2. Interest in other cultures and nationalities	1.96	16.3	47.2
D 3. The emotional aspect of ethnic identity	1.36	11.3	58.6
E 1. Belief that parents distrust people with foreign ethnicity	2.94	49.1	49.1
E 2. Belief that parents trust people with foreign ethnicity	1.40	23.3	72.4

Three PCs were identified in the thematic section A ("An overview of different nations"): 1. The equality of races, 2. The 'superiority' of some races, and 3. The equality of religions. The most

important variable refers to the attitude towards the equality of all races, while the upper concept in the whole data was an interest in nations and ethnicities.
Four PCs were identified in the thematic section B ("Attitude towards multiculturalism in society"): 1. Ethnic and cultural equality, 2. The right to speak mother tongue, 3. Cultural assimilation and lingual integration, and 4. Ethnocentrism. Also in this section, positive expressions of attitudes proved more important than negative ones. Lingual integration is not clearly positive or negative.
Three PCs were identified in the thematic section C ("The personal level"): 1. Distrust of foreigners, 2. Interaction with foreigners and 3. Ethnocentrism in marriage. In this section the most important dimensions express negative attitudes. Avoidance of other races is a form of "hidden racism".
Three PCs were identified also in the thematic section D ("Ethnocentrism"): 1. The 'superiority' of one's own nation and culture, 2. Interest in other cultures and nationalities and 3. The emotional aspect of ethnic identity. The belief in the superiority of one's own culture was the most important factor of ethnocentrism. Because there is no objective justification for this attitude in reality, this attitude expresses a negative attitude towards others. Its explanatory rate is relatively high, 31 percent of the total variance within this section. Anyway, ethnocentrism in general can also refer to a positive national identity without negative attitudes towards other nationalities and cultures.
Two PCs were found in the thematic section E ("The beliefs of young people of parents' ethnic attitudes"): 1. Belief that parents don't trust in people with foreign ethnicity, and 2. Belief that parents trust in people with foreign ethnicity. The first one of these factors essentially explains more of the total variance within this section.

6.3 Section-specific PCA – the Second Round

In the second round of section-specific PCA, varimax rotation was used in all thematic sections. Only the PCs which got a high enough value of reliability according to Cronbach's alpha were selected. The critical value of Cronbach's alpha was decided to be 0.60, and most of the accepted PCs had values much over this. The findings are expressed in Table 4.

Table 4: The PCs in second round PCA

PC	Eigenvalue	Explanatory % of total variance	Cumulative %
A 1. The equality of races, nationalities and religions	2.56	32.0	32.0
A 2. The 'superiority' of some races, nationalities and religions	1.64	20.5	52.5
B 1. Multiculturalism	2.84	23.7	23.7
B 2. The right to speak mother tongue	1.55	13.0	36.6
B 3. Cultural assimilation and lingual integration	1.26	10.5	47.1
B 4. Ethnocentrism	0.97	8.1	55.2
C 1. Suspiciousness of foreign ethnicity	5.93	39.6	39.6
C 2. Openness towards people with foreign ethnicity	1.42	9.5	49.0
C 3. Ethnocentrism in marriage	1.13	7.6	56.6
D 1. The 'superiority' of one's nation and culture	3.71	30.9	30.9
D 2. Interest in other cultures and nationalities	1.95	16.3	47.2
D 3. The emotional aspect of ethnic identity	1.36	11.3	58.6
E 1. Belief that parents distrust people with foreign ethnicity	2.94	49.1	49.1
E 2. Belief that parents trust people with foreign ethnicity	1.40	23.3	72.4

In the thematic section A ("An overview of nationalities") a new PCA was made using varimax rotation but without the variable "The mixing of races should be avoided". The reason for this was that the variable concerned was difficult to interpret due to its negative load. It was also difficult to define how it relates to other variables of the first principal component of this section. Also

the communality of this variable was low. The value of Cronbach's alpha for the first principal component was 0.68 and of the second one 0.67. Both were over the critical value of a sigma variable (0.60) and were saved in an SPSS file for the further development of the questionnaire.
In the thematic section A the "fixed" solution of two PCs was used. In the thematic sections B–E the structure of PCs was very similar to the results of the first round. Even the explaining rates of the individual PCs of the total variance of thematic sections were very similar. Anyway, some PCs were renamed. The new names are interpreted on the basis of the combination of variables that formed the main content of each principal component, paying attention to the variable-specific loads.
The suitability of thematic sections for PCA was tested, using the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin test and Bartlett test in terms (method: maximum likelihood; rotation: direct oblimin; Table 5). In the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin test the critical value 0.60 was used and in Bartlett test the statistical significance.

Table 5: The suitability of the thematic sections for PCA

Thematic section	The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy	Bartlett´s test (df)	Approx. Chi-Square	Sig. (p <)
A	0.75	36	1461.04	0.000
B	0.76	66	1385.79	0.000
C	0.92	105	4737.61	0.000
D	0.84	66	2534.25	0.000
E	0.64	15	2132.06	0.000

The PCA of the united data provided a holistic picture of the main features of the nature of the data concerning the PCs of ethnic attitudes. "Interest in other cultures and nationalities" explained 22% of the total variance. The most important variable was about general orientation towards ethnicity. The explaining proportions of other variables varied between 2–7% and they cannot be used as explaining variables as such. All 13 PCs together explain 59% of the total variance.
The tests showed that there was a firm ground for section-specific PCAs. The second round provided the grounds for selection of the most reliable components based on Cronbach's alpha, which is one of the most used traditional methods for the definition of reliability. In the third round of section-specific PCA only some details were worked on in order to improve the explaining power of individual PCs. The names of the PCs remained unaltered.

6.4 Applications for developing measurement
PCAs showed the main dimensions of ethnic attitudes in the whole data and in the section-specific contexts. They revealed the variables that had the highest resolution. These variables played the most important role in refining the structure and content of the questionnaire.
On the basis of PCA it was possible to analyze the multidimensional nature of ethnic attitudes. Attention was paid to the one-dimensional as well as two-dimensional concepts. For example, the PC called "The emotional aspect of ethnic identity" proved to be one-dimensional in nature, consisting of positive and negative parts, whereas communication with other races was shown to be divided into two dimensions "Avoiding other races" and "Interaction with other races". A similar two-dimensionality can also be found for example in the PCs "The equality of races" and "The 'superiority' of some races". This shows that it is important to include in the questionnaire the variables for opposite aspects (both positive and negative) of this kind of expression of attitudes.
The analyses showed that the questionnaire is relatively comprehensive for measuring ethnic attitudes. It seems to be relevant and useful for multivariable analyses. However, the reliability measured using Cronbach's alpha was quite low in every thematic section that shows that the instrument needs to be improved. Especially thematic section A proved needing of attention. The

other four sections were close to the lowest value of acceptance. Improvements can be done by dropping out all the variables which do not correlate strongly enough with the other variables of an individual thematic section or on the basis of a variable's low eigenvalue.
The heterogeneity of the respondents of the three countries is hard to manage in a reliable way in a study on ethnic attitudes. Common to all three countries is the increase of opportunities for contact with people from foreign countries. There is also more and more information about different countries available. But there are also differences between the three countries. The borders of Finland have been open for a much longer time than those of post-socialist Estonia and Russia. In Estonia interaction with foreign countries has increased very rapidly after becoming independent. In this sense the background of the respondents concerning ethnic issues differ decisively in the different countries in terms of the social and cultural living conditions. However, the ethnic attitudes are also shaped by country-specific national mentality, culture and traditions.

7. Comparative considerations

Although the Finnish data was not necessarily representative due to the problems of sampling, some comparative considerations were made. The comparative analysis showed that there are significant differences between young Finnish, Estonian and Russian people concerning ethnic attitudes (Table 6). The discoveries did not bring any essential information for improving the measuring instrument, nor for the methodological examinations of measuring young people's ethnic attitudes from a comparative and cross-national perspective in general.

Table 6: The ethnic attitudes of young people. The PC's mean scores. Analysis of variance. N = 890–892, df 2

PC	Finland	Estonia	Russia	F	sig.
A 1. The equality of races, nationalities and religions	2.56	32.0	32.0	10.24	0.000
A 2. The 'superiority' of some races, nationalities and religions	1.64	20.5	52.5	39.44	0.000
B 1. Multiculturalism	2.84	23.7	23.7	0.267	0.766
B 2. The right to speak mother tongue	1.55	13.0	36.6	5.79	0.003
B 3. Cultural assimilation and lingual integration	1.26	10.5	47.1	11.65	0.000
B 4. Ethnocentrism	0.97	8.1	55.2	9.82	0.000
C 1. Suspiciousness of foreign ethnicity	5.93	39.6	39.6	10.47	0.000
C 2. Openness towards people with foreign ethnicity	1.42	9.5	49.0	12.05	0.000
C 3. Ethnocentrism in marriage	1.13	7.6	56.6	11.34	0.000
D 1. The 'superiority' of the own nation and culture	3.71	30.9	30.9	46.07	0.000
D 2. Interest in other cultures and nationalities	1.95	16.3	47.2	26.47	0.000
D 3. The emotional aspect of ethnic identity	1.36	11.3	58.6	12.97	0.000
E 1. Belief that parents distrust people with foreign ethnicity	2.94	49.1	49.1	7.53	0.001
E 2. Belief that parents trust people with foreign ethnicity	1.40	23.3	72.4	4.58	0.01

The resolution of the measuring instrument proved to be very good in the dimensions that were identified on the basis of PCA. This shows that there are grounds to construct the indicator of young people's ethnic attitudes on the basis of these components.

8. Discussion

The most critical methodological point of cross-national studies on people's ethnic attitudes concerns the meanings of the terms used. This is not only a lingual question but it is also about the history of an individual country, shaped by country-specific cultural and political factors. In order to make a commensurate questionnaire, relevant for comparisons between individual countries, it is necessary to pay attention to the fact that people understand the meanings of the key words relating to ethnic attitudes in different ways in different countries.

A central lingual problem is that it is unclear who is a 'foreigner'. This problem is about the unclear criteria of the term. Potential criteria are ethnicity, the length of time spent living in the country in question, and the official position of citizenship. Due to the fact that people have different understandings of the term, it is very difficult to construct a questionnaire that is commensurate to all potential respondents. This problem does not only concern the countries that were considered in this study but is common in all corresponding comparative studies. This also applies to other terms relevant to the topic, such as 'nationality', 'citizenship' and 'ethnicity'.

Another critical point is that it makes a difference to speak about ethnic attitudes thinking people who live as migrants in a society that a person experiences to be her/his own or to speak about ethnic attitudes towards people who live far off, in countries that are foreign from their point of view. This point is very relevant to the concept and measuring of ethnocentrism. It causes confusion if ethnocentrism is confused with xenophobia. Therefore it is important to distinguish these two concepts in a questionnaire measuring ethnic attitudes. Concerning national identity ethnocentrism can be seen in terms of positive ethnic self-image without disdain for other nationalities and ethnic groups.

The study showed that it is important to distinguish between the emotional, cognitive and behavioural components of attitudes because people tend to consider ethnic elements, both the qualities of their own nation and the features of foreign people, in essentially different ways for different components. For example, the cognitive experience of the excellence of one's own nation is based on facts and ethical principles but the emotional dimension is for the most part separated from facts and based mostly on feelings. The behavioural component is connected with both the cognitive and emotional ones, but there are also other important factors that shape people's behaviour. The differences between components concern both attitudes towards both one's own and foreign ethnicity.

Actually, the three components of attitude are closely interrelated and it is difficult the view them independently. On the basis of the study it seems that the emotional dimension dominates in ethnic attitudes. The emotional aspect of attitudes is decisively rooted in people's personal life histories, especially their early childhoods, and connected with personal psychological characteristics. From the point of view of cross-national comparison the nation-specific cultural traditions also play an important role. The cognitive attitudes are mostly produced by introduction, in other words information transmitted through education and the media, but this is not separated from the formation of emotional attitudes because the formation of people's emotions is also connected with education and the media.

The terminological confusion turned out to be a very difficult area in this study. The study showed that it is very important to consider the meanings of terms in their country-specific contexts in order to avoid misinterpretation. This also concerns theoretical concepts. For example, the term 'ethnocentrism', when used as an emotional attitude, can be an expression of a hostile attitude towards people from other nations, but it can be also be an expression of self-respect and love of one's country without hostility towards others. Correspondingly, in the areas of cognitive and behavioural attitudes, the concept of 'ethnocentrism' is complex. Unwillingness to interact with foreign people does not necessarily express hostility or negative attitudes towards them but rather it expresses a person's own uncertainty and insecurity.

On the basis of the empirical analysis it seems that an adequate distinguishing factor is especially

an interest in other nations and cultures. This dimension is about a positive attitude without any particular lingual inconsistency. The questionnaire worked rather well concerning the process of compressing the data first into PCs and second operating with the most reliable components. The cognitive dimension of ethnic attitudes proved to be more reliable (or less inconsistent) than the emotional and behavioural parts.

Ethnic attitudes are a very sensible topic for research because the meanings of the key terms are connected with people's fundamental moral and political rights. The results of studies can easily be misused for different political interests. The terminological challenges do not only concern the conceptual validity of the questionnaire and data but also the interpretations of results. There can be more or less intentional or accidental misunderstandings connected with different ethical and political views. Because the topic essentially deals with human dignity and other significant ethical and political values, it is very important that the measuring instruments used in cross-national studies of ethnic attitudes are very carefully constructed and that the data collection and the data analysis are well controlled.

The examination focusing on the challenges of measuring ethnic attitudes provides an analysis of the conceptual complexity of the ethnic issues, which can also be considered beneficial for social work dealing with ethnic issues/questions. The identification of the key factors of ethnic attitudes is useful for theory-building concerning work with people from a multitude of ethnic backgrounds. The analysis showed what a significant role lingual factors play in the field of ethnic issues. The demand for terminological sophistication and sensibility applies both to research workers and practitioners. Providing information about the basic dimensions of ethnic attitudes, this study contributes to appropriate research, education and practice.

Knowledge about different ethnic-related attitudes, perceptions and behaviours helps to develop relevant methods for practical work with individuals and groups from different ethnic backgrounds. It offers, for its part, material to practitioners to meaningfully design their work. By bringing out the central elements of ethnic attitudes and paying attention to the difficulty of measuring them, the study specified conceptual coordinates which are relevant and needed for proper reflections on ethnic-related questions both in research and practical work.

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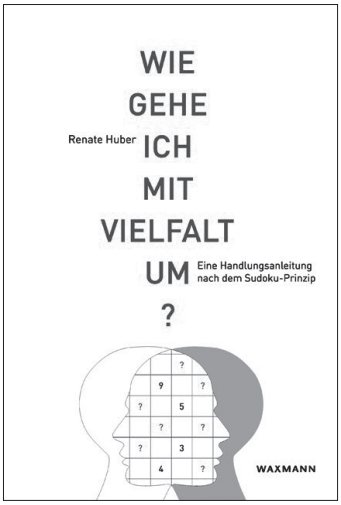
Renate Huber: **Wie gehe ich mit Vielfalt um? Eine Handlungsanleitung nach dem Sudoku-Prinzip.** Münster (u.a.): Waxmann, 2013.

Subject

This book links two issues of daily relevance but operating within entirely different areas of studies: Sudoku: a mathematical number riddle relating to logic, and diversity: a highly complex societal issue of living in a pluralistic, global world changed by continual migration of people and goods. In its title the author formulates: "How do I cope with diversity? An approach according to the principles of Sudoku." The author draws the conclusion to use Sudoku as a metaphor for strictly logical thinking combined with creativity and intuition. This connection is demonstrated using a tight structural framework to provide practice related strategies supported by scientific knowledge without delivering imbalanced "how to" recipes. In the first part of the book she selects nine topics reflecting the nine fields of Sudoku that she views as relevant for further analysis: Language, Religion, 'Skin Colour', Nationality/ Ethnicity, Gender/Sex, Generation, Milieu/Class, Sexual Orientation and Individual/Collective (p. 15). She then provides practical intervention strategies mainly relating to a systemic solution-focussed way of enhancing communication in a diverse society.



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Huber Renate is a teacher and a historian. She holds a PhD in Cultural Studies from the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. She currently manages her own freelance agency and webpage (www.renatehuber.at), where a more detailed CV including her various experiences are provided. Her areas of research are: Identity and Biography, Migration, Diversity, Gender and Cultural Studies and Languages.

Content

The book is clearly structured: an introductive chapter, followed by two main parts. Firstly, "Nine Diversities – drawers in the filing cabinet" outlining the main categories of diversity including an overview of relevant knowledge. Secondly, some selected intervention strategies are discussed concerning communication issues dealing with diversity including coping with irritations, changes of perspective, etc. The book concludes with a closing chapter that offers some future perspectives. Throughout the book the author emphasises the priority of effective and empathic communication where a trial and error approach is viewed as legitimate, and the theoretical background is provided through links to a systemic and solution focused communication theory.

Critical discussion

From the perspective of a social scientist it could be argued that only a historian would be in a position to take on such wide and

pluralistic issues as the major world religions, and then restrict each to a 4 page analysis. The author pays a price for this, however, with the relevant aspects occasionally appearing slightly superficial. The language and style of writing within this publication is deliberately chosen to fit both needs, those of the scientific community (including her own scientific identity) as well as those of a wide range of readers from diverse backgrounds, whilst avoiding an oversimplification of complicated issues. The question remains whether this is a courageous tactic on the part of the author considering the aims of the book or a weakness with regard to scientific standards. A positive aspect of this publication is the inclusion of various examples of the author's practical life experience. However these selectively chosen anecdotes sometimes lack scientific rigor especially with regard to highly relevant power issues that exist in a pluralistic and diverse society.

European relevance

Drawing on her personal and private experience working and researching within different European States she uses her reflections on this to provide practical but also challenging examples to back up and further deepen her analysis of various issues of diversity. Her main countries of expertise are Italy and France, two countries in which she lived and (more importantly) is fluent in the local language. This clearly enhances this publication, creating a "human" touch and allowing readers to form their own opinions.

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Social Climate of Educational Institutions and Its Determinants: Perspective of Employees and the Service Users of Youth Care Centers (MOW) and Youth Sociotherapy Centers (MOS), Łódź, Poland

From March to end of May 2014 we conducted research on the social climate and the work organization of youth sociotherapy centers (MOS) and two youth care centers (MOW) in Łódź, Poland. It was an assessment led within the educational project ""Therapy and Development"" in which three bodies were involved: three youth sociotherapy centers (MOS) and two youth care centers (MOW), the Faculty of Educational Sciences of Łódź University, Poland and partner institutions, the Jugendhaus Association (Stuttgart, Germany). The project started in January 2014 and lasts till the end of June, 2015. Its aim is to improve the potential of social inclusion of maladjusted youth under the care of MOS and MOW in Łódź. Our team of three was invited to the project to assess the current state.

The research context

MOS and MOW institutions in the system of the Polish education work on the basis of article 2.5 of the Act of 7 September, 1991 on the system of education[1].

"Youth sociotherapy centers (MOS) are dedicated to young people who, because of developmental disorders, learning disabilities and disorders in social functioning are at risk of social maladjustment and social exclusion and require special organization of teaching, working methods , education and sociotherapy[2]". In contrast, youth care centers (MOW) are for young people who are socially maladjusted, requiring special organization of teaching, working methods, education and social rehabilitation. Juveniles are placed in youth care centers solely on the basis of a court statement in accordance with the provisions of the Act on Juvenile Justice, while the placement in youth sociotherapy centres is the result of the parents and the statement of a psycho-pedagogical center who diagnose a youngster as "in need of special education".

The common feature of both MOS and MOW is primarily a formal infrastructure (boarding schools), inter-institutional organization of work (having the hallmarks of a total institution), age of service users and the required qualifications of the teaching staff. Formal differentiating features are the way of "recruitment" of service users (as a result of informal (non-judicial) and formal (judicial) reaction of social control) and are "literally" reflected in the methods of work in institutions (sociotherapy versus rehabilitation/correction). In this context, MOS is in the area of prevention, and MOW in rehabilitation/correction.

Service users of MOS and MOW are young people aged 13-18, remaining in the intellectual norm and at risk of or showing the signs of social maladjustment. A common feature of service users of

[1] Dz. U. z 2004 r. Nr 256, poz. 2572 with later changes.

[2] § 13 rozporządzenia Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z dnia 12 maja 2011 r. (Dz. U. Nr 109, poz.631).

both institutions is mostly a disorder in the course of compulsory education (school lags, truancy, and even school dropping). They have accumulated problems of school failure and additional deficits and problems in social behavior, and therefore they have little chance of a successful school career in their local schools.

The research strategy

The aim of this analysis was to characterize the climate of institutions and evaluate socio-educational support of service users.

The overall research strategy was determined by the concept of social climate understood according to M. Kopczyński as a "system of interpersonal relations and interrelation of educational and administrative staff together with other people from the closest environment[3]".

According to the diagnostic aim of the study we decided not to use standardized research techniques to aim at discovery, reconstruction of the problems and the strengths from the perspectives of both workers and end-users. However there were some elements of quantitative methodology introduced.

The main part of the empirical data came from observation in the institutions, youth (service users) semi-open interviews and educators and teachers (employees of Lodz MOS and MOW) surveys and semi-open interviews. As few educators and teachers was participating in a study visit in Germany a follow-up group discussion after coming back to Łódź was conducted as well. The focused interview became the subject of analysis as well, with a special focus on its transformative potential.

The study, the results of which are presented in the report, didn't aim at methodologically and scientifically validated wider generalizations or presentation of the overall picture of the Polish youth care and sociotherapy centres. The report just describes particular aspects of social climate of the selected institutions/settings. Hence, analysis focused more on weaknesses, barriers and imperfections or downright organizational and human mistakes what results in imbalanced picture of the functioning of these institutions.

The research process and research sample in Łódź

In all establishments covered by the research were all educational staff (educators and teachers) and service users, youth over 12 years of age[4]. In addition, the researchers were observing 'daily functioning of selected institutions.

Surveys were preceded by a pilot study conducted by the two researchers on a non-specific survey group respondents aimed at both qualitative (observation and interviews) data collection, and a research tool fine-tuning (quantitative part of the assessment).

Overall, the research covered 263 people, including 95 educational staff members (educators and teachers) and 168 service users (youth).

Description of the study in Germany

As part of the five-day study visit, representatives of Łódź institutions involved in the project (14 people) visited the centers managed by the Jugendhaus Association, a partner in Stuttgart. They participated in the activities carried out by social pedagogues in schools and non-school settings, learned about educational activities in the community, including street workers. The study visit resulted not only in the knowledge and experience gained by the participants, but also in two reports on the stay and a two-hour focused group discussion, which was attended by 10 Polish participants of the visit.

[3] M. Konopczyński, Metody twórczej resocjalizacji op. cit, p. 170.

[4] The criterion of age was dictated by the specifics of the survey

Conclusions

The social climate of the surveyed institutions occurred to be insufficient to help service users in the support of their development. The most important amongst revealed issues are:

1) The similarity of the social climate of MOS and MOW. Although these institutions have different assumed functions in the legal and social system of crime and demoralization prevention of children and youth, there is no clear differentiation of the purposes and principles of work with youth in the sociotherapy centers (MOS) and educational centers (MOW). Characterized by the same elements of coercion and intensity of communication problems, with a similar level of exclusion of service users from the process of rules negotiations, socio-educational climate remains in contradiction with the formally different nature of the two institutions - preventive (MOS) and rehabilitation (MOW).

2) The similarity of educators' and service users' attitudes to institutions. The former are characterized by a low level of satisfaction and a high sense of lack of effects of their actions and a sense of external constraints. The latter feel that their stay in the institution is punishment and have a high sense of enslavement, especially in the current organization of life in the institution as well as potential activities.

3) Defining the role of an educator and service user is a factor encouraging distortions in communication. In the profile of a professional role of an educator created in daily communication in the institution he or she appears as a person controlling, disciplining, reeducating and enforcing the execution of tasks. This image is in contradiction with the definition of educational success formulated by employees (exposing a deeper relationship with the service user, trust and the influence on the positive changes in his/her life). The study also allowed to a reconstruction of a profile of a service user's definition dominant in the awareness of employees, expressed in terms of individual disorders or negative environmental impact.

4) Failure of educational functions of leisure time. The organization of leisure time in the institution does not appear to meet the expectations of young people. Surprisingly, it is not perceived as a problem by the employees.

5) Deficit of the organizational culture of educational work. We have here in mind the problems in management of the institution identified in the process of survey. It seems that the areas requiring consideration are: team work (co-creation in defining and establishing standards of the work related to the building of a consistent educational system), the management of difference and conflict between employees, increasing a sense of community, creation of the management of individual worker's career development, generation of internal motivational system based on appreciating workers who are extraordinarily involved and valued by the service user's educators and teachers.

6) Faulty system of establishing the rules in the institution and ways of enforcing them. Erroneous assumption of the social climate system of the centers is limited participation of service users in establishing the general rules of the institution. This can risk misunderstanding, lack of acceptance or even symbolic rejection. The consequence of exclusion of service users from the formal rules' negotiation is the focus in daily education on the discipline and maintenance of order rather than work on a relationship.

7) Lack of punishment and reward strategy. In this respect we revealed the strong position of the behavioral approach. What's worse, the aberrations in this approach application by workers seem indisputable. In response to open-ended questions the service users have disclosed the forms of penalty application to be inconsistent and faulty (inconsistency and abuse or reckless use of punishment, double standards in relationships, unequal treatment, etc. 8) Lack of conflict resolution strategies.

The diagnosis showed that conflict is the main part of a daily routine of these institutions. But standards of conflicts resolutions were being built situationally.

8) Service user abuse by educators. From our point of view it is the most disturbing issue and

it requires drastic changes. It should be understood, however, in close relation to the culture deficit of educational work organization, establishing rules in centers without the participation of service users, lack of common punishment and reward strategies and negligence of leisure time organization.
Conclusions drawn from the assessment began the reflection on the needed changes. Their conceptualization and implementation are in the process now. Partial results will be reported in July, 2015. As the scope and range of problems occurred are quite serious the project will be continued in a different organizational form.

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A Doctoral Dissertation of Social Work Approved at the University of Eastern Finland

Kinni, Riitta-Liisa 2014. *Gerontological Social Work and People-Processing. Categorization in the Multi-professional Work in a Hospital.* Publications of the University of Eastern Finland. Dissertations in Social Sciences and Business Studies No 92. (Written in Finnish with an English abstract).
The hospital organisation processes the social identities of the people who enter as customers by categorising them, for example, according to their service needs. Gerontological social work is one of the categorising processes in the multi-professional contexts of geriatric work.
The study is attached, in particular, to the field of gerontological social work and health social work research, but it is also connected with well-being service research.
The study seeks to answer the following questions: 1. How do the members of a multi-professional team categorise an elderly rehabilitee, and how does the rehabilitee categorise herself, particularly in regard to the need for further treatment? 2. Who are the actors whose cultural resources enable decision-making action in the social order of a hospital institution? 3. How can the participation of gerontological social work in the decision-making of multi-professional work and service needs assessment be structured using the concept of people-processing?
The study is a case study consisting of the interviews of an elderly (female over the age of 80) rehabilitee, hospitalised as a result of a hip fracture, and the members of the multi-professional team that attended to her. The multi-professional team comprised a social worker, a physiotherapist, a medical doctor, a nurse and a practical nurse. Methodologically, the study is a discursive category study based on social constructionism and ethnomethodology. The interview material was processed using membership categorisation analysis (MCA).
The study demonstrates that health care professionals and the doctor in particular became decision-

making actors in the group under examination. Gerontological social work was not a very strong actor in comparison to other professions in the case studied. Significant for social work is that the social worker speaks in a customer-oriented fashion. The knowledge of the social worker and the rehabilitee herself, however, are only of marginal significance in the decision-making concerning service needs and further care. The categorising aspect of social work consists mostly of social security and service system knowhow.

The study raises the question of what kind of tools social work should develop and use in order to have something significant to contribute to multi-professional geriatric work and to elderly customers. The ethical expertise of social work can be in conflict with the people-processing conducted in accordance with the organisation's aims and operational policy. This may manifest itself in the manner in which situation and service needs assessment is done in the lives of elderly people. For example, it is difficult to measure the amount of loneliness and insecurity and demonstrate the need for services to alleviate them with measurable results. Many social work assessments require professional consideration in matters that are not measurable. Social work is based on factors related to people's social dimension, which are not necessarily visible in a health care organisation in such a way that they can be taken into account when making decisions about the patient's affairs.

The study constructs a theoretical structuring of people-processing in multi-professional work. It can be used to study the status and action of gerontological social work in different contexts. The structuring can also be applied to the implementation of, for example, geriatric policy aims in organisations.

The study shows that it is difficult to attain the complete holism of the multi-professional ideal in assessing a person's situation. Organisations exist for a particular purpose, and their operation requires the selective consideration of the person entering as a customer. However, trying to facilitate a person's actorship as far as possible is always a desirable aim. The development of gerontological social work requires social-gerontological knowledge and knowhow of multi-professional work. Social work should make the social visible, and define it with adequate clarity, so that the contents of gerontological social work can be utilised in service needs assessment. The elderly should be allowed to take part in making decisions regarding themselves and in varied activities within the service system. The social workers' responsibility is to act in such a manner that the significance of gerontological social work becomes clear to the elderly customers and the members of the multi-professional team.

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- to support the ability of Czech and Slovak societies to cope with life problems of people through social work,
- to promote the quality of social work and professionalism of social work practice,
- to contribute to the development of social work as a scientific discipline and to the improvement of the quality of education in social work,
- to promote the interests of social service providers and users

In the interest of achieving these objectives, the Journal will, across the community of social workers and with co-operating and helping workers from other disciplines, promote:

- attitudes which regard professionalism and humanity as equal criteria of social work quality;
- attitudes which place emphasis on linking theoretical justification of social work practice with its practical orientation on clients' problems and realistic possibilities;
- coherence among all who are committed to addressing clients' problems through social work;
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