

# Changes and New directions in Human Services

Elisabeth Berg editor  
Second edition



# *Changes and New directions in Human Services*

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## Preface

This Conference, organised jointly by Staffordshire University, the University of East London and the University of Luleå, have so far provided a forum for policy, organisational and multidisciplinary critical analyses of the dilemmas facing the organisation and delivery of health, housing, education, social services and the human services generally. The theme of the conference 2010 was Changes and new directions in Human services. Change has been a leitmotif of the Human Services and the Public sector more generally in recent years; and whilst it is an aspect of all organizational, social political and economic life, it has been especially rapid and far reaching in the human services, exuberated by the turbulence and fall-out from the present to initiate further change in new directions. We accordingly invited papers that examine the responses of public, private and voluntary sector organisations and governments in tackling the contemporary problems facing human services related to the changes and new directions in service delivery and organisational effectiveness (locally, regionally and globally), as well as ethical and gender issues concerning access to labour market, equity and quality of service. This years Dilemmas Conference presents a selection of short papers from the conference. The articles highlight the changes and potential directions of society where wealth is undergoing a shift towards more explicitly neo-liberal society, where the private market takes over part of what has previously been state and local government responsibility which has consequences for people who are in need of social services. These changes affect the welfare state actors in organizations such as education, social work and also affect the employability of the general, and over time these changes can have significant consequences for welfare and social rights. Three of these articles, “The Financial Meltdown and the Crisis of Reproduction: Imaginations of Performance, Participation and Social Justice” by Brigitte Aulenbacher and Birgit Riegraf, Vision: A Source of Innovation, Illusion or Social Control? by Kazem Chaharbaghi and Support and service for persons with intellectual disabilities: A study of changes and consequences in Finland and Sweden 1990 – 2010 Barbro Blomberg, Lena Widerlund, Anne-Marie Lindqvist have been published in a special issue in a Swedish journal called *Socialvetenskaplig Tidskrift* 2010 3-4, Vol 1. These articles have been published in Swedish in longer versions except for Kazem Chaharbaghis’ article which are the same article however in English in this Dilemmas proceedings.



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# The Financial Meltdown and the Crisis of Reproduction: Imaginations of Performance, Participation and Social Justice<sup>1</sup>

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## **Introduction**

State interventions were an integral part of the fordist era of the capitalist society. In the 1990s market forces instead of the state were expected to take care of the necessary balance between economic and social issues and to diminish the socio-political conflicts. This development still affects fundamental questions of societal reproduction: It seeks not at least an answer to questions such as to what extent, in which way and with which intention individual and common welfare should be administered from public funds and who is eligible for it. This paper begins with a look at the history of Fordism until the financial crisis (2.). The next subject is the rationalizing of public welfare (3.). This will be followed by an outline of the contemporary situation in care and social work (4.). This leads onto a reflection about notions of performance and social justice (5.). All is summarized in a conclusion (6.).

## **From Fordism to Finance Capitalism**

Societal development from the 1950s to the mid-1970s represented a chapter that stands out from the previous and subsequent capitalist development of Western Europe (Castel 2000). In particular, the reform-oriented period from the end of the 1960s until the mid-1970s was characterised by high levels of investment in the public sector, which were financed from public revenue on the basis of a stable, growth-oriented development of the economy and employment figures which allowed broad segments of society to participate in education and further social welfare benefits. At the same time it was calculated within this model of the welfare state that families, and especially the more or less employed women, would provide services that could therefore be neglected by the public purse. This configuration, consisting of normal employment, family and the welfare state, including the embedded gender arrangements, was indeed specific to Fordism. However, it was variously organized in different west European countries. (see Aulenbacher/Riegraf 2009; Kohlmorgen 2004; Negt 2001)

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<sup>1</sup> Another version of this article has been published in Socialvetenskaplig Tidskrift Nr 3-4 vol 17 2010 "Välfärdsstaten och det ekonomiska sammanbrottet: Föreställningar om prestation, deltagande och social rättvisa 233-245.

The 'liberal', 'social democratic' and 'conservative' models and modifications were linked by Gosta Esping-Andersen (1990) to specific ideas of social justice: justice based on performance in the 'liberal' model, justice based on participation in the 'conservative' model and justice based on needs in the 'social democratic' model. Under state-imposed socialism 'guarantees' for safeguarding existence were reported for work, provision of housing, medical care, support assistance etc., which at least were imagined to reach all members of society (see Beer/Chalupsky 1993). The fordist configuration of normal employment, nuclear family and welfare state has been changing in two stages since the mid-1970s:

The first stage dates from the mid-1970s to the end of the 1980s. It can be described as a 'crisis of erosion' (Negt 2001): In the context of economic dynamics a gradual subversion of normal employment in favor of flexible and atypical occupations can be observed. Expanded access to education for women, their increasing gainful employment and their formal legal equality led, in conjunction with other processes, to the loss of the normative power of the family and its institutional stability and cleared the way for a variety of different lifestyles to emerge. Neither of these developments left the welfare state, with its revenues and tasks, out of the picture as this was still predominantly a phase of welfare state expansion (see Kohlmorgen 2004).

Inspired by regulation theory, the second stage has been diagnosed as 'capitalism of the financial market'. This phase dates from the collapse of the state-imposed socialism and has also abandoned the previously-mentioned welfare state configuration and hence accompanied the opening up of the global economic area. This stage is denoted by Klaus Dörre and Ulrich Brinkmann (2005: 99ff) as representing a fundamental breach with Fordism. Unlike in the fordist model of prosperity where real-economic development, for example in the form of the credit service sector, was supported financially in a way that ensured its existence, this phase of the capitalist financial market is marked by a separation of the financial and real economies. Forms of short-term profits, for example via shareholder value or hedge funds jeopardise real-economic property and thus employment stability.

This development is significant for public welfare with considerable intensification since the 1990s: the welfare state is confronted with decreasing revenues and increasing duties (see Castel 2000, 2003).

Following the financial crisis, and during the course of its treatment by state interventions in the financial and real economies, this tendency has been further increased insofar as the public sector, and especially public subsistence welfare, is now the area that is supposed to balance the national budget through economising measures. This development is part of a far-reaching societal tendency, which can be framed as a crisis of subsistence. This means that private and public

subsistence welfare, including self-care, are devalued compared to economic interests and pushed to the limits of their viability, with the result that the issues of individual and common welfare and social care as a whole are threatened (see Aulenbacher 2009).

### **Public Welfare in Accordance with New Public Management**

At the latest in the 1990s all OECD countries orientated themselves towards a reorganisation of the public sector in accordance with the principles of New Public Management (see Riegraf 2007). The intensified introduction of market and economic mechanisms is supposed to provide societal public goods – at least by the idea – more cheaply, in higher quality and in a more service-friendly way than was possible by means of state-operated bureaucratic organisation and control mechanisms. Programmes of privatisation, the establishment of competition between commercial or contract management point to a redrawing of welfare state supply models (see Riegraf/Kuhlmann/Theobald 2009). Meanwhile, these developments have also reached social providers in the third sector, such as social agencies, which are involved to varying extents in the securing of public welfare and social care. Associated with these processes of rationalisation and reorganisation is a far-reaching redistribution of welfare work between the market, the state and the third sector. Furthermore, this is reflected in private households which also organise care in a new way (see Aulenbacher 2007; Aulenbacher/Riegraf 2009).

Orientation towards the fordist model of normal employment conditions and the family, consisting of a male breadwinner and housewife, has yielded in all OECD countries in favour of an orientation towards the Adult-Worker Model (see Lutz 2010). Equally different as the division of labour between market, family and state was organised in each country is now performed the change in the treatment of concerns of welfare. Regardless of differences of countries, the tendency is clear that welfare and care in the competition-orientated Adult-Worker Model is ensured by targeted individual payments or, as the flipside of a lack of support, new, half-private, and sometimes illegal benefits and support forms are mobilised or at least tolerated (see Lutz 2010; Metz-Göckel et al. 2008).

The orientation of the welfare state towards the Adult-Worker Model corresponds to a new understanding of state. Priority is given to the ‘activating’ welfare state with its concept of the ‘active citizen’, who carries the responsibility to work for social benefits by personal contribution or to give them up. Behind the scenes, this implies the ‘de-activation’ of individuals who are seen as not capable or who cannot achieve active citizenship any more. This as a fundamental turning away from the Keynesian welfare state of Fordism, insofar as the new competition state cannot, and is not expected to, fulfil the former’s designated function of politically balancing conflicting

economic and social interests and of regulating conflicts. Societal problems and conflicts have been shifted instead to individuals and finally processed by their 'subjectivisation' (Lessenich 2009: 165ff).

### **Care and Social Work between Economisation, Decreasing Professionalisation and New Professionalisation**

The social developments reconstructed up to this point, and also those in the public sector, can be illustrated by the ways in which care and social work have been reorganised and reshaped.

Both areas of employment encompass tradition-rich fields of public welfare that are remarkable in terms of rationalisation, the division of labour between the genders and their professionalisation. Castel (2000) has traced endeavours at rationalisation in these areas back to before the time of industrialisation. First it was just a statistical census to count the recipients of care, later it was about the organisational configuration of these areas of employment. Both originated furthermore as work areas for women. While the area of care work became established as semi-professional, social work reported earlier processes of professionalisation. Whereas care work largely remained as a female profession, social work is an area for both genders although it is at the same time afflicted by gender differences and gender hierarchies in the distribution of managerial positions as well as areas of responsibility.

Endeavours at rationalisation but also its critique accompanied the development. The reform era in the 1960s and continued to evolve during the 1970s, reflected the critique of the concepts of care and social work that had been pursued up until that time. Concepts that were based on individual problems made way for systemic approaches to working with patients and clients where the recipient of care was considered within an entire social context and as a person with physical and psychological issues. These changes of care and social work and understandings of the profession are bound organisationally into the development of the welfare state. (Lessenich 2003) With the rationalisation of the public sector care and social work are once again experiencing considerable changes:

The previous state-administered organisation of care and social work is experiencing changes towards a market-economy orientation. This is accomplished through the way that the previous providers, especially town councils, churches and private charities, are reorganising their procedures and facilities. It is carried out within the framework of new constellations such as the taking on of tasks by private companies that are in competition with public institutions.

Processes of decreased professionalism, forms of Taylorism and informalisation of the interactive work in a new way, together with processes of academicisation and professionalisation

of administrative and managerial work, coincide in care and social work. Parallel to the efforts of the providers to reorganise the processes in care and social work, we are dealing with an economic shift in professional development in these areas and their work contents. The manifestation of academicisation is partly the re-establishment, partly the reorganisation of care and social sciences. In terms of new endeavours of professionalism, this connects with the expansion of areas such as care management or case management, which are orientated towards efficiency audits and efficiency developments (see Wilken 2000).

### **Notions of Performance and Social Justice**

The establishment of the fordist society of the post-war era was accompanied by criticism of its rampant free-market economy and discussions about equal opportunities and social justice (see Negt 2001: 308ff; Riegraf 2006: 259ff). In contrast to this, the expansion of the post-fordist societal model is accompanied by discussions about market requirements, competition and the withdrawal of state interventions. Whereas, in the fordist model, the state was made responsible for the creation of equal opportunities and social justice, the state is now superseded by the market as the authority for social justice. This also affects societal understandings of social justice.

In the framework of the rationalisation the economic shift signifies that hands-on approaches taken from micro-economics are applied to the entire area of public welfare. The belief in market forces shows up in the concept of citizens as customers. Following the micro-economic theory, in decision-making situations the rational, profit-maximising and egoistic individual chooses the option that appears to be the most profitable. Through freedom of choice and choice alternatives, public welfare is finally secured via the market. The possibility of adopting courses of action that are motivated by considerations beyond those of immediate self-interest is rejected (see Riegraf 2007: 83ff).

This theoretical construct assumes a subject which is able to assess her/his own needs, knows about all the possibilities available and is capable of evaluating all the options regarding her/his desires. People who are not able to do this due to a lack of knowledge or for many other reasons, drop out implicitly. The clientele that primarily has to claim the services of care and social workers is not considered in this image of humanity. The consequence is that either they have limited access to the services or their access to them is coupled to their 'activation' (Lessenich 2009). The latter renders it interesting to take a closer look at the understanding of social justice that has evolved in the course of the current restructuring processes.

Whereas distributive justice was the priority within the fordist promise of prosperity in the post-fordist era justice based on performance is of prime importance following the *homo oeconomicus* model. This has two consequences for care and social work:

*Firstly*, it is part of their professional standard to ensure that welfare benefits are dependent upon the needs of the clientele. Regarding questions of social justice, professional work in these areas means that inequalities due to gender, class, ethnic background and other criteria must indeed be considered, but the provision and distribution of services has to follow the principle of equality. In a constellation where the steady and comprehensive delivery of services is jeopardised due to rationalisation, prioritisations are made in a stricter manner and the risk increases that not only are inequalities taken into account, but differences in treatment are encouraged. Such priorities are pragmatic solutions to the dilemma of not being able to do justice to both market needs and client needs (Aulenbacher/Riegraf 2007). *Secondly*, it is assumed that there is a clear understanding of exactly what performance in society it is that should be rewarded, and who precisely is the deliverer of that performance, so that both can be readily identified. On the other hand, there are the activities carried out in private care, such as activities in the household and supply area – and therefore still mostly performed by women – which are not considered as achievements since their performance entitles the individual only partially and at a low scale to the claiming of state benefits. This shows for example that young jobless women with familial duties receive less support than equally positioned men, to whom such responsibilities are not ascribed but who are also to some extent not providing them.

## **Conclusion**

The processes of rationalisation in care and social work take place against the backdrop of modified notions of social justice, leading to justice based upon performance which will be connected to social inequality. The continuous debate about the economy and ethics that can be observed in the context of care and social work may act as an indicator to show that the introduction of market and economic principles, the requirements of eligible and needy clients and professional standards in care and social work come together in a conflict-laden way. It is part of the professional standards in care and social work to ensure that welfare services are provided dependent upon the neediness of the receiver. A constellation where forms of rationalism are based on market efficiency jeopardises the steady and comprehensive delivery of welfare services, making it no longer possible, or only in a more limited way than before. These tensions and contradictions are part and expression of a societal subsistence crisis that is differently and

disparately pronounced in the various welfare regimes and where decisions about treatments are made not least within the restrictions co-created by the financial crisis and the subsequent state interventions into the financial and real economies.

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# Vision: A Source of Innovation, Illusion or Social Control?<sup>2</sup>

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## **Introduction**

In the UK public services, the development of a vision has recently become the cornerstone of leadership and the ultimate goal of organisational action. In explaining why vision has become such an important issue, it is helpful to locate the provision of public services within the contextual changes that have taken place as the context helps determine why vision is called for.

The rise of managerialism in UK public services is by now a well documented phenomenon (Halsey 1995; Prichard and Willmott 1997). Although the human ability to manage, that is, to organise by for example reducing chaos and making lives coherent, is as old as antiquity, the increasing rationalisation of society has resulted in management becoming an abstract construction, glorifying hierarchy and the role of manager in the modern world. Whereas in the past, hospitals were managed by doctors, schools by teachers, and so on, these are now labelled as organisations, producing the great expansion of management. The manager boom in the public sector has externalised management tasks and responsibilities which were previously embedded in what public sector professionals did and placed them in the hands of a growing number of management-ranked positions. The rise of strategic planning and management by objectives are two noticeable symptoms of managerialism and two important aspects of managerialist practice.

According to Mintzberg (1994), by applying the principles of scientific management pioneered by Frederick Winslow Taylor which separate thinking from doing, strategic planning arrived on the scene in the mid-1960s to help corporate leaders to devise and implement “the one best way” with the planning systems expected to produce step-by-step instructions for carrying out this one best way so that the doers could not get things wrong. The basic aim of such planning is to link daily organisational decisions actions with a vision of where the organisation wants to be at some point in the future. It involves a formal process in which a vision statement is developed; internal “strengths” and “weaknesses” are identified; external “opportunities” and “threats” are assessed; “strategic” choices or options are considered and selected; plans are generated, documented and implemented; and progress or non-achievement are monitored. Despite the apparent lack of evidence that strategic planning boosts performance in either private or public

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sector, detailed guidance has been developed to promote and institutionalise strategic planning in the UK public services such as universities (HEFCE, 2000). Such an approach paves the way for "management by objectives", a term which was first coined and popularised by Peter Drucker in his milestone 1954 work 'the Practice of Management' (Drucker 1954). For Drucker, setting objectives is one of the essential operations for managers as objectives enable subordinates to have clarity of the roles and responsibilities expected of them and understand how their activities relate to the achievement of the organisation. Setting objectives also allows management to increase performance by cascading down the organisation subordinate objectives and by aligning subordinate objectives throughout the organisation.

Strategic planning and management by objective follow a process of visioning. This is based on the supposition that for managers to lead there is a need for a vision as by definition a leader needs at least two things: followers and somewhere to lead them.

### **Vision as a source of illusion and social control**

The literature which is prescriptive in nature considers vision to be an inspiring statement of what the organisation intends to become and achieve at some point in the future. Key assumptions included vision attracts commitment, energises people, creates meaning in workers' lives, establishes a standard of excellence and bridges the present and the future. According to Allen (1995: p. 43), for example, "we need only look around at recently successful organisations which are now in serious trouble to realise that, without a clear vision and a plan to articulate that vision, any organisation and/or individual will surely perish. He claims that "visions inspire and motivate; provide direction and foster success; are essential to the organisation of the future; enable us to benchmark our progress and evaluate our outcomes" (Allen, 1995: p. 40). He also argues that "a vision can provide a road map for future direction and generate excitement about that future direction. A vision can also create order out of chaos and, last but not least, it can offer a criterion for measuring success" (Allen, 1995: p. 39). These all sound good but when managerialists come to develop a vision of public services such as a university, they face two fundamental ambiguities. These are ambiguities of purpose and success. These ambiguities are fundamental because when purpose and success are ambiguous ordinary theories of, for example, decision making, social control and motivation become problematic.

The problem is that any attempt to produce normative statements of the goals of a university, for example, tends to produce goals that are either meaningless or dubious as they fail the tests of measurements and acceptance. As universities are so diverse and non-hierarchical by

their nature, the level of generality that facilitates acceptance destroys clarity and the level of specificity that permits measurement destroys acceptance. For this reason the process of visioning becomes an exercise in social rhetoric with little operational content. However, vision without substance is not vision, it is illusion and illusion cannot have any long-term motivating power. It creates cynicism and distrust.

Vision statements are often so fuzzy that people do not know where the organisation is going and what it is trying to achieve in the future. For managerialists, however, such fuzziness is an opportunity to give, as opposed to provide a direction, for the purpose of social control. For example, the vision statements of a number of universities state that they wish to become renowned for excellence. The problem is that the *use* of the term ‘excellence’ – that is when it is applied – is essentially contested (MacIntyre, 1984), the purpose being to create a hierarchy of meaning through the representation of particular interests or agendas as superior to others in order to facilitate advancement. For managerialists, for example, excellence simply means conforming to the targets and objectives that they wish to achieve. In other words, for them, excellence is not necessarily about performance, which is about results, but rather about conformance which emphasises norm-following behaviour. For managerialists this is important because deviance exists only in relation to norms and control over people requires measurement, observation and monitoring. Disciplinary control is a distinctive feature of managerial power which is concerned with what people have not done, that is, non-observance, non-conformance, and a person’s failure to achieve the required standards, where the goal is not to revenge but to reform. The key consideration is that without measurement, observation and monitoring, there is no context for managerialism because managers will not be able to exert significance influence. In public services, such an approach, however, can lead to a chronic ineffectiveness and inefficiency that distorts the doctrinal claims of managerialism. This can be illustrated by considering the problematic of measurement in public services through a number of examples.

In universities, academic professionals consider that it is through their thinking and intellectual labour that they come to understand deep issues whilst others are too busy doing other things. For them, measurement of intellectual work is against thinking because it has to assume academic professionals know what they are doing in advance of doing it. Intellectual work, as opposed to repetitive business processes, is forward directed, creative and exploratory that cannot be reduced to measurable outcome. In the administration of justice, there is simply no escaping qualitative judgements. Not everything that counts can be counted as quantitative measures contain and conceal important value judgements. Inefficient ways of decision making are deliberately chosen to ensure justice. Another example can be found in the health service where the pressure on

the hospitals to reduce waiting times and lead times (which are concerned with the speed at which the patients are dealt with) are forcing hospitals to become like a conveyor belt, focusing on symptoms rather than causes with the patient care becoming a non-issue. As a result, with the introduction of performance indicators and targets, hospitals are causing more sickness than they are curing. Performance indicators and targets may make hospitals look better but they certainly feel worse. Given these considerations, the key question is what are we doing and why are we doing it?

In addressing this question, Huxley's hypothetical world provides an interesting parallel. In Huxley's brave new world, happiness is achieved through a repetitive message and a pleasure drug called "soma". This drug enabled its users to experience any pleasure they could dream whilst the repetitive message promoted pleasure as an end in itself which must be pursued ad infinitum. Soma together with the repetitive message that promoted pleasure culminated in a form of social conditioning where the users accepted their inescapable social destiny and stopped questioning the way the world was. With no questions asked thinking was curtailed and thereby social stability was maintained. In organisations that find themselves in a constant state of crisis, indicated by chronic ineffectiveness and inefficiencies, vision has become like Huxley's soma where the constant call for it is providing a psychology of comfort that can only provide a false appearance of stability. The constant call for vision in the real world of organisations is a form of escapism from the recurrent crisis that remains unresolved.

### **Vision as a source of innovation**

To overcome this recurrent crisis there is a need for considering vision in a different way, and there is a need for such a vision not at organisational level but at policy level. The alternative treatment of vision is not about creating another meaningless, abstract, irrelevant policy statement. Such a vision is about insight and hindsight. It is about uncovering policy blind spots which are essentially about a failure to see beyond one's basic assumptions about how things are. By treating vision in this way, vision becomes a source of innovation as opposed to a source of illusion and social control. For this purpose, it is helpful to consider a trifocal model which considers the provision of public sector along three dimensions. These are the professional, bureaucratic and managerial dimensions.

The professional dimension in this trifocal model encompasses the core values and principles that guide action and meaning. In academe, for example, these entail a commitment to truth, wisdom and academic freedom with institutional independence and professional autonomy enabling academic professionals to ask critical and awkward questions independent of

conventional wisdom, the status quo and vested interest. The bureaucratic dimension is concerned with invoking a logic of appropriateness that protects such core values and principles together with the standards that support and maintain them, whilst the managerial dimension emphasises the wise allocation of short-term resources, both at times of scarcity and plenty, to achieve long-term, sustained performance, with efficiency being a virtue, not a limit.

When the dimensions of this trifocal model are considered to be internally related, the provision of public services follows a logic that gives public sector professionals the autonomy and authority to judge and plan the process of provision. Although the process of provision is not controlled by anybody except the professional, there is a social control of the professional exercised by colleagues and through the bureaucratic dimension, operating both within and beyond the confines of the profession, to ensure not only the professional core values and principles are upheld and maintained but also the rights of those the professional serves are protected. From this perspective, the provision of public services together with its management is a moral endeavour that uses professional values and principles not only to judge, plan and organise but also to deal with moral dilemmas when they arise.

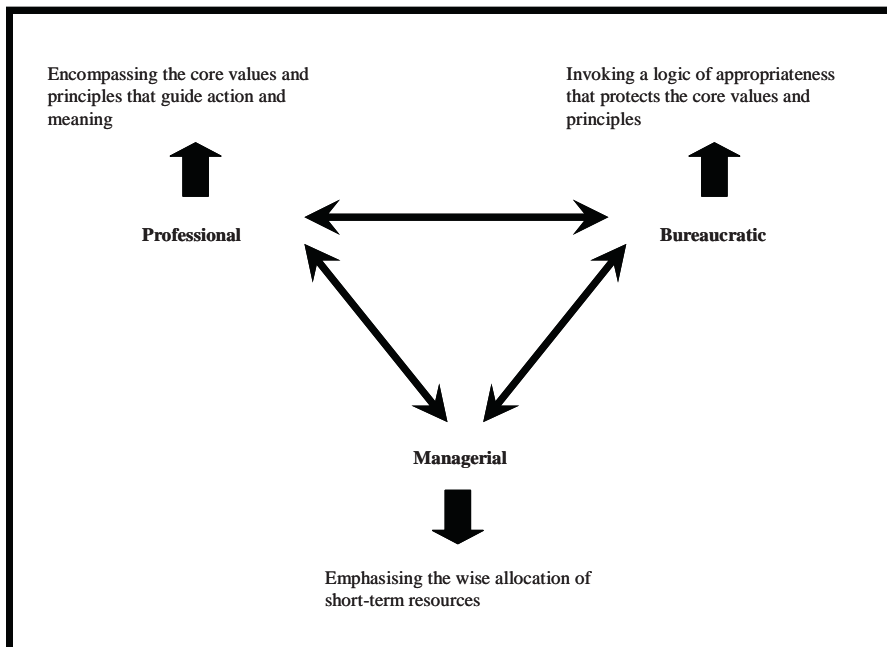


Figure 1. Provision of public services: a trifocal model

By treating the provision of public services as a moral endeavour as opposed to amoral, rational pursuit of objectives, targets and goals which managerialism emphasises, the focus of public servants will be on innovation whilst behaving in a way that is consistent with their core values. This moral endeavour will ensure that a number of key principles are upheld. Public services such as healthcare and education are a fundamental good, that is, they are the necessities of life and not optional commodities. As they are about the necessities of life, public services must offer universal access, they must become ever more responsive, fairer and more comprehensive, fulfilling a greater range of needs, and above all, they must be of high quality because they are too important a good not to be good. The test of public services according to these principles can be viewed in terms of their management. From this perspective, there are no underperforming public services, only under-managed or mismanaged ones. The rise of managerialism in the public sector has paradoxically not made the management of public services more effective but instead has added a costly administrative burden that is undermining the morale, motivation and goodwill of public sector professionals. It is destroying accomplishment, satisfaction and motivation, and above all innovation, and in the end, is destroying performance.

### **Policy implications**

In finding a way forward, it is important to acknowledge that conflict between the professional, bureaucratic and managerial dimensions is unavoidable, and that the provision of public services requires all these dimensions. Such a conflict, which is inherent in the provision of public services, means that each dimension has a hidden bias, that is, its own agenda, which is not bad or good in itself but which, like ideas and other cultural replicators, is connected to its own survival and a struggle for domination. The purpose of such a struggle is to create an asymmetry, that is, a power relation in which the dominating dimension subordinates and marginalises the other dimensions in a vertical relation within a hierarchy of meaning which is then socially institutionalised, reproducing the conditions of that domination. Any dimension, be it professional, bureaucratic or managerial, however, by dominating other dimensions, plants the seed for its own demise by allowing its weaknesses to outweigh its strengths. This is because each dimension can be considered in terms of its strengths and what it will achieve or its weaknesses or what it will fail to achieve, that a way of seeing is also a way of not seeing, and that the domination of one dimension involves neglecting the others by playing down their strengths. In other words, the weaknesses of each dimension can be found in the strengths of the other dimensions.

The challenge is therefore to determine how, in a competitive environment that encourages individualism, to make the professional, bureaucratic and managerial dimensions work in partnership, that is, relational and connected, reflecting a perspective of cooperative equals. As this is difficult to achieve, a key concern is that with the demise of managerialism the future may return the bureau-professional model which was considered as inherently bureaucratic, as ‘crowding out’ enterprise, as being inefficient, costly and monopolistic with a persistent concern about self-serving professionals characterised by exclusion and inequality (Poole *et al*, 1995).

In avoiding a return to the bureau-professional model, there is a need to keep the professional, bureaucratic and managerial dimensions in the struggle of opposition, engage strongly in this struggle characterise this struggle as:

- i) A never-ending concern of a divergent nature that grows out of the differences between three seemingly conflicting dimensions which are permanent and existing simultaneously.
- ii) An ‘and/both’ scenario in which the principal task is not to eliminate but to balance such differences.
- iii) A way of accommodating three seemingly conflicting dimensions that locates them on their strengths whilst avoiding their weaknesses.
- iv) An opportunity for making progress and receiving more in terms of the results public services want to achieve.

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# CHANGE IN THE NIGERIAN PUBLIC SECTOR

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## **Introduction**

Nigerian public sector is regarded as inefficient and ineffective which needs major changes in the structure and procedure in its services. Although it is difficult to explain the causes of this inefficiency but Suleiman (2009) recognises corruption, policy reversals and outdated administrative machinery as the major causes. A new managerial technique is therefore required to improve the sector's performance. The New Public Management is expected to provide desirable reforms which will improve the service delivery to the citizen. The process of change in the Nigerian public sector will centre on the higher educational establishments which are owned and controlled by the government.

## **The concept of change management**

The concept of change has many facets (Pettigrew, 1990), change could be viewed in terms of speed, quantity of service, quality of service or the process of change as experienced in an organisation. Organisations always transform from the original even though there might be some resistance to change (March, 1981). Over the years government had introduced several changes and transformation but these reforms (Suleiman, 2009) have not been able to achieve the plan of efficiency and effectiveness in the sector. One will wonder whether the reforms in the Nigerian public sector a process or event.

Change according to William et al (2002) can take place at different levels-individual, group, business unit, and organisation. The traditional model of organisational change in the organisational world, which considers it as the product of economic environment acting upon organisation structure, fails to take in to considerations the important role played by social constructionism (Webb and Cleary, 1994). It fails to put in to consideration the relationships of the organisation with other organisations especially customers and suppliers and other institutions such that regulatory bodies, industry associations and public sector institutions. The substance, context, and process of change in the organisation provide an understanding of change. It is this that shapes the process of organisational change.

Change is global but varies in scope and pace and occurs at every level of society. These changes (Smith, 1973) are unpredictable, continuous and could be qualitative and quantitative.

Change is perceived in different ways. It could be organisational structural differentiation or shift in internal workings or forces from the environment that might redefine the organisation to adapt (Heller, et al, 2004).

The ideal type of trend could be used to analyse various societies with their different cultures and routes. The ideal type according to Smith (1973) is society that changes in a balanced manner with each institutions becoming modified at regular and parallel rates.

### **Reforms in Public Sector**

Mckevitt and Lawton (1996) distinguish public sector from private sector using three points, industrial relations, ways of decision making and economic structure but agree to the similarities in terms of their tasks. Both sectors perform such tasks as pay, recruitment and selection and motivation. Every public organisation uses its power to achieve what it considers to be desired and adequate responses to change. It was the financial pressures in the 1980's (Boraird, 2009) that change the focus of most western countries in making the public sector more competitive and responsive to its citizen. This shift is what is referred to as New Public Management (NPM).

Public sector organisations are regarded as not-for-profit organisation and these are organisations (Titman, 1995) that do not aim to make a profit in the normal sense eg educational institutions, government hospitals, charities etc. However, the understanding of this phrase becomes difficult because public sector differ from country to country and from time to time within a country and this makes comparison meaningless.

Although, different countries have varying needs and wants depending on the culture, political and managerial leadership and local history, the new public management movement has had highly variable international impact (Ferlie, et al, 1996). The rise and implementation of new public management style in the public sector reorganises organisational change process. The role of government shifting towards privatisation aided the international diffusion of the new public management.

### **Education reforms in Nigeria**

Reforms in education sector of Nigeria intended to bring about positive change in the educational systems. It is the desire to change and develop educationally (Omolewa, 2008) that are responsible for these reforms. In bringing about progress, successful countries have used education reforms to introduce structural, systematic and content changes. Many attempts have been made in the past by introducing many reforms with a view to competing favourably with other developed countries. Omolewa (2008) argues that education reforms in Nigeria have always been a failure.

Nigeria education reforms are very complex and requires management network. The administrative structure and the nature of the reforms varies and dependant on the intention of the leaders. Nigeria adopts the New Public Management to implement the reform agenda. This was because of the inefficiency that pervades the sector. Unfortunately, however, as North (1990) argues, institutional reform is often pursued not so much in the interests of efficiency, but rather to promote the interests of those with bargaining power. Olubobun (2008) posit that the interest of the leaders and policy makers are protected in the implementation process of the reform.

Education in Nigeria has evolved over a long period of time, with a series of policy changes. The 1976 Universal Policy Education Programme gave every child the right to tuition free primary education. Later, the 6-3-3-4 system was introduced, establishing six years of primary education, followed by three years of junior secondary school and three years of senior secondary education. The last segment of four years is for university or polytechnic education. Tertiary education also includes colleges of education. The current structure of education in Nigeria based on the 6-3-3-4 system began with implementation of the National Policy on Education (NPE) in 1977.

New Public Management (NPM), is an international trend, but with many country-specific variations. This local variation within a more general framework of globally developed systems is also an important theme in recent management control research. New Public Management (Hood, 1995; Kickert, 2000,) advocates the adoption of private sector management techniques and management styles by public sector organizations. The focus of NPM paradigm is to adopt private business practices for the management of public activities and advocates the transfer to the private sector of as many public sector activities as possible (Schiavo-Campo and McFerson, 2008).

Within a country there is a constantly evolving public perception of what an educational system should have as its priority. Nigeria government failed to set its priorities and rather politicised the most important change required in this system. Employees expect certain changes as Chander, et al (2002) pointed out that “change in the public sector related not least to managerialism has been gathering pace and that this has caused some disquiet among its various workforces”.

### **Process of Change**

Organisational change is an intrinsically politicised process which is regarded as natural and necessary. Processes are sequences of activities, often preceding horizontally across the organisation, that are transformations (Francis and Bessant, 2006). They are the means by which

the activities of the organisations are carried out and the organisation itself changed. The activities of organisations are carried out and organisations changed by means of the following processes: power, leadership and decision making and communication (Hall, 1974).

In order to understand the process of change, (Buchanan and Badham, 1999) following factors must be considered- the past, present and future context in which the organisation functions including external and internal factors; the substance of the change itself (new technology, new payment system, new structure) and its significance and time scale; the transition process, tasks, activities, decisions; political activities both within and external to the organisation; the interactions between these factors. The process of change therefore appears as differentiation and integration of structures (Heller, et al, 2004).

Guest (1962) views the process of change as occurring in phases. He identified seven phases-the succession of a new manager, the manager becomes informed about the needs of the organisation, institutionalising interactions, enlarging the span of cognition, planning and action, reinforcement of result and aftermath. Nutt and Backoff (1992) suggested six stages to the process of change in public sector. The process includes historical context, situational assessment, issue agenda, strategic options, feasibility assessment and implementation. Gawthrop (1984) views the process of change as a rational process and thus 'change is a term that applies to the relationship of any phenomenon to any two points on the time span of its present or future existence'. Therefore, it is organisational changing rather than organisational change when referred to the term 'Change'.

Fineman, Gabriel and Sims (2010) perceive change process as a circle which could be started at any point within the circle. The steps in the circle are diagnosing, action planning, action taking, evaluating and specifying learning. They argue that this will help all the people in the change programme to deal with unpredictable, unplanned and uncertain nature of organisational change.

Kurt Lewin used three stages model to analyse the change process. These stages approach are unfreezing, change and refreezing. The first process of unfreezing is to allow staff to think through the impeding change.

Labianca, et al (2000) developed a four-phase model of change process. The first phase is the motivation to change which is synonymous to unfreezing phase of Lewin (1951) and Schein (1988). The second phase is referred to as new schema generation. At this stage behaviour are guided by in progress frame which is also similar to Schein (1988) change phase. Schema comparison is the third phase in which employees compare the new and old decision making schema. The last stage is stabilisation. Change fails if members revert to old schema and successful if they adopt the new schema.

## **Resistance to change**

Resistance to change is not only normal (Buchanan and Badham, 1999) but in some ways even desirable otherwise the technical organisation would be perpetually fruitlessly shifting gears when there had been commitments to existing technology and to forms of social organisations associated with it.

Reforms in Nigeria encountered criticism from different stakeholders. Resistance are more pronounced even at the early stage. The process of change comes up against powerful resistance (Heller, et al, 2004). Resistance to change is based on the premise that people thrive on stability, continuity and have tendency to resist any force that will disrupt this condition.

Resistance might take less organised but individualistic forms (Davidson, 1004). It could take different forms ranging from simple to sophisticated. However, participation in decision making can reduce the level of resistance because people will have the opportunity to ask questions in any form where information is shared (Heller, et al, 2004).

Resistance to change is not an automatic reaction but the way change is handled is sometimes seen as destabilising at an organisational level and threatening at a personal level. Pugh (2007) argues that people resist imposed change or top-down change without the involvement of the staff. Fear of change is natural in everybody which may mean to some staff as worse off (Williams et al, 2002).

## **Conclusion**

The characteristics of reforms and applicability of New Public Sector Management seems to be an event rather than a process. The failure of the reforms is in part the inability of the leaders to assess the reform agenda and continuously monitor its progress. Reforms are treated as an event rather than a continuous process which needs to be monitored. The normal practice in the public sector is that each government will have its own reform agenda whether there is need for reform or not. Hence Nigeria continues to experience different reforms with different government.

It is not the principles of NPM that is not good but it might not be relevant in some establishment like higher institution. Education should not be privatised given the level of development in that sector and the introduction of NPM will rather aggravate the problems. Many reforms in Nigeria were greeted with strong resistance because employees might not see the need for such reforms. The characteristics of public sector are different from the private sector and the implementation of NPM might be totally successful.

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# Support and service for persons with intellectual disabilities

## A study of changes and consequences in Finland and Sweden

### 1990 - 2010<sup>3</sup>

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#### **Introduction**

Major changes have taken place in the past 20 years in both Sweden and Finland in the support and service to persons with intellectual disabilities in terms of the opportunities for independence and participation in society. There has been a transitional period in both countries concerning the attitude to functional impairment and disability. Legislation has been amended and disability programmes have been renewed to comply with the United Nation's Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UN 2006) that Sweden has ratified and Finland has signed.

#### **Aim of the study**

The aim of the present study is to describe similarities and differences in the opportunities and limitations, for independence and participation in society. The comparative study has been carried out in both countries in 2009 and is founded upon previous work by the authors.

The focus of the study is:

- Development of possibilities for persons with intellectual disabilities to achieve and practice an active citizenship.
- Changes in legislation
- Intentions for and realization of support and service

#### **Background**

Finland has nearly half the number of inhabitants as Sweden but almost the same number of persons who are categorized as having intellectual disabilities and needing support and service. This may well be the result of "social construction", how intellectual disabilities are defined in different periods, and in different countries and cultures (Berger & Luckman 1967).

The municipalities in both Finland and Sweden are nowadays responsible for the support and service to persons with intellectual disabilities. In the Nordic countries the Nordic welfare

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<sup>3</sup> Another version of this article has been published in Socialvetenskaplig Tidskrift Nr 3-4 vol 17 2010 "Stöd och service till personer med utvecklingsstörning".

model has been very important for the development of social policy, including the disability sector. The level of support and service was reduced in Finland in the 1990's due to a reduction in the public financing, while in Sweden new legislation came into force in 1994 with strong rights for the users. In Finland, however, the support, rights and service for persons with intellectual disabilities have developed since the year 2000.

### **From 1990 to 2010**

In Sweden the Act concerning support and service for Persons with Certain Functional Impairment was passed in 1994 (SFS 1993:387) and one of the main features was full participation in society and equal life conditions. The plan for the disability policy is valid from 2000 to 2010 according to the proposition (Prop. 1999/2000:79). In this plan the government stated the goals for the disability policy.

In Finland the first disability programme and law on basic education for children and young persons with severe intellectual disabilities was passed in 1997 (FFS 1998/628). In Sweden similar legislation (SFS 1967:940), with rights to education for all children and young persons with severe intellectual disabilities, had been passed in 1967.

In the both countries the principle of going "from needs to rights" is still prevalent and in Sweden new legislation will be valid from 2011 and a new national plan for disability policy was established during 2010 (Handisam, 2009). In Finland personal assistance is nowadays a personal right if one has a serious impairment. There is, however, a debate as to how many persons with intellectual disabilities have access to personal assistance in accordance with the act because the new programme for disability policy emphasizes individual solutions where housing is concerned.

### **Methods**

The comparative study is based on previous work by the authors within the field with a focus on self-determination, participation and social inclusion and is based on citizenship theories. Document studies and qualitative interviews with users, relatives, representatives of service providers at various levels and staff who work directly with the target group have been carried out in both countries in 2009.

### **Development in Sweden and Finland from 1990 to 2010**

The development of support and service for persons with intellectual disabilities has many similarities in the two countries but also some differences. The present legislations (SFS 1993:387; FFS 2008/981) provide clear goals for the activities, such as full participation in society, equal living conditions and possibilities to live as other citizens do. Other examples of similarities



include; the users in both countries having the right to appeal against individual decisions in accordance with the legislations and the municipalities having the responsibilities for the support and service. One difference is that Finland has signed while Sweden has ratified the UN's convention on the rights for persons with disabilities (UN, 2006).

### **Legislation and organization in Sweden 1990 – 2010**

During the 1990's the focus was on the closure of institutions and the responsibility was transferred from the county councils to the municipalities and with the development of group homes with individual flats (Blomberg, 2006; Widerlund, 2007). A consequence of this development was a change in perspective as expressed in the proposition, "from patient to citizen" (prop. 1999/2000: 79). The staff also got new roles, changing from a caring paradigm to support and supervision.

The individual measure was the Act concerning Support and Service for persons with Certain Functional Impairments (1993:387). In 1999 the total number of services according to the act was 97 000 and 86% were addressed to persons with intellectual disabilities and the most common service was daily activities. Ten years later the total number of services was 109 700 and 88% were given to the same group. In 2004 a new committee was appointed with the goal of presenting proposals for how support and service should be regulated and organized. The proposals became law from 1<sup>st</sup> January 2011 (SOU 2008:77).

### **Legislation and organisation in Finland 1990 – 2010**

There have been similar discussions in Finland although some years after those in Sweden. The government stated in 1992 that the number of institutions should decrease (Miettinen & Teittinen 2010). The aim of the disability policy from 1995 (SHM 2000, 1- 7) was *to promote a more independent living, equal relations to other and full participation*. Despite this decision there are still 18 institutions for persons with intellectual disabilities (Statsrådet, 2010). Furthermore many adults with intellectual disabilities are living with their parents due to a lack of independent living units.

The support and service for persons with impairments should be a part of all sectors in society (SMH 2006). A major change in the new act (FFS 2008/981) is that persons with serious impairment have the right to get personal assistance and they should have an individual plan for the support and service. As well as changes in legislation, during the last 20 year, other factors have also influenced the access for support and service. The financial resources have decreased, the demands on an individual's capacity and the family's responsibility have increased and also the proportion of private providers of service has grown (Miettinen & Teittinen 2010). The goals of

the new programme for disability policy from 2010 (SHM 2010) are to improve the socio-economic situation for persons with intellectual disabilities and prevent poverty, to reinforce the research on disability, to increase the access to society and to be a part of the implementation of UN:s convention (UN 2006).

### **Change of structure**

The main principle behind the disability acts is that persons with disabilities are of equal value and should therefore have an equal right to live in an equivalent way. This entails great demands and possibilities for cooperation with other organizations, for example, within the fields of culture, leisure and the labour market. But many possibilities are restricted for the users who still live in institutions in Finland. The support and service can also be barriers for transitions to the ordinary support from society and the user's personal development, for instance, exclusion from the ordinary labour market. The indistinct role of the daily activity centres in Finland was reflected by the users who had the experiences of diffuse positions, duties and rights (Lindqvist 2008). The users who were interviewed expressed a fear of being categorized as deviant (Goffman 1990). Another obstacle for the users is the routines and traditions (Tilly, 2000) that existed at the institutions and that entailed a lack of individualism hindering the user's efforts to achieve participation.

There has been a development of different systems, in the last ten years, to increase the individual and activity goals, for example, the task of documenting activities and individual developments. The level of the education for the managers has increased thus promoting greater professionalization. In Finland there is special education for the staff who work with persons with intellectual disabilities that comprises at least 120 weeks. In Sweden there is a three year programme at the upper secondary school where the pupils can choose a special five week course on support and service. Furthermore there are in some places a few special courses that comprise three to four terms which are organized by colleges or private companies. The lack of suitable education was emphasised by the respondents in Sweden who also pointed out that there are few possibilities for further education and supervision. The organization of the support and service and the lack of competence can sometimes constitute an obstruction for individualisation and for possibilities of participating in decisions and activities for the users.

### **Individual possibilities for changes**

The integration of support and service provides access and greater opportunities for participating in different activities in society. In the Swedish act (SFS 1993:387 §9) there are several rights which give possibilities for equal living conditions. In some places in Sweden "mobile teams" has been

organized with the aim of increasing influence and flexibility and thus greater possibilities for living an independent life. Furthermore there is some access to “easy to read” material but there is still a considerable lack of information material and alternative systems for communication for the users (Socialstyrelsen, 2010). In both countries it is common with theatre- and music groups where the users are actors (ex. Sauer 2004). The Finnish National Opera has a project where the users participate in a production of Carmen together with dancers and singers without impairments. There are also some radio- and TV- programmes with the users as actors in both countries.

The consequences of the lack of staff resources are difficulties in providing individual support and service in different situations. Due to low self-esteem, which can be generated by a lack of experience/knowledge, many users can be influenced by the staff’s opinions about different activities and decisions (Blomberg 2006; Widerlund 2007).

### **Differences and similarities**

Living in group homes is the most common form of living in both countries. Another form of housing is where the users live in their own flat and have support from staff. This latter form has developed least in Finland. The possibilities for full participation in society and for equal life conditions are thus probably limited for many users (Lindqvist 2008; Miettinen & Teitinen 2010). The government in Finland has allocated 30 million euro/year until 2015 to build group homes for the users. Despite this there is an active discussion about tendencies such as the “reinstitutionalisation” and “medicalisation” of activities. Even if there is good access to different kinds of housing in Sweden there are still barriers to the users’ participation in society and to them being able to live like others (Blomberg 2006; Widerlund 2007; Jonsson & Ericson-Wik 2010). Another similarity is the lack of participation for the users because there are still rules and routines which restrict the possibilities of living as other citizens (see Tilly 2000; Marshall 1950).

The discussions about implementation of support and service and the individualisation of the activities are the same in both countries. In Sweden the developmental work to give qualification for political, civilian and social citizenship has been going on for a longer period of time than in Finland (Marshall 1950). The reasons for this can be found in Finnish history, for example; an independent state 1917, rebuilding society after the Second World War, attitudes, values and differences in culture, legislation and the economic situation in the country. In Finland there is, among the professionals, a fear that activities for the users will be more “medicalized” because the managers sometimes have an education that has a medical focus.

The number of private providers has increased in both countries during the last 20 years. In Sweden this has been most prevalent in the area of personal assistance (prop. 2009/10:176) while

in Finland the municipalities buy services from other municipalities and private providers (Miettinen & Teittinen 2010). The risk for many providers of support and service is that the cheapest alternative will be accepted. In Finland there is a debate about companies that invest in old buildings and start providing housing for 10 – 300 persons with intellectual disabilities and elderly persons (HS 2010).

## Summary

The results show that there are many similarities between the countries but also some major differences. In Finland there are still a number of institutions, which thus affect the users' possibilities for living on the same terms as others. There are many special units for housing in both countries and these can counteract the intentions of the aforementioned convention for persons with a disability. The opportunities for something to do for persons with intellectual disabilities are mainly in the form of the local authority's provision of daily activities. This is a legal right in Sweden while in Finland there is a lack of places. Only a few persons from the target group have access to work in the open labour market in the two countries. The special services provided may create a hinder for the transition to ordinary services.

The empirical material demonstrates that changes have taken place but that difficulties remain for the realization of the intentions and for the implementation of the political aims for the support and service for persons with intellectual disabilities.

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# Neo-liberalism and Education

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## **Introduction**

Today neo-liberalism influences the education sector in Sweden (Cervantes, 2005: 2008: 2009). The globalisation in the world is one of the underlying causes for neo-liberalism (Massey, 1999), which influences the state education policy (Lingard & Ozga, 2007). Neo-liberalism in education can be viewed as social and economical policies that increase the use of market mechanism in education (Davidson-Harden and Majhanovich, 2006). The public sector decreases and independent schools establish which means competition between schools driven by the public sector and independent schools (Cervantes, 2008: 2009). The increased number of independent compulsory schools and upper secondary schools means that politicians, school-chief and principals has to find alternative strategies to handle the situation. The purpose of this article is to in an international perspective discuss neo-liberalism and education in a local context in Sweden, where independent school increases in a local authority that initially had no experience of competition from independent schools and where the demographical situation changes.

## **Neo-liberalism and education**

Neo-liberalism and globalisation are important cores in the process of dissolving the public sphere (Clarke, 2004). Peck and Tickell (2002) mean that neo-liberalisation should – just as globalisation – be understood as a process and not as an end-state. In this article neo-liberalism is understood as a process and explained as privatisation of the school system where independent school increases. Neo-liberal concepts such as competition, privatisation, choice, responsibility and customer are used in the public sector and schools are viewed as an individual issue (Franzén, 2006). Neo-liberalism depends on regional context and national politics (Thomas et al. 2004).

In Sweden neo-liberal thinking influence policies and practices, something Harvey (2005) describes as circumscribed neo-liberalism. The more subtle changes that occur in the Swedish school system have to do with ideas about entrepreneurship and the market reflected in school activities (Lindqvist et al, 1999: Cervantes, 2005). The government expect that competition would help to improve the quality of the school and provide a better educational variation that would inspire schools (Myrberg, 2006). The proximity principle, where pupils from the neighborhood

gathered at the nearest school has been abandoned in favor of the choice of another public school, and the possibility to start and choose independent schools (Lindbom, 2007). Initial the establishment of independent school influenced the educational order in a minimal way, which meant that the school field did not changed in a radical way (Bunar, 2004). The reason for this was that it was a small amount of independent school started and most of them where started in larger cities (ibid.). Because an increased amount of independent school starts – and not just in larger cities – the internal order at the education field has changed and dominate structure are challenged (ibid.).

Peck and Tickell (2002) argue that neo-liberalism seems to be everywhere and are dominant for globalization and contemporary reforms in the states. The competitive forces are according to Peck and Tickell married with aggressive forms of austerity financing, reforms in public services and state downsizing. But it also exists in a historical and geographical contingent forms (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Therefore they mean that the analyses of the process should focus on change and shifts in systems and logics, dominant patterns or restructuring rather than binary or static comparisons between states.

Johansson (2007) argues that neo-liberal political rationalities can be linked to the ideas of competitive solidarity and private rather than public responsibility for personal welfare. Johansson (2007) argues that many countries in European union recently have experienced a welfare state that scaling back, and the expectation on education and students has changed. The shift means changes in the meaning of solidarity where solidarity decline, instead there is competitive solidarity. Neo-liberalism in Europe is according to Johansson (2007) influenced by the history of being well-fare states and therefore neo-liberalism is embedding by a social dimension. Johansson (2007) claims that there has been a shift from public to private responsibility where each person is responsible for the own economic well-being. To show solidarity means to not be a burden to the society. The idea of competitiveness is stressed together with quality and efficiency. Johansson (2007) argues that there has been a shift in Europe from the welfare state to the competitive state, where welfare provisions have been maintained and that education is one of the most important issues for the states. States argues that well educated and flexible working force is important to cope with the effects of globalisation. Johansson (2007) means that the combination of neo-liberal rationalities and welfare provision is known as embedded neo-liberalism.

International research shows that neo-liberal reforms such as privatisation of the education system influence the school sector (Zajda, 2006). For example Coffey (2001) shows that the education system has undergone significant transformation concerning social, economical and policy changes. The withdrawal of the state, the economical and political practice with



deregulation and privatisation increases (Harvey, 2005). Peck and Tickell (2002) argue that neo-liberalism is not just a period where competitive forces have been liberated by the withdrawal of the state, it is rather associated with political constructions of markets and privatized management. Ball (2007) means that it exist a complex triangle of initiative, strategies and subordination which he calls “*post-neo-liberal policy making*” (Ball, 2007:10). He means that this is especially significant in education policy, which are orientated towards competition on one hand, and development of network and partnership on the other hand. Ball (1990) means that neo-liberals view the community as founded upon economic relations. Zajda (2006) argues that it is a complex interplay between privatisation, decentralisation and its function in education and policies.

Sandström (2002) claim that the education reforms in Sweden, concerning independent schools has been one of the most radical in the world. In Sweden it has become more usual with privatisation and marketisation of public services at the same time as the competition perceived to contribute efficiencies (Trygged, 2000; Coffey, 2001). Englund (1996) argues that the schools driven by the public sector – a school for the “public good” are threatened by a school system for the “private good”. The private good are built on parents and children’s priorities and expectations of the future (ibid.).

Clarke (2004) argues that neo-liberalism are facing resistance, blockage, refusals and negotiation, and therefore neo-liberalism are not existing in an empty space. Resistance, blockages and refusals are in this article understood as socially constructed in a certain context and produced and performed in another, specific to events, actors and practices (Thomas et al. 2004).

According to Giddens (1994) neo-liberalism is hostile against traditions, but at the same time dependent on the existence of traditions to be legitimised, as for example family values. Giddens (1996) argues that traditions are a way to deal with time and space that put the action and experience in a context of past, present and future.

## **Policies and practices**

From a UK perspective a decisive shifts have been maid in the public debate, from collective planning to private choice and individual decisions (Ball, 1994). Ball argues that management and the market change the education from the public arena of civil society and collective responsibility to privatisation. The reforms mean that it is a breakdown of the distinction between public and private sectors and public and private goods (ibid.). Ball (1994) argues that the market and management reforms replace collective, structure and bureaucratic controls with individualistic and competitive ones. As a consequence schools must increase their flexibility in order to be

responsive to the pressure of market forces. Ball (1994) writes that it exist an dangerous idealization about markets, effects of parental choice and profits in education. Ball (1994) claims that the implementation of markets in education in its foundation is a class strategy, and that the major effects are reproduction of advantages and disadvantages.

Ball (1994) makes a distinction between policies<sup>4</sup> and practices, and mean that [*p*]olicies *always are incomplete insofar as they relate to a map or to the “wild profusion” of local practice (1994:10)*, while practice is complex, unstable, sophisticated and contingent. Ball (1994) continue by saying that [*p*]olicy *as practice is 'created' in a trialectic of dominance, resistance and chaos/freedom* (ibid.). Ball argues that policies do not tell us what to do, but that they create circumstances with different options, changes, goals or outcomes. This means that the responses of the policies are constructed in a context and therefore it involves social actions which are creative. Those aspects are important issue concerning how leaders in this study deals with the competition from independent schools and where the local context and the situation for the local authority is a foundational issue for the social actions.

### **Neo-liberalism and education in a local context**

In a local authority in the northern part of Sweden, it has during the last years been changes concerning privatisation of schools. Independent schools have increased at the same time as the demographical situation has changed. This means that the local authority discuss how to deal with the changes. It is interesting to notice that it in the same local authority can be different strategies for dealing with the changes, depending if it is upper secondary school or compulsory school. Different strategies depend on how the competition influences the schools driven by the public sector. In other words do the independent schools contribute or does it mean downsizing for the municipality. This means that the leaders in the municipality have different strategies for the upper secondary school and compulsory schools depending on the demographical situation. The decreased amount of pupils in the compulsory schools indicates one strategy and the high amount of pupils in upper secondary school indicates another.

Leaders and local politicians negotiate (Clarke, 2004) with their main believes about how schools should be driven. The main opinion among the local politician is that the schools should be driven by the public sector. But at the same time the negotiation depends on what is best for the

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<sup>4</sup> Ball defines policies as an economy of power, a set of technologies and practices, which are realized and struggled over in local settings. Policy is text and action, words and deeds; it is what is enacted as well as what is intended (Ball 1994:10). Ball inhabits two different conceptualizations; policy as text and policy as discourse (1994:15).

local authority. For example the leaders for the local authority can on one hand create a entrepreneurship programme together with the local industry in order to give opportunities to pupils between 16 and 19 to study entrepreneurship in order to increase small business. One education programme become after one year an independent school (Cervantes, 2008), and one of the main reasons for establishing this independent school with focus on entrepreneurship was to be first on the market and to attract and keep pupils, and also to have national recruitment of pupils to the education (ibid.).

On the other hand, the local authority try to find strategies in how to deal with the competition from independent schools, which threaten the schools driven by the public sector (Cervantes, 2009; 2008). A competition that means that the internal order in the educational field is challenged (Bunar, 2004). Following Clarke (2004) the negotiation on one hand and the resistance on the other hand shows how ambivalent people in leading positions are concerning independent schools. In order to compete with independent schools people in leading positions try to find different strategies, as for example marketisation of schools.

The different strategies among the leaders depend on the local context (compare Thomas et al. 2004) for the school. In upper secondary school – where the demographical situation means that it exist a lot of students – the establishment of independent upper secondary schools are not as problematic for the local authority as it is for the compulsory school. A question to raise is if the main reason for the local authorities leaders and their decision to help the local industry to start an independent upper secondary school in entrepreneurship, depends on the situation with a lot of pupils in the age between 16-19 in upper secondary school. And therefore an independent school helps the local authority to take care of all pupils.

For the compulsory school the situation is the opposite, the numbers of pupils between 6 and 15 declines, at the same time as independent schools starts. This means that structural changes influence the education field for the local authority, with less pupils in the schools driven by the public sector – and as a consequence employers loose their jobs in the local authority. The structural changes which influence the education field in a local context with fewer pupils in the public sector means that teachers loose their jobs in the public sector. This means as Ball (1994) arguing policy as practice is created in a trialectic of dominance, resistance and chaos. The changes means that the internal order in the local authority concerning organisation of schools are threaten. This is a result of that the local authority has to adapt to the new situation, and therefore organisational changes are necessary. The responses are as Ball (1994) argues constructed in a context and involves social actions. The new policies as a practice which Ball (1994) discusses are important for how the local authority deal with the changes, and how the public dominance is

threatened, and therefore resistance occur as a consequence. Resistance have its foundation in changes of the well-known and traditions in the local context. Following Giddens (1994) the changes and experience must be considered in the context of past, present and future. The changes in the education field and its policy mean that the local authority for a period of time will act in chaos, at the same time as it for some parents and some pupils mean possibilities to choose and therefore lead to freedom.

## **Concluding thoughts**

The purpose of this article is to in an international perspective discuss neo-liberalism and education in a local context where independent schools increases in a local authority that initially had no experience of competition from independent schools and where the demographical situation changes. What we can see is that the leaders in the local authority are ambivalent about the consequences of the establishment of independent schools, depending on the local situation. We can also see that the response on the education policy depends on the local context (Thomas et al., 2004, Giddens, 1996) and that new education policy influence the practice for the local authority (Ball, 1994). The influences that are affecting the local authority and how the local authority leaders act are dependent on how establishment of independent schools and will therefore influence the local authority and its organisation concerning school issues. The leaders in the local authority negotiate with and resist against independent schools, and the local context in which the establishment exist will influence the action following Thomas et al. (2004).

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# Whither UK Public Services: From Public Sector Bureaucracy to Social Enterprise?

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## **Introduction**

Many forms of restructuring of the public sector are possible but here the focus is on the 'social enterprise' model as an alternative to public sector bureaucracy. It must be acknowledged that the form social enterprise takes, and the meaning attached to the expression, is by no means uniform across the world (Ducci et al. 2002; Thomas 2004; Kerlin 2006; Ridley-Duff 2007; Massetti 2008; Hunter 2009). Nevertheless, the term is widely used to denote a wide range of organisations of different scales and types that trade in a market, and are reliant on the sale of services to generate income (compare Westall 2001). These characteristics distinguish social enterprises from most public sector organisations that are funded out of taxation and are not providing traded services. They also distinguish them from the traditional model of the charitable organisation that provides services paid for out of voluntary contributions and employs criteria of eligibility in the distribution of its assistance. Spear et al. (2009: 252) suggest four major types of social enterprise, based on different origins and development paths. They are: mutuals (including co-ops), trading charities, new-start social enterprises and public sector spin-offs. While only the last of these might be seen as a direct threat to public sector employment, in practice public services could be provided by all four kinds of social enterprise. The main focus of the paper is to examine the implications of this, principally from the point of view of the employee.

## **Social Enterprise as a threat to public sector Bureaucracy?**

In the UK, as in many countries, the twentieth century saw growth in public sector employment, as the state expanded beyond core functions of raising revenue and developing its military might. Crucially, for the focus of this paper, in the UK the public sector as it developed in the twentieth century, came to be associated with a particular set of employment and employee relations policies (Fredman and Morris 1989:10-11). This involved the state explicitly setting standards for what the 'good' employer should do, as an example to organisations in the private sector. Specifically this model involves the promotion of collective bargaining and trade unionism within the state sector with associated mechanisms of national negotiation of terms and conditions. It also includes the provision of adequate pensions, sick leave, holidays and other welfare benefits. From the 1960s onwards this expanded to include equal opportunity policies. Moreover the outcomes of collective bargaining were not constrained unduly by competitive trading conditions.

Of course the notion of the state as a model good employer has its limits. In many parts of the state, wages have been relatively low and equal opportunities for women and ethnic minorities was not a consideration until relatively recently (Fredman and Morris 1989: 11), and equality of outcome for different groups is still only an aspiration. Also incomes policies in the 1960s and 70s meant the state actually took a lead in restraining wage increases at various times (Fredman and Morris 1989: 18). Nevertheless, since trade unions became a key part of the public sector, with union density running at high levels (75% as opposed to 32% across the private sector) and collective bargaining highly institutionalised, it is not surprising that public sector trade unions have expressed opposition to any threat to diminish the public sector. Whether this takes the form of private sector companies or social enterprises taking on work that has hitherto been done within the public sector, the fear is that this may lead to the abandonment, if not of collective bargaining itself, at least of some elements of the national settlement over wages and conditions (for example, see Harrison 2006).

To the extent that the public sector provided a favourable set of conditions for its employees, throughout most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, successive fiscal, economic and political crises rendered the post war consensus unstable (e.g. see Johnson 1987). In its place a neo-liberal consensus began to emerge that promoted 'entrepreneurial governance' (Osborne and Gaebler 1992) and the New Public Management (Pollitt 1990, Hood 1995, Clarke and Newman 1997). While this might be implemented with various degrees of enthusiasm and in different forms (e.g. Politt and Bockaert (2000), in some shape or other it is associated with managerialism and marketisation. Social enterprise can be seen as part of a neo-liberal drive to limit the scope of the state, and to provide public services as much as possible in ways that elevate market and entrepreneurial values as the best guarantors of 'efficient' public services, and thus reduce the fiscal requirements to a minimum.

### **Contexts and Drivers**

A number of contributory factors can be identified as driving an increase in social enterprise. For example Drennan et al. (2007), in an integrative review of entrepreneurial nurses and midwives in the UK, suggest a range of 'push' and 'pull' factors. The former include public sector down-sizing, re-organization and financial pressures, redundancy, rigidity of roles and lack of autonomy while 'pull' factors include increasing flexibility and autonomy. However this same study suggests that push and pull factors are highly dependent on the specific occupational and national context, as well as on the demographic characteristics of the individuals concerned (for example those near retirement might be more likely to set up a business, having already established a degree of



financial security). It also suggested that any move away from the public sector is, at present, and in this occupational context, very slight: there seems to be no great enthusiasm for leaving the NHS or other established organisational providers among UK nurses and midwives. It may be, however, that different trends might prevail in different occupational spheres. Nursing, at least in the acute sector, is firmly embedded in hospital bureaucracies but other occupations, such as social care have already seen provision shift towards private and third sector providers and this seems set to continue, with those in these occupations consequently much more likely to see social enterprise as a socially available and perhaps even an attractive opportunity (Hunter 2009).

A key consideration in deciding on the consequences of social enterprises, concerns that of profit making and profit distribution. Massetti (2008) sees the profit requirement as a defining feature of social enterprise but not their primary aim. According to her analysis, in social enterprises profit is a means to a social purpose not an end in itself. Similarly for Dart (2004: 415) social enterprises differ from traditional not-for-profit organisations precisely in the importance of profit and the 'double bottom line' of social mission and financial revenue generation providing a return on investment. Using an institutionalist approach he explains the rise of social enterprise largely with reference to the institutional pressures to seek moral legitimacy. In this case it is a legitimacy afforded by its connection with the 'pervasive faith in markets and business-based approaches and solutions' (Dart 2004:418). Of course he recognizes, too, that individuals and organisations can respond to institutional pressures in a variety of ways, including 'active resistance or defiance, manipulation, avoidance, compromise and passive acquiescence' (Dart 2004: 420). But if this suggests that there may not be an inevitable drift towards a pure for-profit orientation, Massetti's (2008) model in which organisations are arrayed on a continua also suggests the ease with which there can be such movement.

It is certainly clear that there is a degree of resistance to the social enterprise model. For some, particularly in evidence among public sector trade unions, 'social enterprise' might simply be seen as another form of privatisation, inevitably resulting in lower wages and poorer conditions. But there is also concern that professionals lose focus on the service user as they are engaged in running a business (Harrison 2006). Similarly Spear et al. (2009) suggest there can be difficulty in balancing social and financial goals.

One form of social enterprise worth considering in more detail in this context is that of the co-operative. This form of organisation has been seen as an alternative to conventional private enterprise forms from at least the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards (Thornes 1988). Of importance too, particularly for our present focus on the employee's perspective, is their capacity for providing

democratic structures that are an alternative to exploitative relations and provide an opportunity for employees to gain full benefit from their labour, under humane working conditions.

While co-operatives have often been part of an attempt to ensure favourable conditions for employees, they have not been without their critics even from those who take labour's side in class politics. Radicals, from Marx onwards, have tended to see them as, at best, rather naive enterprises, destined either to fail or to be little more than exercises in self-exploitation, at least while they remain isolated islands in a sea of capitalism (Jones and Ernest 1979; Marx 1979 (originally published 1864) and, for a more recent perspective on co-operatives in Brazil, Lima 2007). A common and powerful argument (see Cornforth 1995) is that even when they are established for the best of reasons and with the aim of providing good employment for workers, they are apt to degenerate or fail. Nevertheless, if we wish to avoid a crude version of economic determinism we might argue that given the right *political and legislative* context as well as the right internal conditions (see Cornforth 1995) there could be conditions in which co-operatives flourish. However, as Lima (2007) puts it, the extent to which there can be autonomy as opposed to precariousness is highly context dependent; dependent, that is, not just on the agency of political actors but on their constrained agency in particular economic and social circumstances.

Considering co-operatives also raises the issue of how, to the extent they are autonomous and not heteronomous organisations (Weber 1978: 51-2), they might be instruments of public policy. Can employees in co-operatives providing welfare services for the state, be bureaucrats in the Weberian sense (see Du Gay 2000), or will they put their own interest ahead of the public or service user? A possible answer to this is that competitive market conditions might ensure that the co-operatives members do not become unduly privileged exploiters. Another is that a pronounced public sector ethos, combined with openness and accountability to the public may suffice.

## **Conclusions**

The public bureaucrat has no monopoly of honour – not even the particular honour Weber associates, potentially, with officialdom; the honour associated with integrity and disinterested application of institutionalised knowledge to the pursuit of politically determined ends. Practitioners in private, public and social enterprise might be more or less worthy of respect as officials who exercise their limited and politically legitimated responsibilities. From the point of view of the employee, also, the public bureaucracy is no land of milk and honey. Work can be as hard, the subordination as cruel, and the benefits as poor as any in the private and third sector. If, for some groups of public sector workers in some places and at some times conditions are better,

this is a matter partly of their own willingness to mobilise and act collectively in their own interests, and partly due to a political willingness to confer respect to the employee. Such conditions could in principle be extended to, or won by, workers in the private and third sectors.

This is not to suggest that context does not matter, or that we should be indifferent as to whether something is public, private or 'third sector'. Context matters but the future is full of potential as well as risks, and social enterprises present opportunities as well as threats. To the extent that social enterprises exist or are the best alternative to unemployment or inaction, public service employees can work within them and seek to impose on them pressures and frameworks which require them to raise employment standards, not lower them. This may require standing against the tide of neo-liberal dogma and asserting that there is an alternative, one based on co-operation, respect and the kind of responsibility so important to Weber – that of concern for social and human consequences of action. In the different spheres of public service there are opportunities for action as well as constraints. All action is inevitably intensely political and cultural – but financial and economic considerations are of decisive importance, too.

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# The Degradation of Work: Lean Production in the UK Civil Service

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## **Introduction**

The UK Civil Service has been subject to a constant series of governmental and managerial initiatives over the last 30 years, aimed at increasing efficiency by emulating the private sector. The Gershon Report (2004) identified public sector efficiency savings of £20 billion with the reduction of 80, 000 jobs – it is important to note that this was before the current recession and threat of ‘deep cuts’ to public services. In the context of HM Revenue and Customs (HMRC) there are to be 25, 000 job losses by 2011 through the centralisation of operating sites and the introduction of lean working methods, which it is claimed will increase efficiency, productivity and staff involvement (Radnor and Bucci, 2007). This research critically examines the application of lean production techniques to HMRC and the impact on the lived experience of labour, together with wider issues over the meaning of work.

## **The Degradation of Work**

One of the early management theorists to recognise the importance of managerial control over the organisation of work was Taylor (1911), who claimed that the separation of conception from execution, together with time and motion studies would improve employee productivity. Hence, the fragmentation and standardisation of work through precise instructions would drive up efficiencies. However, Braverman (1974) argues that the use of Taylorist work methods deskills and routinises work. Such methods remove worker autonomy, creativity and discretion. Braverman (1974: chs. 1 and 11) asserts that scientific management is easier to apply to the white-collar labour process as there is a continuous flow of documentation which can be segmented, rationalised and standardised. Hence, this results in the degradation of work, with repetitive and simplified tasks which offer little intrinsic satisfaction and meaning. Fox (1980) argues that work is designed to maximise productivity and efficiency, rather than to provide fulfilling, humane and meaningful work.

Braverman’s thesis has resonance in a variety of critical empirical and theoretical studies which have identified an endurance of Taylorism in modern office work. For instance, Baldry et al. (1998) found that modern open-plan offices were characterised by an intensification of work, lean staffing and team Taylorism with managerial obsession of productivity targets. Furthermore,

in research into the privatisation of British Gas, Ellis and Taylor (2006) argue that what were once considered relatively good and secure jobs, have since been restructured, routinised and repetitive. Indeed, Smith (forthcoming) also uncovered dramatic changes at National Savings after the Public-Private Partnership of the organisation, as mass redundancies, together with outsourcing and offshorings, saw good jobs replaced by insecure and fragmented work. Sennett (1998), in a macro analysis, assesses such transformations of working lives in *The Corrosion of Character*. He asserts that there has been a movement away from secure, structured and meaningful work, to the new capitalism which is characterised by insecurity and low-trust, yet there are increasing work demands and pressures. Thompson (2003) highlights similar issues in addressing why employers fail to keep their side of the bargain by offering job security, career development and more reciprocal and meaningful attachments to work. Related to these themes of degradation, Francis Green (2001) argues that there has been both an intensification and extensification of work, particularly in the public sector. This is marked by increasing workplace pressures and threats to job security, which have health and well-being implications. Central to this literature on changing work and employment experiences are the themes of degradation and the meaning of work.

One approach to the reorganisation of work that emphasises rationalisation, together with more challenging and rewarding work is lean. Advocates claim that it is a superior way of organising work that eliminates waste and inefficiency, whilst simultaneously continually improving quality and productivity (Womack et al., 1990). Contrary to this portrayal, empirical evidence on the experience of lean, which was predominately implemented in car manufacturing, reveals constant pressure and subordination, which deteriorates the experience of work (see Graham, 1993; Danford, 1999; Stewart et al., 2009). Yet despite numerous studies that reveal the negative consequences of lean on working lives, it has more recently been asserted that lean can be extended to the service sector, suggesting that this will enhance worker involvement and responsibility (Womack and Jones, 2003; Radnor and Bucci, 2007). This raises questions over the application of lean to the white-collar labour process. What impact does the reorganisation of work have on autonomy, control, discretion and creativity? Furthermore, regarding the meaning of work, what are the consequences in terms of: (a) extrinsic factors, namely, job security and flexible working, and (b) intrinsic factors, such as, sense of achievement, self-expression, dignity, personal development, job satisfaction and identity?

## **Research Methods**

This paper is based on extensive empirical research that was conducted across 6 HMRC tax processing sites during 2008 – ‘09. The research team carried out 36 interviews with shop-floor workers, middle managers, and union representatives at each of the 6 locations. Analysis of the qualitative data facilitated the development of a detailed questionnaire, which was distributed to 15% of the workforce at each site. A total of 840 questionnaires were completed, representing a 51% return. The analysis of both the quantitative and qualitative data revealed some significant and stark results, particularly with regard to previous studies of HMRC (Radnor and Bucci, 2007).

## **Working Life Before Lean**

In both the interviews and questionnaires we asked about working life before and after lean to examine the implications for the lived experience of labour. Prior to the introduction of lean, working at HMRC was widely regarded as a relatively stable, safe and secure ‘job for life’. There was whole case working, with staff overseeing cases in their totality, thereby having an element of control, autonomy and discretion at work. Although there were no specific targets, line managers had reasonable expectations of what was achievable, therefore, to an extent, workers could set their own pace of work. There were also training and mentoring systems in place, so that staff could complete a range of tasks, which enhanced their personal development. Many of the workers stated that they enjoyed a variety of interesting work, which gave a sense of achievement in providing a good service to the public. Flexi-time allowed staff some control over their work hours, and they could interact with colleagues and take informal breaks. This resonates with the classic ethnographic study of Roy (1960) into workplace interaction where the monotony of the working day was fractured by a series of informal breaks, one of which was ‘banana time’.

## **Working Life After Lean**

PA Consulting and McKinsey were brought into HMRC to offer advice on conceptual changes, and they were later followed by Unipart, to analyse and reorganise work along lean principles. This involved the reconfiguration of desk layouts and the fragmentation of whole case working into simplified and routinised processes. ‘Classic’ Taylorist time and motion studies were conducted in minute detail in order to enable the creation of strict standard operating procedures. Yet, many workers expressed major concerns over both the accuracies of the timings and the representative range of work sampled. This resulted in what was once complex, challenging and interesting work, being replaced by monotonous and mundane tasks. Indeed, 80 per cent of survey respondents reported an increase in the pace, volume and intensity of work since the adoption of lean working methods.

Under lean there are now targets which are cascaded down to teams and then onto individual workers. With the detailed timing of tasks, there are pre-set hourly targets with constant pressure on staff to work at their maximum capacity. A questionnaire comment aptly summarises the situation, “every minute of the day you are a prisoner to lean”. Furthermore, visual management is utilised, with large whiteboards positioned at the front of every team detailing the hourly performance of each team member. One worker spoke of the “tyranny of the hourly count”, as team leaders are now collectors of figures, rather than managers who can develop and motivate their team members. In certain offices, in keeping with lean principles, staff have kanban flags, and they wave a green flag to request more work, a blue flag for assistance and a red flag to indicate that they have sufficient work for the time being. One worker spoke of the “humiliation” of the kanban flag system, which is designed to control the pace of work and, as a consequence, staff feel under pressure to remain at their work stations. Under this form of visual management, staff are only allowed two personal items on their desks, and the quote below highlights the farcical situation of a manager enquiring about the “active” role of a banana!

We had yellow and black tape and the consultants said I had to identify what I was surrounding. So for anybody who was ... well, brain dead, I suppose, I had to write that, this was indeed a keyboard, a pen, a computer...because it's visual management. We had a situation where someone had a banana on their desk, and all of the items had to be active. So the boss actually came along and said, “is that banana active or inactive?”

(HMRC employee interview quote)

Prior to the introduction of lean, the professional opinions of staff were valued and respected. Now, any questioning or criticism of lean, however constructive or justified, is deliberately framed as “negative”. Indeed, one interviewee was criticised by the team leader for “being negative in a negative way, not negative in a positive way”! Furthermore, flexi-time and annual leave are regarded by consultants as incompatible with lean and hourly targets. There is now limited job rotation, task variety and opportunities for training and development.

In 1968 I began working as an AO and I enjoyed the job. I could plan my week and did all aspects of the job. Now under Lean every day is the same - very monotonous. We have been de-skilled. I hope the Chief Executive enjoys his knighthood. Thanks to him my job has been trashed. (HMRC lean survey comment)



Such views were expressed in the questionnaire by the vast majority of staff across all 6 locations. Prior to lean, 71% of staff regarded working at HMRC as a long-term career choice, now only 21% see this as a long-term job; 33% of staff would recommend the job to others, post-lean this figure is down to a mere 2%.

I used to be able to think for myself and prioritise my work like an adult. Now it is like being back at school - I am expected to sit at my desk, not talk, other than answering the telephone, and just do what I am given without question. I would rather my children worked in McDonald's than working anywhere in HMRC.

(HMRC lean survey comment)

## **Conclusions**

The introduction of lean to HMRC has resulted in significant changes in the organisation, experience and meaning of work. There has been the imposition of a brutal form of Taylorism which has degraded and dehumanised what was previously a rewarding, satisfying and secure job. The findings resonate with recent studies on the white-collar labour process, with the intensification and deterioration of work (Baldry et al., 1998; Ellis and Taylor, 2006; Smith, forthcoming), and Sennett's (1998) analysis of the transformation from secure and meaningful work. These findings are in stark contrast to the 'win-win' claims that lean results in more employee involvement and responsibility (Radnor and Bucci, 2007). Indeed, lean at HMRC is similar to manufacturing, in that work is repetitive, monotonous and relentless (Graham, 1993; Danford, 1999; Stewart et al., 2009).

At HMRC there has been the degradation of work on two counts, namely: the labour process and the meaning of work. In terms of the labour process, due to the abandonment of whole case working and the implementation of lean with standard operating procedures, staff have far less autonomy, control and discretion at work. Indeed, there is the squeezing of the porosity of labour (Green, 2001), and under such Draconian Taylorised systems, workers are now accountable for the duration of the entire working day. Such issues inevitably impact on the meaning and value of work. In terms of extrinsic factors, working at HMRC is no longer a safe and secure 'job for life' and flexi-time is viewed as incompatible with lean. Regarding intrinsic factors, staff now have little sense of self-expression and job satisfaction, given the controlling nature of lean with visual management procedures, such as, whiteboards and kanban flags. Hence, 40 years on from

Roy's (1960) fascinating account of surviving workplace drudgery through 'banana time', there is the ludicrous situation of managers at HMRC asking whether bananas are active or inactive!

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# Support and trust facilitates cooperation in case management

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## Introduction

Case management is an organisation created to support people that have a psychiatric illness or disability *and* at the same time an alcohol or a drug abuse (co morbidity). In North Bothnia County, Sweden, case management started in 2005, as a national project with financial support from the Swedish Government. It is now, in 2010, a permanent organisation. Case management as an *own* organisation is between the traditional organisations, and cooperation has been built into the structure. It is an integrated organisational form which comprises two different organisations (health county council and social welfare department) into one that shares the majority of tasks, irrespective of which organisation are originally responsible for them (Berggren 1982, Westrin 1986, Boklund 1995).

A basic condition in the work within healthcare and social work is that it is based on the individual's needs and situations, not on the organisations different perspectives (Socialstyrelsen<sup>5</sup> 2009). Reforms within the public sector, during the 1990's, involved dividing responsibilities between the two organisations (Danermark and Kullberg 1999, SOU<sup>6</sup> 2000:3). During the same period the work have become more specialised and differentiated (SOU 2000:114, Axelsson and Axelsson Bihari 2007). This has led to difficulties in providing a support based on the needs of the individuals, and cooperation has therefore, become a necessity for those people who need support from several organisations (SOU 2000:114, Axelsson and Axelsson Bihari 2007, Socialstyrelsen 2009). This development has led to new conditions for the organisations; it has led to a need for other ways to work and to organise work, for example cross-border cooperation (Socialstyrelsen 2009), as case management is an example of.

People with co morbidity have traditionally fallen between different organisations' responsibilities because the responsibility is divided between several organisations (Markström 2005, SOU 2006:100, Socialstyrelsen 2007). The support normally offered to those people is shared between multiple organisations, and the support is not coordinated and lacks sustainability (Palmstierna 2004, Levander et.al. 2006). Often, the traditional way of organising the support does not suite people with co morbidity and a great responsibility is placed on the individuals to

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<sup>5</sup> The Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare

<sup>6</sup> Swedish Government Official Reports

coordinate the support themselves (Palmstierna 2004, Mueser, Drake and Noordsy 2005, Boyle, Delos Reyes and Kruszynski 2005). This case management organisation started in order to improve cooperation between the organisations and the support for people with co morbidity. One of the managers in case management describes in an interview that the goal with case management is to considerably "improve the care of a much neglect group, of those that ... no one wants to be responsible for, [that] have been falling *between the chairs*, and instead of seeing them as something to close the door before, take joint responsibility for this group."

This paper describes cooperation between managers from health county council and the local authority (social welfare department) that are responsible for case management. The focus is on the horizontal cooperation between those involved in the management teams; in particular how cooperation in case management is supported and how cooperation between the managers can be facilitated.

The method is interviews with five of the managers that are involved in case management and twelve persons from the staff that works as case managers. Those working as case managers are for example nurses, occupational therapists and social workers, and they have their employment in four municipalities (social welfare department) and the county council (psychiatry and primary health care). The five individual interviews were conducted with the managers for case management and four group interviews were conducted with the case managers, two interviews with personnel from social services and two interviews with personnel from the county council. The interviews were carried out in two rounds in 2008 and 2009, as part of an evaluation of case management and of my Licentiate thesis.

### **Cooperation is incorporated in the structure in case management**

Case management is an organisation that exists between the traditional organisations – county council and social welfare department – but is at the same time not an entirely own organisation, partly because the managers are from different organisation and the case managers (the staff) have their employment in their previous organisations. Case management is an example of a form of cooperation known as integration, and it means fusion (Berggren 1982, Westrin 1986, Boklund 1995). Responsibilities and tasks are shared, and the organisation is led by management-teams that are created for this purpose. The intention with integration is to minimise the disparities and to strive towards generalist skills (Boklund 1995).

In the structure that has been built up for case management exist both vertical and horizontal cooperation. This means that a ““hierarchical coordination of the participating organisations are combined with a more or less voluntary network-cooperation between individuals, for example in cross-border team ...” which is the vertical cooperation (Axelsson and Bihari Axelsson 2007:17f).

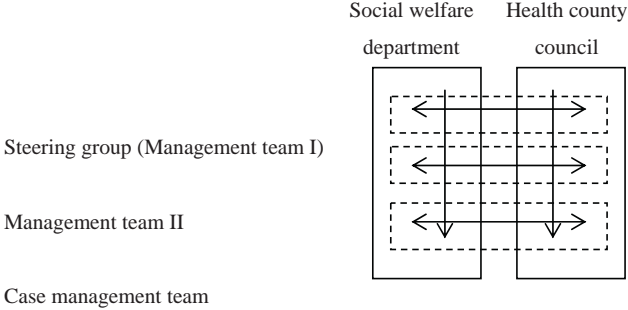


Figure 1: Horizontal and vertical integration in case management<sup>7</sup>

The figure above shows how case management has been organised. Those who participate in case management are governed by their own organisations vertically through this hierarchical coordination through the politicians, the management-teams to the case management teams and their organisations. At the horizontal level characterises case management of voluntary network cooperation between those involved in the management-teams and in the case management teams (compare Axelsson and Bihari Axelsson 2007).

The management-teams have an overall responsibility for the entire case management organisation and for the staff (the case managers). They are responsibility for the leadership of case management and what they agree on and decide in the teams has to be implemented and executed in each organisation (vertical cooperation). The case managers work together and directly with the users. In the horizontal cooperation between those involved, between the case managers and between the managers, trust becomes a significant factor. Cooperation between professionals is aided by trust and it is more demanding not to show trust than to show trust (Grimen, 2008). For

<sup>7</sup> Changes have been made from the original figure, made by Axelsson and Bihari Axelsson (2007:18), to fit the Case management organisation.

example, trust facilitates the transfer of information and knowledge between different professionals since the work undertaken will be less extensive (ibid).

### **Trust in cooperation**

There are some key elements in trust, described by, for example, Coleman (1994), Luhmann (2005) and Grimen (2008). The person who gives trust *transfers* something to someone, in someone's keeping and this is done in *good faith*. The giver has *expectations* on the person who gets the trust, expectations that will be charged in advance and that will not be returned immediately. It therefore involving a *risk-taking* and there is a *vulnerability* in the relationship between the person that gives and the person that receives trust, because the person that is given trust has more opportunities to act – more opportunities to choose from – than the giver has. He or she has to act at a specific time. This opens a *room for action*, for the receiver of trust; a space that does not exist without trust and that facilitate things that would not otherwise have been done. To show trust is thus an investment in which someone invests to gain something in the future, for example a better cooperation (Coleman 1994, Luhmann 2005 and Grimen 2008). One definition of trust in relation to cooperation (or collaboration as Huxham and Vangen writes), based on some of the key elements, is:

Trust is the anticipation that something will be forthcoming in return for the efforts that are put into the collaboration – a faith in the partners' will and ability to help materialise the sought after collaborative advantage. (Huxham and Vangen 2005:154).

Trust facilitates cooperation because the work can be done more smoothly and efficient. This can be explained with the terms *the chain of trust* (Grimen 2008) and *the trust building loop* (Huxham and Vangen 2005). With the concept the chain of trust explains that actors trust what is done in an earlier stage in the chain, especially when they are from the same profession. And, when there is a lack of trust the mutual work is to a larger extent characterised by control (a *control chain*). This is more common when persons from different professions cooperate. Control hamper the ability to build on the work carried out at an earlier stage in the chain. For example, unclear responsibilities and lack of knowledge may limit cooperation and control work, instead of building chains of trust (Grimen 2008). The trust building loop explains the process in which trust is built up and grows over time in cooperation. To create trust is a cyclical process in which the foundation is the positive results achieved by previous actions. When the results correspond to the expectations of

actors, they can build on the foundations laid for trust. Trust is therefore gradually and constantly growing (Huxham and Vangen 2005).

### **To create trust is work in progress in case management**

The participating organisations in case management experience that they have support for their work. A factor in creating this support has been to build the organisation with both horizontal and vertical integration. One of the managers describes the horizontal and the vertical cooperation; he says it is important to:

Accomplish what we have decided, that is to say working routines and methods. And [that] I support the structure that we have built, that is times set for meetings [and so on].

By keeping the times set for meetings and what they have decided the managers' show, towards their own organisation but especially towards those they cooperate with, that case management is an important organisation that needs to be prioritised. This way of outward showing an approach in their work, which is then carried out in the own organisations is a way to build trust and demonstrate that there is no need to control what others contribute in cooperation. Those interviewed highlight the fact that there are differences between the organisations and issues that need to be solved, but they mean that the differences are no major obstacle in cooperation in case management.

Cooperation does not have to depend on the extent to which those who cooperate like one another or likes to work together. Cooperation also works when there is trust in someone else's competence, which can complement and contribute something positive in cooperation. One manager in case management gives an example:

If I have a basic approach that if I come to an elderly home with a nurse and I initially feel that there is a discrepancy, and she probably feels the same thing. If both, I and her, decide that this has to ... work, so even if one does not become the best of friends, you can always if you are a professional, I believe, draw up an approach towards each other. So it is more about, and in this way it will be dependent on the person, the approach towards cooperation. But, we can not be friends with the whole world, but we can cooperate with a large part of the world, I think. ... So, if I decide that I will make the best of it ... we can often find some sort of cooperation.

A working cooperation needs therefore people who have both the knowledge and the intention to work towards cooperation. The one that gives trust chooses to cooperate and what is dependent on the person, according to this manager, is if the individual has a willingness (an intention) to cooperate. If there is a willingness to cooperate he or she can disregard personal qualities – as in other contexts and with other people could obstruct cooperation. This approach to cooperation is common in case management and is described in several of the interviews.

The managers give examples of how it can be when the management teams have their meetings (horizontal cooperation). They highlight how trust can grow by showing that there is an intention of a joint work. At the meetings, the participants addressed the current cases and then try to clarify who are responsible and who does what. What is typical of the approach is that both organisations say that they take their responsibilities, as one manager points out in this quotation, regarding case management: "No one backs off and says, -but this is not our responsibility." According to another manager their meetings are characterised of a climate where there is

a spirit of reasoning in the direction of consensus. ... No one comes and says ... -take it or leave it. I do not know how I will put it in a more beautiful way ... but that there is a dialogue and not a monologue in the meetings, dialogue and not a speech.

By wanting to cooperate and having a dialogue with each other, there is also an intention not to delimit their own responsibility, but to cross the borders and give a little extra in cooperation. This means, for example, that they in the management teams

do these small, specific solutions where you might not have to do exactly as all others do. So, we have to stretch our limits and ... we must take the risk and loosen up ... We must have the courage to do new things and make new contacts and to work in other ways.

This approach to the common work supports the cooperation between the organisations. Trust is built for each other in the joint work (chain of trust) by increasing the trust in each other gradually (trust building loop), for example by taking a risk to exceed the limits (Huxham and Vangen 2005, Grimen 2008).



## Concluding thoughts

This paper describes cooperation between managers from health county council and the local authority that are responsible for case management. The focus is on the horizontal cooperation between those involved in the management teams; in particular how cooperation in case management is supported and how cooperation between the managers can be facilitated. Case management is an organisation in which professional from both organisations work integrated to support persons with co morbidity.

The result of the interviews shows that cooperation is facilitated by the existence of a supporting structure. The combination of the horizontal and vertical integration means that the horizontal cooperation, that takes place across organisational boundaries, is dependent on that actors in the different organisations are working vertically to accomplish what has been decided by the management teams, for example to support and implement case management in each organisation. But there is something more in case management which relates to those participating in the horizontal cooperation; they act in such a way that the trust is built up between them. To show trust is an investment where the managers invest something to gain in the future. It is an ongoing work in which the trust is constantly enhanced by good experiences in cooperation – through the trust building loop and by creating chains of trust instead of controlling each others work. Case management is a good example of this. Cooperation does not happen by itself and it is not just pure luck if cooperation works. It needs people that have the intention to cooperate and to try other ways of working across organisational borders.

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# Gender relations and local culture in northernmost Sweden (Tornedalen area) - women's view of men

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## **Introduction**

In this study I examine gender related questions in Tornedalen. The geographical location of Tornedalen is in the northernmost part of Sweden on the borderland to Finland. The population in Tornedalen is dominated by men as a result of the common emigration (mainly towards southern regions in Sweden) of young women (Länsstyrelsen, 2005). Compared to other areas in Sweden, the north, and especially its rural parts, acquired modern standards rather late (Blehr, 1994). This is explained by the fact that remote areas were often isolated and also because of the comparably worse socio-economical situation of the countryside. All together this could create a local identity which may hinder new ideas to emerge since norms and values are anchored into stable systems (Heggen, 2000).

The general idea of this paper is to study equality issues and to explore gender functions in the Tornedalen area. The study focuses on women's view of men. By analyzing a large number of women's narratives through approaching feminist poststructuralism, the analysis centers on gender functions and equality issues.

Women of varying ages (19-81 years old) were previously interviewed as a part of a women project (in which I was involved as supervisor). Interviews of 103 Tornedalen women were carried out during 1995-1996. The interviews become women-narratives as told from their lives, anecdotes of particular events, information and knowledge related to gender and equality. The narratives include both current (at the time of the interview in 1995-1996) and historic (from middle to late twentieth century) reflections.

## **Discourse analysis and feminist poststructuralism**

The narratives of Tornedalen women were analyzed using discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is built on people's imagination of reality and in the way it is expressed Foucault (1982, 1994). According to Foucault (1994) several discourses exists at the same time, but with different levels of importance.

It is my belief that feminist poststructural theory and practice aids when addressing questions about gender relations and is an important viewpoint to take when analyzing local culture and

gender functions. In line with feminist poststructuralist theory the subject is here understood as a practice of becoming a subject (Butler, 1995). Feminist poststructuralism, on my reading, provides opportunities to develop a thorough understanding of cultural, social and historic occurrences. By using the concept of gendered identity and conceptualizing it as a shifting process, feminist poststructuralism provided a useful theoretical framework. From this perspective, the identity of a Tornedalen woman, as any identity, is not a fixed entity, but rather an unfinished project, which is affected by a variety of competing discourses.

## **Gender relations in Tornedalen**

### *The narratives (interviews)*

In the following section, I use the narratives to present women's feelings, thoughts and views of men. The section is divided into different themes and includes quotes from interviews. The focus is on women's own experiences of men as told in the narratives. Exploring this area, some short parts from a few of the respondents' narratives are quoted below. Quotes represent either reflections at the time of the interview (1995-1996) or situations/reflections from a time in the past (from the 1950s and onwards).

### *Household tasks:*

Some women tell stories of significant gender division in doing household tasks:

*The Tornedalen man is of the sort that he will have dinner on the table when he comes home from work. He does work outside the house, but inside, I do the work. It could be that mothers have destroyed them by raising them poorly and letting them give orders (Married, 21 years old).*

A young woman explains how gender functions are divided in Tornedalen. The discourse that has shaped her life is the traditional gendered division of work. This woman says that mothers have destroyed men; probably referring to a lack of/neglecting equality issues when raising sons.

The term "knapso" is mentioned in many of the interviews; "knapso" meaning a man who does female tasks. The term "knapso" is being considered extremely patronizing in Tornedalen:

*Earlier it was so that if the husband did something inside of the house he was a "knapso", but the last years many things have changed. Nowadays some men dare to, well they may not bake, but they dare to prepare food, they dare to vacuum-clean, shake carpets outside, all these things were absolutely impossible before. If the men wanted to anything of this,*

*they had to do in secret so that no one knew about it. But now there is a different view; now when women have started to work, they notice that one should help in order to make things work at home (Divorced, 50 years old).*

A divorced woman explains how she feels it has been impossible for men to do household tasks in the past, since no one wants to be called a “knapso”. She explains that nowadays (1995-96) some men dare to do household tasks. The pressure of the local culture is something that is strongly felt in her explanations.

*Relationships and dominant men:*

Some women claim that it is a man’s world in Tornedalen:

*In this region maybe the old picture of women still lives, a woman as caring and it is she that shall take care of the home. //...// The Tornedalen man is quite dominant, as a rule he dominates in the family. This society still lives by men’s rules I would say (Married, 46 years old).*

This woman says that women shall take care of the home, and men dominate the family; probably meaning that Tornedalen is an unequal place to live in. She also claims that the society and the local culture are ruled by men. It is difficult to know if she sees any historic change in the local culture, but she says that the society still lives by men’s rules, probably meaning that she does not think that any real change have occurred during her own life.

*Clearly positive views of men:*

Some women have a clear positive view of the typical masculine Tornedalen man:

*My partner is a typical man from Tornedalen; he is, how do you say, he is dominant and he knows exactly what he wants, and he is awfully targeted as I see it. Typical for a man in Tornedalen is to walk around in working-clothes during the weekend, and yes he knows what he wants. He has his decisions: he knows how things should be, if he says a thing then it should be that way, but I think that is good (Married, 22 years old).*

This young woman describes her partner as dominant and goal oriented. She is aware of his dominance in their relationship, but for her this is something that (she says) is good. Her view is somewhat double-edged; while she says it is good (that men dominate) it feels like she is also

trying to persuade herself about this view. There might also be a sense of conflict in her when she talks about men walking around in working-clothes during the weekend. Is this something she likes or not?

Several narratives include stories of men who work hard: *The Tornedalen man is tranquil, diligent and hardworking (Widow, 73 years old)*. This widow describes a man in Tornedalen in a positive way; she might, at least in part, be referring to her own dead husband.

*Double edged view of men:*

Some women describe men in Tornedalen as hardworking, strong, trustful, but too silent and somewhat boring:

*Well, men in this village are boring, too common, does not think at all about their looks, most of them walks around in working-clothes. I would like much more style; otherwise, I think men are quite nice, in general (Widow, 43 years old).*

A woman who has become a widow (at a young age) feels that men in Tornedalen are boring. She also wants men to be more concerned about their looks. Still, she thinks that men are quite nice in Tornedalen.

*Clearly negative views of men:*

Men are often described as egoistic:

*The Tornedalen man, he is, well he thinks that it is he that is best, biggest and most beautiful; that is the way it is. And they do not appreciate women, well some might. They are a little too egoistical and too old-fashioned (Married, 57 years old).*

This woman has a view of men as egoistic and very old-fashioned. She probably means that men want to keep on to traditional gender functions. She also explains men as having too much self confidence compared to how she sees them.

The Tornedalen men are sometimes mentioned in extremely negative ways in the narratives:

*The Tornedalen man is a big egoist. A human without feet and without spine, ugh! Maybe it is because the mother has raised him; mothers have taught them not to do any household tasks (Married, 40 years old).*

This woman expresses a very negative view of Tornedalen men. It seems that she has many negative experiences of men in her life.

*Men described as macho-men:*

Some views of men are that they are deeply rooted in the old traditions of hunting and fishing:

*Sometimes I think that he has passed over too much to hunting and fishing in a way that I do understand that girls escape from Tornedalen. It is understandable when one thinks about them wanting to be out fishing or out hunting; on with the hunting-dress and away they go. I do not think they are so different from other men, but this thing with hunting and fishing, I think is typical for the Tornedalen men. But this thing of doing enough at home, there we still have a long way to go, not to help at home, but to do enough, but I think we, women, should keep on struggling and not give up (Widow, 60 years old).*

This widow has an explanation of why women move from Tornedalen; she believes the cause is that men are too much involved in hunting and fishing. She also feels that relationships are unequal and that women must continue to struggle towards equality.

There are a few women who feel that men have difficulties with the “macho-men” culture in Tornedalen:

*You have to be strong; on the other hand, I believe that a man might have to be even stronger to break the traditional gender role pattern; this is typical in Tornedalen. They hunt and fish and things like that, and one, if one wants to become more equal, I think, one has to be even stronger as a man because it is so deeply rooted here, here with these macho-men. But I believe it is also that one must dare, dare to break out of traditional patterns and roles (Married, 34 years old).*

A woman describes how the traditional gender patterns work in Tornedalen and that a “macho-men” culture exists. She suggests that both men and women need strength to break out of the traditional gender roles in Tornedalen.

The above quotes represent a good picture of women's views of men. Some quotes represent a situation and a description of men from a time in the past, while most quotes describes a situation and a view being real at the time of the interview.

### **Discussion and conclusions**

The feminist poststructuralist approach to this study addresses the various views expressed in the narratives. The narratives are related to women's lives and experiences. The collection of quotes represents most of the Tornedalen women's views of men. The views are related to the women's own life experiences, and also to their ways of perceiving equality issues. The women's own narratives give us insight into how women think and into how they live their lives as wives, mothers and as persons. The narratives include both positive and negative views of men. Many women describe men in Tornedalen as masculine, strong, targeted, trustworthy, and hard working. Men are also considered to be egoistic, boring, silent, dominant and too traditional. In fact, some of these different characteristics seem to be viewed as either positive or negative depending on which woman who tells the story. Many women portray relationships in Tornedalen as unequal; and that men often dominate relationships and avoids doing household tasks; a situation which many women considers being unfair. The behavior of men is in many ways often negatively described. Positive views of men are most common when women speak about their own husbands. Most women explain Tornedalen as a place with strong inequality and that there is a strong traditional division of gender functions.

#### *A historic perspective*

Over the time span studied (about 1950-1995) there have been major changes in society, including a transition from a time when almost all women were housewives to later times when this has become more and more rare. It is noted that gender relations, and views of men, expressed in narratives representing times around the 1950s often are quite similar to those expressed in narratives representing the middle 1990s (see also Juntti-Henriksson, 2003, 2008). This might seem surprising considering the fact that so much has happened in society over the fifty years covered, including transitions from an almost exclusively rural to a more urbanized life (in the countryside) - from a time when almost all women were full-time housewives to a time when this has become a rarity. There are a few women that explain that changes towards more gender equality have occurred, but the vast majority of Tornedalen women consider themselves as living in an unequal world with men still being the dominant part in a relationship.



### *Ages of respondents*

Respondents of varying ages do not seem to have different views of men. Women in ages around twenty often have similar views of men as older women. Many of the older women claim that the younger generation lives in more equal partnerships today. Still the young women express their husbands and boyfriends as typical Tornedalen men being dominant and having strong masculine characters. The conclusion may be drawn that no age depended view of men does exist. Instead, views of men are strikingly similar in different age groups of respondents.

### *Local society and gender issues*

The diverse views of the women in this study indicate that there is not one way of experiencing or thinking and acting in respect to equality issues. Still, the narratives often reveal a subordinate position taken by women in relation to men. Women often expressed what was expected from them by men. They also tried to explain how the local culture puts pressure on preserving traditional gender functions. The local culture seems to strongly influence gender issues and equality. The strong traditions of Tornedalen also affect young people growing up which affects both men and women and shapes gender relations. Many women have a negative view of men and often blame the local society for producing inequality and strong differences in gender functions. The local culture seems to have strong expectations/demands of what it means to be a man and a woman, respectively. It is clear that women identify themselves as Tornedalen women, and it most often it seems that they feel more in common with female youth than with men of the same age. Most women also had great knowledge of equality questions including the equality situation in Tornedalen, claiming Tornedalen to be less equal than the rest of Sweden.

### *Women's view of men*

Many women have a clear positive view of men in Tornedalen and describe them as masculine, strong, targeted, trustworthy, silent, and hard working. Some women even feel that Tornedalen men are the ideals of what men should be like.

The narratives suggest that most men in Tornedalen have typical masculine interests such as hunting and fishing. Gender related differences in interests are common everywhere and men often have a strong focus on certain interests (e.g. Cockburn 1983; Edwards, 2006). However, according to many Tornedalen women; the male interests in fishing and hunting often goes to the far extreme and some women does not at all like that men have such strong interests in these areas.

Some women claim that many men have quite dominant behaviors. These men may reflect to hegemonic masculinity which can be defined as the configuration of gender practice which

embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women (Connell, 1995). In the local Tornedalen culture there exist an extremely negative expression “knapso”: a word used for men who do household tasks such as e.g. housecleaning, doing the dishes etc. in a household. A “knapso” in this local culture is considered to be both “feminine and strange”. No man in Tornedalen wants to be called a “knapso”. This is one of probably several difficulties in Tornedalen in the progression towards equality. The total number of men rigorously practicing the hegemonic pattern in its entirety may not be so large. However, men gain from its hegemony, since they benefit from the patriarchal dividend, the advantage men in general gain from the overall subordination of women (Connell, 1987, 1995). The overall interest of men to work towards equality may therefore be low.

The study also suggests that women’s view of men is a result of local norms and values which are more adapted to male interests in such a way that they affirm male dominance while limiting and subordinating the female sphere. If, and to the extent that men have tried to keep women in the place where they best served men’s interests, they have been well assisted by the traditional local culture. Throughout the entire period under study there seem to have been, among several of the respondents, criticisms of the traditional culture.

#### *Final thoughts and conclusions*

Many different ways of thinking about gender issues and men are observed. Women describe men in Tornedalen as masculine, strong, targeted, trustworthy, and hard working. However, men were also considered to be egoistic, boring, silent, dominant and too traditional. Many women described relationships in Tornedalen as unequal and that men often dominates relationships and avoids doing household tasks; a situation which many women considered to be unfair. Most women have to some degree accepted the tradition of old fashioned and dominating men. Many women believe that equality has gone further in other parts of the country. The interviews often reveal a view of a subordinate position for women (in relation to men or husbands). The study suggests that women’s views of men are based on norms and values which are more adapted to a time when most women were housewives. Some of the narratives also illustrate how women carry a protest in themselves, protesting against inequality and dominating men. To the extent that traditions have kept women in house and child caring functions, they have been well assisted by the local culture.

The conclusions of the study suggest that a multiplicity of views of men do exist, however many similarities may be seen. For many of the women in this study men is considered to be

dominant and self-focused. Inequality is, for these women, a natural part of their lives and in their thinking about themselves and about men.

Overall, a picture of Tornedalen men (as expressed by women) emerges that are strongly linked to a local culture which keeps on to strong and old traditions.

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# Recent Reforms to Promote Social Responsibility Procurement in East Asian States: A Comparative Analysis

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## **Introduction**

The conventional principles of government purchasing of goods, services and works are: value for money for the end user (usually the procuring entity), and fairness based on equal access for all suitable suppliers, including foreign suppliers. These are deemed to be best guaranteed through open and non discriminatory competition. However, public procurement may also be required to serve social purposes and meet special needs other than the requirements of the end user (which may be termed social responsibility procurement). This involves giving preferences to: a) businesses with special needs or lacking resources to compete in domestic or international markets, which are considered vital for the future well-being of a country; b) businesses which incorporate a socially desirable component in their product, service or works (such as environmental sustainability and work safety).

The various states of East Asia have adopted four aspects of social responsibility procurement based on a system of preferences that favour: a) small and medium enterprises (SME's); b) local start up venture companies specializing in innovative and advanced technology products; c) companies providing products or undertaking public works projects which contribute to environmental sustainability; d) companies safeguarding work safety in public works projects. The paper will examine in what ways and to what extent preferences have been exercised in each of these aspects of social responsibility procurement in the various states of the region, and will provide in the conclusion reasons for the variations amongst these states in this regard.

## **Using preferences to support SME's and venture firms**

A important form of preference to support SME's in East Asia are set asides, reserving certain types of product, or purchases below a certain value to such businesses. For example, in Korea product set asides apply to 226 items which only SME's are allowed to supply. In Japan, Taiwan and Indonesia, value based set asides are applied, by which only SME's can participate in the procurement of lower value purchases. For example, in Indonesia, only SME's can supply goods up to the value of Rp1 billion, and provide services and undertake public works up to Rp4 billion.

In Korea, Multiple Award Schedules (MAS) are also used to increase purchases from SME's. These are stand by or on-going contracts to cover multiple purchases, in which SME's are contracted to supply their goods without further tender whenever required by the procuring entity. Korean procuring entities have adopted too special payment schedules in which the goods which SME's supply are paid for prior to delivery or once the contract has been agreed, rather than after delivery. This is particularly beneficial in overcoming the cash flow needs of SME's. Furthermore, under the Korean Network Loan Scheme, SME's can borrow from three major private banks up to 80% of the contract sum without security.

In three countries, Japan, Taiwan and Indonesia, quotas are used to ensure a minimum amount of purchases from SME's. In Japan the quota is normally just over 50% of the annual procurement budget, while in Taiwan it was set at 30% of the procurement budget for each procuring entity. In Indonesia, procuring entities are required to procure at least 10% of their supplies from SME cooperatives and another 10% from other SME's. In the Philippines, another type of preference is used, known as preferential listing, in which SME's are given first priority to supply food products to government agencies.

In two countries of the region, China and Korea, preferences are applied in favour of local small or start-up venture companies specialising in innovative and advanced technology products. In China, this is done through the use of preferential margins, in which the bid price of such companies is discounted for the purpose of the price evaluation (which may be up to 18%), and, if any of them wins the contract, the payment it receives is based on the original bid price. Moreover, in China if the prices offered by a local small or start up venture companies are higher than the prices offered by overseas companies, the former are then duly informed and given an option to drop their price so that it is lower than the offers of the overseas companies.

### **Using preferences to promote environmental sustainability**

In the more developed countries of East Asia, public procurement is used as a means to promote environmental standards (so-called sustainable procurement). This again involves applying a system of preferences. In the procurement of goods, tender specifications and bid award criteria give priority to products containing materials and components which are recycled and recyclable, or which are produced from renewable sources. The last mentioned include in Japan timber products from accredited sustainable forests where logging is controlled and felled trees replaced. Equally, priority is given to the purchase of equipment and machines with energy and water saving features. In Korea, under a system of mandatory purchasing, procuring entities are required to purchase goods which have eco-labels indicating their sustainability attributes, and which have,

where applicable, energy saving and low carbon emission certifications. As a further preference, additional points in the technical evaluation of a tender are given to suppliers offering equipment and machines which are the most energy efficient – listed in the government’s classification of outstanding products – with also a 10% preferential margin given to these products in the price evaluation score.

Preferences are applied to promote sustainability in public works procurement in the developed countries of East Asia. For example, in Singapore, to be eligible to tender for a public building contract, construction companies must have ISO1400 certification, which attests to their ability and willingness to build eco-friendly facilities. In addition, companies must have an environmental management system and a good track record in meeting environmental standards in order to pass the pre-qualification test, whilst tender specifications and evaluation criteria require that designs, building materials and equipment to be installed meet eco-friendly standards as signified by the so-called green mark scheme for public buildings. Likewise in Japan, Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong, designs, building materials and equipment to be installed must meet environmental standards as required by specification requirements and tender award criteria. These include provisions in the tender proposal for energy and water saving equipment, and the use of recycled building materials.

Sustainable procurement in public works projects entails as well promoting environmentally responsible site management. This includes a proper waste management and disposal system, control of pollution, preventing mosquito breeding, and maintaining the overall cleanliness of the site. No less important are minimizing the amount of landfill excavation and re-using landfill and other construction waste, avoiding the blockage of water courses with landfill, and using up to date energy saving construction equipment. Various preferences are used to encourage environmentally responsible site management. The tender evaluation may take into account measures to ensure environmental standards in site management (Taiwan), making eligibility to tender dependent upon a good environmental record in site management (Hong Kong and Singapore), and evaluating a contractor’s performance in part on whether environmental standards have been met in managing the site during the project (Korea, Hong Kong and Singapore).

However, in the in developing countries of the region there is a lack of commitment to sustainable procurement with respect to both goods and public works. In the Philippines and other developing countries of the region procurement laws, implementing regulations, and instruction manuals where they exist, do not refer to the need for green purchasing, sustainable construction and environmental site management.

### **Promoting work safety in public works procurement**

A fourth aspect of social responsibility procurement in East Asia is preferences promoting work safety in public works projects. In East Asia, rapid economic development in the last twenty years has led to a boom in public works projects involving construction of infrastructure facilities, public buildings, factory complexes and housing estates. This has led to high incidences of works site accidents and fatalities. In response, the governments of the developed countries of the region have taken steps to improve work safety standards in public works procurement.

For example, in Japan, in order to be registered with a procuring entity and thus eligible to tender for a public works contract, a construction company must pass the so-called annual business evaluation, which takes into account past safety performance. The score received in the evaluation determines also the value of the contract the company can bid for. In evaluating a tender proposal, the procuring entity must take into account 'safety of execution', i.e. measures proposed in the tender submission to avoid or protect against hazards on the works site, including a proper safety management system.

In Singapore, in order to be eligible to tender, construction companies are required to have local work safety certification for low value projects and international certification for high value projects. Construction companies incur demerit points for lapses of safety and for works site accidents. Accumulating 12 demerit points over a rolling 24 month period leads to prohibition on hiring manual labour from non-traditional (i.e. foreign) sources (the main source of manpower in the construction industry) and debarment for a given period from tendering for public contracts. Furthermore, in calculating the evaluation score of a public works tender proposal, a weight age of 10% must be given to the safety provisions in the proposal.

In Hong Kong, a company must employ a safety officer, and have a proper safety plan and safety management system in order to be eligible to tender for a public works projects. Furthermore, during and at the end of the project, the contractor is given several ratings on site safety. If these are negative they may lead to ineligibility to tender for 12 months; in more serious cases negative ratings may lead to financial downgrading or permanent debarment. Similar requirements to ensure proper safety standards in public works projects exist in Korea and Taiwan.

However, in the Philippines, safety factors on works sites are taken into account but only to a limited extent. The bidding documents submitted by a tenderer must include 'a construction safety and health program approved by the Department of Labor and Employment', but this is based on 'minimum requirements'. The contractor's performance evaluation covers



‘environmental, safety and health’. This is accorded a weightage of only 7% and is not clearly defined nor spelt out in detail. It therefore has little impact on eligibility screening and bid evaluation in subsequent contracts. The lack of any firm and detailed commitment to work safety is typical of the other developing countries of the region such as Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Vietnam and even Thailand.

**Conclusion: Explaining the differences in the promotion of social responsibility procurement amongst East Asian states**

The variation in the promotion through government procurement of SME’s, local venture firms, environmental sustainability and work safety amongst the countries of East Asia is summarized in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1  
Variation amongst East Asian States in Social Responsibility Procurement, 1990-2010

‘Yes’ indicates states where significant preferences have been introduced

‘No’ indicates states where limited or no preferences have been introduced

	Preferences for SME’s and local venture firms	Preferences promoting environmental sustainability and/or work safety (public works)
China	Yes	No
Hong Kong	No	Yes
Indonesia	Yes	No
Japan	Yes/No*	Yes
Korea	Yes	Yes
Malaysia	Yes	No
Philippines	No	No
Singapore	No	Yes
Taiwan	Yes	Yes
Thailand	Yes	No

\* Japan has introduced preferences for SME’s but not local venture firms

As indicated in Table 1, many governments in the region through procurement preferences support SME's (and also small venture companies). This reflects the desire to promote small scale capitalism and distribute the investment and entrepreneurial opportunities generated by economic growth amongst different levels of business (what may be termed distributive capitalism). The preferences for SME's further show a desire to make full use of local business and entrepreneurial talent which has been created through education and training.

In Hong Kong and Singapore, the far weaker support for SME's indicates a commitment to minimize restrictions on free market activity, which is linked to their status as global trading and investment hubs. A different reason explains the lack of support for SME's in government procurement in the Philippines. The key factor here is the control of the state bureaucracy, often through informal influences, by a powerful group of politicians and business leaders drawn from or connected to well-established elite families. This group owns large conglomerates, which dominate the economic and political life of the country, and ensures that government contracts are awarded to the companies within those conglomerates.

The variation in the promotion of sustainable procurement and work safety in public works projects in East Asia can be explained by the different needs of the developed and developing countries of the region. In the developed countries of the region, values have evolved in line with growing affluence and education that accord high priority to the long term well-being of the society reflected in environmental conservation and work safety. In addition, a commitment to environmental sustainability and work safety enhances the global reputation of these countries for quality and responsibility. That reputation is particularly valued in view of the fact that these countries are major global exporters of high value goods and depend upon the export of these goods to drive economic growth. By contrast the developing countries of the region are primarily involved in alleviating widespread rural and urban poverty, generating employment and raising living standards. Set against such pressing needs, long term environmental conservation and work safety may be given a lower priority.

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# Something About Gender Equality in Kiruna

Allen King

## **Introduction**

It is generally accepted that the basic assumptions which guide customary and traditional ways of thinking and doing things steer explicit and implicit patterns of behaviour according to biological sex (cf. Holmberg, 1993; Gonäs, 2005; Glover and Kirton, 2006; Gonäs and Karlsson, 2008). Women and men tend therefore to adopt predetermined collective identities. The consequence, it is widely accepted, is that women, in general, are deeply committed to the home and family and “opt” for social positions which demand less commitment; men, in generally, do the opposite (cf. Holmberg, 1993; Gonäs, 2005; Glover and Kirton, 2006; Gonäs and Karlsson, 2008). This is founded on the notion that customary and traditional ways of thinking and doing things are cultivated principally by men, collectively, as part of a grand strategy intended to restrict the participation of women in society, commitment to the home and family is considered, by many, to be a social problem (cf. Holmberg, 1993; Gonäs, 2005; Glover and Kirton, 2006; Gonäs and Karlsson, 2008). The solution to this problem, many argue (Ibid), is to reform the beliefs, values, skills, knowledge, motives, norms, attitudes, art, music, literature and social organisation that shape the context of human action; the objective being to establish gender equality. Gender equality, as I understand it, is a social condition in which there is no difference in the behaviour of women and the behaviour of men wherein each actor, on equal terms, is expected to compete for coveted social positions.

In essences this paper is concerned with social engineering. The objective of considering gender equality in a city in the far north of Sweden, Kiruna, is to evaluate the extent to which gender equality has been established, at least in this city. Understanding gender equality to be an objective, the main interest here is in the process of social structure reform. In what is best described as an exploration, the discussion engages published literature concerned with gender equality and presents a selection of comments kindly donated by men and women living in Kiruna. Through considering why the customary and traditional patterns of men’s and, especially, women’s behaviour is considered to be a social problem, what strategy is being employed to reform the way men and, especially, women think about and do things and whether gender equality has been established the tentative conclusion reached is that the very little has changed, at least in Kiruna.

## **The evidence**

The evidence presented in this paper is a selection of quotations given by some of the 733 women and men between 18-65 years of age who participated in a large research project in 2008. These comments were made in responses to the question “anything to add” on a questionnaire exploring views on equal opportunities and attitudes to domestic responsibilities more generally sent to 1731 people during an investigation of the effect of labour market expansion in Kiruna. Additionally, information provided by two officials, one man and one woman, working with gender equality issues in Kiruna during interviews in 2008 is also included. As there is not room here for a comprehensive account of the data collection process readers wishing to expand on this short, admittedly inadequate, presentation can do so through prior publications (see King, 2009; King et al. 2009 and King et al. 2011). It is however important to point out that the majority of the evidence presented here was donated by men. Although this is striking, the way men think about and do things, as we shall see, has received little, or no, attention in the quest to establish gender equality. Their comments therefore provide a “base-line” to which an evaluation of progress can be related.

## **Establishing Gender Equality Through The Truth**

In Kiruna, Sweden, indeed everywhere, customary and traditional ways of thinking and doing things continue to significantly influence patterns of behaviour (cf. Hägg, 1993; King et al. 2009; Nilsson, 2009; Juntti-Henriksson, 2008; Stålnacke, 2008; Holmberg, 1993; Gonäs, 2005; Glover and Kirton, 2006; Gonäs and Karlsson, 2008). In Kiruna prevailing perceptions of “manly” and “womanly” are embedded in the structures of workplaces (cf. King et al. 2009; Olofsson, 2010) and old-fashioned ‘*narrow-mindedness*’ is ingrained in architecture and cultural heritage (Nilsson, 2009: 96). Indeed, the majority of men and women in Kiruna, especially the young, form their identity around their biological sex (King et al. 2009) and there is a widespread certainty that men and women are different but equal (cf. King et al. 2011; Nilsson, 2009). Nevertheless, since at least the 1970’s, the assumption that income, status and power are advantageous and that social positions in which such opportunities are less prevalent are least desirable has supported claims that deviation in the behaviour of women and men is a social problem (cf. Holmberg, 1993; Gonäs, 2005; Glover and Kirton, 2006; Gonäs and Karlsson, 2008). Indeed, the economic cost associated with less desirable social positions attractive to actors committed to the home and family, principally women - often within public sector organisations - to individuals, families and taxpayers remains at the centre of the current gender equality debate (cf. Glover and Kirton, 2006; Gonäs and Karlsson, 2008). In Kiruna however there appears to be a widely held opinion that a

50/50 division of labour in the home is unimportant. But that need not mean that anyone is against it, merely that the division of labour in the home is an issue to be resolved by the actors involved:

‘Unpaid work in the home, I think, is an issue for every individual family to decide. If the man wants to do more things then let him do it and likewise for women’ (54 year-old woman, King et al 2009).

To remedy this and other gender inequalities, social movements, organisations and governments the world over have, for many years, actively sought to weaken trust in customary and traditional ways of thinking and doing things and cultivate patterns of behaviour attuned with a contemporary model. Arguing that, except for biological differences, men and women are principally the same social movements, organisations and governments the world over have focused on the eradicating deviations in the way men and women think about and do things and establishing gender equality. Indeed, there has been a sustained campaign to increase awareness and inform men and, particularly, women of the “truth”. The truth, many maintain (cf. Holmberg, 1993; Gonäs, 2005; Glover and Kirton, 2006; Gonäs and Karlsson, 2008), is that the customary and traditional values and beliefs which maintain commitment to the home and family are counterfeit, detrimental to women and should be abandoned in favour of realising oneself, first and foremost through work.

### **Establishing Gender Equality Through Legislation**

In Sweden, for example, to improve women's conditions in working life, the Equal Opportunities Act, requires that employers *‘determinedly promote gender equality in working life’* (Jämställdhetslagen, 1991:433:3§). More specifically, employers are lawfully required to *‘facilitate the synthesis of gainful employment and parenthood’* and to actively seek numerical symmetry between women and men in all spheres of operations (Jämställdhetslagen, 1991:433:3§). In Kiruna, compiling by law to rectify the under representation of women in their organisation, the Luossavaara, Kiirunavaara mining company (LKAB) implemented a policy aimed at employing more women; but only few women applied and almost all them were employed (King et al. 2009). However, bureaucratic legislative intervention of this kind is not appreciated by everyone, at least not everyone in Kiruna:

‘I am for gender equality in society. But it shall not be equal for the sake of being equal. E.g. if two places in a job shall be filled it should be the one of the two people that have the correct competence who shall be employed. Irrelevant of sex’ (54 year-old man, King et al 2009).

Nonetheless, a numeric increase of women in desirable social positions engenders a perception that *'women are becoming better and take things for themselves'* (43 year-old women, King et al. 2009). Nonetheless, for the majority of women and men, especially the young, their occupation is an important feature of their identity, at least in Kiruna (cf. King et al. 2009; Olofsson, 2010). Indeed, Gonäs (2005) as well as Glover and Kirton (2006) point out that despite the lawfully right to compete on equal terms for desirable social positions it is difficult for men and, particularly, women to break customary and traditional ways of thinking.

### **Breaking Customary and Traditional Ways of Thinking**

The existing context, at least in Kiruna, can make it difficult for women to compete on equal terms with men, because of their differences:

'It is difficult for women to come in and perform work on an equal footing in the patriarchal structures that steer in most workplaces; the fact is we speak different languages, don't have the same way of dealing with problems, the hierarchal structure is different and so on. It is expected, a little self-indulgently, that "women should become harder" if they would like to be a manager and so on, "begin to speak like men"' (32 year-old man, King et al 2009).

Work toward gender equality shifted from organisational level to increasingly include the "coaching" of individuals by "equalities professionals" (cf. Wahl and Höök, 2007). According to one "equalities professional" working in Kiruna - a man involved in the field of non-formal adult education, principally adolescents, interviewed in 2008 (King et al. 2009) – patterns of behaviour are best altered through encouraging adolescents to challenge established values and collective identities. A second "equalities professional" working in Kiruna and the surrounding region - a woman concerned primarily with increasing the number of women business owners interviewed in 2008 (King et al. 2009) – encouraging women to "realise themselves" by becoming entrepreneurs is the best way to establish gender equality.

This approach has had a degree of success. Juntti-Henriksson (2008) distinguished a "crisis of identity" emerging amid women in the north of Sweden as they struggle to disregard conventional family values and identities founded on being a woman. Similarly, Stålnacke (2008) observed variations of "masculinity" amid the adolescent men of Kiruna. On the other hand, the notion of "realise themselves" through larger incomes, higher status and greater power is unrealistic to women who consider themselves fortunate to be working and are merely *'happy to have a job to go to!'* (49 year-old women, King et al. 2009). Furthermore, Stålnacke (2008)



explains that a distinct absence of “father-figures” in the lives of Kiruna’s young men engenders a tendency for them to return to, preserve and defend traditional “masculinity”.

However, Gonäs (2005) maintains, traditional patterns of behaviour persist, because bureaucratic legislative interventions, especially the Swedish Equal Opportunities Act, engages only issues relating to wage-labour. Gonäs (2005) argues that the work toward establishing gender equality has not significantly challenged the power structures in society and men, collectively, continue to thwart attempts by women to compete for desirable social positions. In other words, establishing gender equality has, for at least half a century, focused on altering the behaviour of women; not the behaviour of men.

### **Social Control**

Hägg (1993) and Nilsson (2009) make the point that in Kiruna individual identities as well as the city’s collective identity are founded on the ideal of equality which was cultivated through the mutual dependency of lone individuals who gathered around the mine upon each other in the daily struggles of work and life in the city. Moreover:

‘The social democratic and communist sympathies have been stronger here (and in Norrbotten as a whole) than in many other places in Sweden’ (Nilsson, 2009: 111).

Despite the attack on social democratic economic organisation by global economic forces (cf. Harvey, 2005), the “dislocation” of the structures supporting national cultures (cf. Hall, 1992) and the embedding of global cultural practices (Giddens, 1990) the demand to be like others, Nilsson (2009: 110) maintains, remains ‘*an important aspect of the social control in Kiruna*’. Indeed, the indication is that the men and women of Kiruna believe that gender equality exist but that the economic advantage associated with particular individual determines their position in society:

‘In Sweden everybody has the same prerequisites to become what one wants, black, white, yellow, man or women, it doesn’t matter! As long as society is focused on development and economic success there are however certain game-rules. If you can contribute to a business so that it earns money it doesn’t matter who you are’ (59 year-old man, King et al 2009).

Even so, as we have seen, gender equality is measured through the outcome of behaviour. A numerical imbalance in the distribution of men and women in any social position category is attributed to limitations on the behaviour of an individual, more often than not women, imposed by others, typically men. However, the indication is that there are men in Kiruna agree with Gonäs

(2005); that work toward establishing gender equality is not intended to alter the behaviour of men. However, while the behaviour of, at least some, women has been altered the consequence of reducing commitment to the home and family is a cause of concern:

‘Unfortunately the issue of gender equality has impacted wrongly, it focuses only on women, the result I have seen among several of my acquaintances – DIVORCE. Women want to “realise themselves” whatever the cost; VICTIMS – CHILDREN. Nobody asks how they feel. [...] Think again. Safeguard the nuclear family and don’t set WOMAN AGAINST MAN. Both sexes are needed’ (54 year-old man, King et al 2009).

Although critical of the strategy employed to establish gender equality, there is an indication that establishing gender equality is an important objective. Especially for those in Kiruna who distinguish no difference between men and women in contemporary society other than that men continue to act, collectively, to prevent women from “realising themselves”.

According to the “equalities professional”, the man interviewed in 2008 (King et al. 2009), the degree of gender equality in Kiruna is years behind Sweden’s larger cities because in Kiruna everyone knows everyone. In his opinion the rapid transformation in larger cities is due to a higher level of anonymity and a subsequently lower level of social control. He explains that in Kiruna, because everyone knows everyone, there is a lack of anonymity and news of scandalous behaviour spreads rapidly. In other words, anonymity lessens the likelihood that improper behaviour will have consequences for the individual. According to the “equalities professional”, the man interviewed in 2008 (King et al. 2009), any women or men, in Kiruna, behaving improperly is at risk of being subject to hard social control:

‘Amid the younger girls it is like if you kiss and canoodled with a certain boy then it is out on facebook and picture-book and FNS around the whole city. And then you are a whore, slut’

According to Stålnacke (2008: 17) an increasing number of young men and, primarily, women flee the restraints on their behaviour in Kiruna, seeking a ‘free-zone’ in larger cities. Moreover, the “equalities professional”, the man interviewed in 2008 (King et al. 2009), has no hesitation in asserting that anyone with a plan for their own lives leaves the city. Those young men and women who stay in Kiruna, he explains, have no plans for the future; they are fond of an outside lifestyle and want to ride snow-scooters, go hunting and fishing, are content with local labour market opportunities and are happy to abide codes of behaviour approved by the men and women they

share their city with. indeed, there are men and women who in Kiruna who interpret the interest of “outsiders” in their patterns of behaviour as an insinuation of a gender equality problem in Kiruna. A notion that can be experience as an insult:

‘It appears as though you believe that women in the north of Sweden live in the 1800’s and are controlled by men and are banished to the home, children, and to be like a “laestadian” totally outside of a gender equal society in 2008! I hope it shows something completely different!’ (62 year-old women, King et al 2009).

This response supports Nilsson’s (2009: 92) claim that the ‘*disadvantaged citizens of Kiruna*’ employ a defensive, sometimes victim, ideology based on the notion that they, as a collective and as individuals, have been, indeed are, treated unfairly by “others” form other places. Indeed, many men and women in Kiruna are baffled by “others” endeavours aimed at altering behaviour patterns:

‘Of course money steers everything BUT I believe that the state should IGNORE who is at home with small children. That partners must be able to fix between themselves?’ (32 year-old man, King et al 2009).

However the indication is that social control in the city is not the villain. Indeed, as the tradition of collective, inclusive social democracy synonymous with Kiruna (cf. Hägg, 1993; Nilsson, 2009) are undermined by the process of cultural globalisation described by Giddens (1990) and Hall (1992) and tested by global economic forces (Harvey, 2005) the women and men inhabiting the city are considering ideas of gender-appropriate domestic responsibility, equality of opportunity and global notions of individualisation (cf. King, 2009; King et al. 2011). At the same time, the majority of men and women in Kiruna are adamant that men and women are “different” and that gender equality has absolutely nothing to do with behaviour:

‘True gender equality happens when all have the opportunity to express and follow their free-will, not via bureaucratic “measures”. All have the same opportunities, the only thing that is “in the way” is interest, will and aptitude. It is thus opportunities that should count, not the results’ (31 year-old man, King et al 2009).

Prevailing attitudes in respect of gender, at least in Kiruna, appear to be underpinned by notions of individualism and real confidence that men and women make apparently free “choices” (King et al. 2011). However, there appears to be little, or no interest amid the men or, especially, the women in “realise oneself” in the manner “society” is encouraging them to (King, 2009). Indeed, it appears as

though bureaucratic measures intended to establish gender equality are perceived by the people of Kiruna as an intrusion and, as Nilsson (2009) alludes, there is a real desire for people from other places to mind their own business, particularly issues concerning the family.

## Conclusion

Customary and traditional ways of thinking about and doing things are considered to be a social problem because commitment to the home and family reduces commitment to work (cf. Holmberg, 1993; Gonäs, 2005; Glover and Kirton, 2006; Gonäs and Karlsson, 2008). The strategy aimed at establishing a social condition in which actors compete on equal terms work includes reducing the legitimacy of traditional ways of thinking about and doing things and the authenticity of women's identities as well as demonising men. The destruction of customary and traditional ways of thinking about and doing things has been followed by gender equality professionals encouraging "self-realisation" before family loyalty to gain money, status and power and legislation punishes non-compliance. However, the indication is that the tradition of collective, inclusive social democracy and collective identity founded on the ideal of equality synonymous with Kiruna (Hägg, 1993; Nilsson, 2009) is resisting cultural globalisation (Giddens, 1990; Hall, 1992) and global economic forces (Harvey, 2005) and appears to be delaying the establishment of gender equality.

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# Management in social work – organization, leadership and change in professional bureaucracies

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## Introduction and background

This paper is based on an ongoing research project which focuses on middle managers in social work who have the everyday responsibility for child protection, social assistance and treatment of substance abusers in Swedish municipalities (the individual and family services, IFO).<sup>8</sup> Themes that will be addressed are: the organizational base for management in the IFO:s, the managers' experiences of their everyday work, their professional identities, their role in relation to change and innovation, and some effects of New Public Management (NPM).

Management in social work is a complex assignment which entails dealing with conflicting demands and expectations from the surrounding society. Since the 1980s, the Swedish social services have undergone frequent reorganizations. The most comprehensive change is the tendency towards greater specialisation, which has lead to separate departments for different categories of clients, specific investigational departments etc. These reorganizations consistently place new demands on the managers, as do the reforms inspired by NPM (Lundström 2007).

Despite the complexity that the role entails, there is only a modest amount of research focusing on the content of and conditions for social work management. In Sweden, such research is almost completely absent. The international research on social work management is more extensive, but there seems to be no coherent research front. However, a general inference seems to be that management in social work has become continuously more complicated over the last two-three decades. The managers of today need to be more strategically orientated and have to put more effort into interpreting and responding to new demands and ideas from the surrounding society. At the same time, they are expected to shoulder increased administrative and fiscal responsibility, which risks leading to less time for supervision of staff (Menefee and Thompson 1994, Menefee 2000, Hopkins & Hyde 2002 and Rank & Hutchinson 2000). British literature analysing social work management often examines the consequences of managerialism. Harris and Unwin (2009) depict a change where the social service departments have shifted from a "bureau-professional" to a managerialist approach. From having been considered as administrators or senior professionals, the individual managers' roles as *managers* have been accentuated. As a result, the managers'

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<sup>8</sup> The project is funded by FAS, forskningsrådet för arbetsliv och socialvetenskap.

authority has been emphasized and the social services have witnessed an increase in performance management (a a, see also Kirkpatrick et al. 2005 and Lawler 2000).

## **Methodology**

This paper is founded on a qualitative study based on semi-structured interviews with twenty-four managers from six municipalities. The managers were chosen on the grounds that both different areas should be covered (child protection, social assistance and treatment of substance abusers), and also different managerial levels. The intention was also to select municipalities that were reasonably varied in terms of size<sup>9</sup>, location, political governance and strain on the social services departments<sup>10</sup>. The interviews were held in the workplaces of the managers and took approximately one hour/interview. Afterwards, the interviewees were transcribed and analysed thematically. Since this is an ongoing project the results are still being analysed, and thus the results presented below are to be considered preliminary.

## **Preliminary results and discussion**

Middle managers: united only by name?

In general, the term middle manager is unclear and broad, often used to describe a variety of positions. In this study the term is used to describe all managers from the frontline to the head of the IFO:s. A common feature for all interviewed managers is that they have at least one superior manager. The organizational structure varies somewhat between the municipalities, but the majority of IFO:s presented in the study have three managerial levels:

- The frontline managers deal with the immediate supervision of social workers. Generally, these managers have no budgetary responsibilities.
- The second tier managers (above the frontline managers but underneath the head of the IFO) generally have budgetary responsibility for the departments that they manage. Some municipalities/departments have no managerial level underneath the second tier manager.
- The third tier manager, or the head of the IFO, generally has overall budgetary responsibility. Above the third tier manager is often the head of social services or in some cases the head of the municipality, who serves directly under the municipal council.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> The selected municipalities are situated in mid-Sweden, and have a population exceeding 25000 people.

<sup>10</sup> i.e. cost per inhabitant for the individual and family services (Kommundatabasens nyckeltal, IFO's standardkostnad).

<sup>11</sup> Managers from all of the above mentioned positions are represented in my study.



## **Becoming a manager**

Most managers within the Swedish IFO:s are former social workers. There is little knowledge about how these managers acquire management positions; do they aspire to become managers, or do they acquire management positions by serendipity? (See Lawler and Hearn 1997 for a comparison with British social work managers.)

All the interviewees in my study worked as social workers prior to becoming managers.<sup>12</sup> Few express that it was an active choice to become a manager, or that it was something they aspired to. Many of them speak about their transition from frontline worker to manager in ambivalent terms. It was something they took on because someone had to do it, it was just a result of circumstances, or they were asked by their superiors.

...actually, I never had any plans on becoming a manager... I think it was a coincidence really, very much a coincidence, because I've never been particularly interested in becoming a manager... (9, Frontline manager, child protection)

The way that the managers have come into managerial positions, i.e. as a result of circumstances rather than an active choice could imply that they do not always feel prepared for their new role.

## **Identity**

How the managers have come to acquire the positions they have today will most likely affect how they identify themselves, or what importance they give having a social work background. These issues; i.e. the managers' identities, whether they define themselves as social workers or as managers, together with their idea of the possible importance of having a social work background, are issues which can be important in identifying which skills and experiences that managers believe are important in their current positions (see Lawler and Hearn 1997).

The majority of managers in my study state that they to some degree define themselves both as managers and social workers. Not very many define themselves as solely one or the other. However, many managers describe that they have been experiencing a transition where they have gone from defining themselves more as social workers to defining themselves more as managers.

... I think I have to say that I'm a manager. You see, I have been a manager for such a long time, but I think I'm sort of, essentially I'm a social worker, but I am after all a manager, that's my job. (7, Third tier manager)

There is a consensus among almost all of the managers in my study that it is valuable to have a social work background. This, according to the managers, is important partly because a manager

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<sup>12</sup> Most of them, but not all, are also qualified social workers.

must be able to understand what problems and dilemmas the frontline workers might stand before, and partly because a manager must burn for the clients' cause and stand for the core values of social work. The few managers in my material who do not think that it is necessary to have worked as a social worker prior to the management position, state that it is beneficial to have worked in a similar field, or to have an interest and knowledge about social work. Only one manager spontaneously expressed that she believes that managerial skills are more important than professional skills.

### **“Pushing the envelope” or “holding the fort”**

#### Content of every day work

When asked to describe their everyday activities, the managers portray a work situation that is rather diverse and often hectic. Several managers express that their work is very much emergency-driven, and many experience a great deal of stress. Despite this, several managers state that they do enjoy their work, and appreciate its varied nature.

The managers' busy schedule means that several managers feel that they lack the time to pursue certain tasks. For example, they mention that time constraints lead to less time than desired for supervision of the social workers, for administrative tasks, and for strategic thinking.

#### **Agents for change, agents for coping**

The lack of time that many managers experience seems also to have an impact on their ability to initiate or participate in planning for changes in their organization. This seems to be the case for managers who work close to the practice, and does not hold true to the same extent for managers on third tier positions.

To reflect and think about how, how to make things better ... yes, and above all to read material, information... about the field, about what is new, I must admit that I'm really bad at that, I don't have the time, don't have the time to read everything that comes from the National Board of Health and Welfare and... I have to prioritize... (24, Second tier manager, social assistance)

Managers who work close to practice are busy keeping up with everyday work, making sure that that the organization fulfils its primary objectives. They have no time to reflect over possible changes or new ideas; they even lack the time to read propositions from higher levels in the organization or information from government agencies. This can be regarded as problematic both

from an organizational and professional perspective if it means that all initiatives have to come from managers (or politicians) who are more remote from the practice.

### **Effects of New Public Management ethos**

The effects of NPM (primarily problems that arise from applying private sector managerial models to social work practise) have been discussed in earlier research (see Kirkpatrick et al. 2005, Harlow 2003, Healy 2002 and Berg et al. 2008). My results points to some extent in the same directions as these studies. For example, several of the interviewees express that their budgetary responsibilities have increased. One reason for this is the increased delegation of fiscal responsibilities to lower levels of management; another is the request for more frequent budget assessments, due to demands on increased efficiency and also to increasingly limited resources.

At the same time as the budgetary responsibilities have increased, several managers testify that the municipalities have decreased the amount of administrative staff, leaving the managers with more administrative chores. This naturally does not happen without consequences. As a result of this (and perhaps also other tasks that burden the managers), supervision, which used to be an important task for all social work managers, seem to be a concern more or less exclusively of frontline managers.

Another change that probably can be attributed to the implementation of NPM ideas is the heightened profile of management. Many of the managers in my study describe that the managerial role in some ways is clearer now, but at the same time it also seem to entail more tasks for the manager, and higher demands.

Earlier research has shown that NPM has affected social work in a negative way (see for example Kirkpatrick el al. 2005). However, the managers in my study are not completely opposed to the changed role of the social work manager. Several managers express that they like having the budgetary responsibility, mainly because they feel that it makes their role clearer in relation to their subordinates and in general (cf. Berg et al. 2008).

... So the role has become clearer, and I mean that everything has intensified and there are higher demands. But I like it because it also becomes clearer: this is my job; this is simply what I need to do. (19, Second tier manager, social assistance)

In earlier research on NPM, scholars have also voiced some apprehensions concerning the values of social work. For example, Healy (2002) fears that an under-representation of social workers in management can cause a decreased focus on the core values of human services. According to my

results, social work managers in Sweden are still recruited from the field and most of them still, at least to some extent, identify themselves as social workers. They also seem to agree that it is important with a social work background.

### **Summary and conclusions**

Are the British researchers misgivings with regards to NPM founded when applied to Swedish circumstances? The preliminary results of this study seem to indicate, at least judging from the managers' statements, that the new managerial approach has not replaced the professionally orientated managerial role; the new responsibilities and ideals seem instead to have been added to the traditional role. The managers in my study appear to be both professionally and managerially orientated, and most of them still regard professional skills and values to be fundamental.

Even if influences from NPM have not changed the managers' ideas of which skills and values that are important in their work, it seems to have had a noticeable effect on their chores. Many second tier managers (and some frontline managers) have been trusted with budgetary responsibility. The managers seem to feel that this change is a double-edged sword. It clarifies their role and responsibilities, but it also leads to less time for other tasks.

Finally, managers in frontline and second tier positions seem to feel that they lack time to reflect on possible improvements or even to form opinions on suggestions from higher levels of management or on information from government agencies. It can be interesting to question how this is compatible with the pressure from the National Board of Health and Welfare to implement what is often termed evidence based social work. The managers are expected to take a leading role in implementing these methods. Besides expert knowledge, this requires keeping up to date with research, which the lower levels of management feel that they have no time for. If research only reaches higher levels of management, and lower levels lack time to familiarize themselves with the findings, what consequences does it have for the extent to which social work research (or so called evidence based interventions) can be used to improve the social services?

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# Following the “rules of the game”: The Ghanaian way to Entrepreneurship

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## **Introduction**

The environment within which entrepreneurs operate presents according to Bucar and Hisrich (2001) various ethical challenges. For example, the same authors indicate that the financial and operational pressures found within most entrepreneurial firms heighten the incentive to engage in expedient behaviours that may not always be ethical. At a more fundamental level Morris, Schindehutte, Walton and Allen (2002) argue that the very nature of what some might refer to as “acting in an entrepreneurial way” raises ethical questions and hence business life can be confronted with enormous and complex ethical problems. Although the question of ethical dilemmas in entrepreneurship is a nagging one for all types of entrepreneurs and business people, in this paper entrepreneurship connotes the activities of firms categorised as small and medium enterprises (SMEs) in Ghana. Small and medium scale enterprises (SMEs) have long been recognised as the engine for growth in developing countries and in Ghana this call has been recognised by many governments and of specific note is the previous president of Ghana who in 2001 declared “the private sector as the engine for growth.” This is on the premise that SMEs have a marked increase in the share of economic activities and employment creation in the Ghanaian economy (Dzisi, 2009; Abor, 2010). The relevance of this study hinges on the fact that small businesses do not operate in an ethical vacuum, they confront several moral issues in their everyday business operations (Lahdesmaki, 2005) and to ignore small businesses in entrepreneurship research therefore is to ignore an increasingly important slice of business activity (Quinn, 1997. p120). Although the Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index score and ranking on Ghana with regards to corruption in comparison to other transitional economies has been relatively encouraging (Investment Climate State-Ghana Bureau of Economic Energy and Business Affairs, U.S. Department of State, 2009), this record mainly looks at government officials and corruption and much of this effort has been directed towards strengthening institutions and professions that monitor and scrutinize the activities of governments (Cain et al. 2001.), small enterprises and companies on the other hand have not been adequately addressed in these investigations. The ethics and entrepreneurship literature is dominated by studies done on large

corporations in a more developed countries context (Carr, 2003). Recent studies done on Ghana in relation to SME and entrepreneurship (e.g. Abor & Quartey, 2010; Dzisi, 2009) have examined the characteristics, and contributions of SMEs to economic development and the constraints to their development, their successes in the midst of numerous environmental constraints. None of these studies have examined the entrepreneurial context of entrepreneurship and its relationship to ethical dilemmas. Naude (2010) notes that sub-Saharan Africa as the region characterised by the highest proportion of least developed countries is at the same time the region that is relatively neglected in entrepreneurship studies. Our study makes several important contributions to research on ethics and entrepreneurship from institutional/environmental context especially among entrepreneurs in (SMEs).

This study was primarily set out to explore entrepreneurship and issues that related to entrepreneurship in Ghana. In practice we wanted to access a wide range of perspectives of people who are associated with the entrepreneurial process. This required interviewing a number of key players, striking a balance between those who can offer insights into broad policy frameworks of government and those who can reveal the extent to which these policy intentions have been realized. The primary informants were men and women entrepreneurs whose experiences and views on entrepreneurship and the entrepreneurial process were sought. The institutional frameworks/policies and support environment were also of prime concern in this context; therefore governmental policy/framework on one hand, and public officials/technocrats who implement and also provide input into policies/framework formulations on enterprise promotion and development in Ghana on the other were interviewed to supplement the views of the entrepreneurs. The interviews were informal and did not explicitly focus on ethical issues per se, thus the respondents were not asked direct questions about their ethical attitudes and behaviours towards business issues. Rather they focused on such areas as business characteristics, motivation for starting businesses, and the general environment for business. They were also asked to describe the Ghanaian entrepreneurial environment, who is the Ghanaian entrepreneur? And the challenging and troublesome situations they have faced and continue to face in their entrepreneurial career. Consequently, the respondents brought ethical issues into the discussions by themselves and looking at the material the recurrence of various ethical dilemmas motivated the general idea for this paper. The question is in what ways do the frameworks manager's opinions regarding ethics differ from the entrepreneurs' perspectives. We examine these opinions in the contexts of ethics and entrepreneurship aiming at contributing to our understanding of the entrepreneurial process in Ghana.



## **Conceptual definitions and Literature Review on ethics and entrepreneurship**

Veciano and Urbano (2008) point out that; institutions in a broad sense are clusters of moral beliefs that configure power. They derive this broad categorisation from Ayers observations that institutions commonly share the attributes of designing authority usually in a rank order or hierarchical system and this authority is not backed primarily by sheer force but most importantly by custom or a cluster of mores (Ayers 1952: cited in Veciano and Urbano, 2008). North (1991) on the other hand views institutions as humanly devised constraints which provide the structure for political, economic and social interaction. They consist of both informal constraints (values, norms, sanctions, taboos, customs, traditions, and codes of conduct and formal rules (constitutions, law economic rules, property rights and contract.) North makes a crucial distinction between institutions and organisations. The institutions set the rules and define the way the game is played whereas the organisations are the players. Organisations provide a structure for human interaction and they include political bodies economic bodies and social bodies and these groups of individuals are somewhat bound by be discouraged if they are forced to comply with too many rules and procedural requirements, are expected to report to an array of institutions and have to spend substantial time and money in fulfilling documentation requirements. According to the data the entrepreneurs deem the Ghanaian environment as having numerous “opportunities to be exploited” In the views of Ahlstrom Young and Nair, (2003) the institutional environment can promulgate unproductive behaviour in the form of detrimental institutional entrepreneurship. Similar to this finding this study found that the Ghanaian institutional environment can also create unproductive behaviours by creating situations where the entrepreneurs resort to clever resourcefulness. At the other extreme “charlatan entrepreneurs” who take advantage of the loopholes to their advantage can also emerge. This paper employs the sociology/organisational theory view of institutions. However the discussions in this paper acknowledge the existence of the economic political stream and the somewhat different assumptions inherent in the different institutional traditions (Bruton et al. 2010). In this paper we draw upon current debates and conceptual discussions on ethics and entrepreneurship. Using Scott’s (1995) three pillars; The Regulative Dimension; the normative dimension and the Cognitive dimension to analyse the data to create an understanding to the issues this paper sees to discuss. Each of these three institutional pillars are thought to impact firm legitimacy and are thought to be particularly important in order to understand entrepreneurship in emerging economies (Peng, & Zhou,2005)

## **Methods**

The study adopted qualitative research approaches and data was drawn from interviews conducted in Ghana from July to October, 2009 with 25 women and 8 men entrepreneurs, whose enterprises cut across various sectors of the economy: manufacturing, food processing, fruit processing, education, clothing and textile industry, beauticians, etc. 11 representatives who are implementers for policy frameworks and different support organizations for entrepreneurship development as well as with 5 'gender researchers and advocates'. These categories of informants were included in the study because they are deemed as key informants who provided supplementary data to what the entrepreneurs said. All interviews were tape recorded with subsequent transcription undertaken to facilitate a detailed content analysis. Data analysis was done by adopting Miles and Huberman's (1994) flow model components of data analysis consisting of three concurrent flows of activity: data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing/verification.

## **Empirical Findings**

### **The blame game: who is unethical?**

The governmental frameworks/policies managers/CEO's cohort made claims that majority of Ghanaian entrepreneurs are unethical and with the help of several adjectives described them as: liars, dishonest, lack integrity, cut corners, employ family members against shareholder agreements; they are not trustworthy and mostly fail to disclose vital information that affects contractual agreements. Ghanaian entrepreneurs are also said to: misrepresent their businesses, divert funds meant for business to personal use, lack transparency in their dealings, shady with figures, and fail to pay back loans. The entrepreneurs are also accused of not honouring their debts obligations. When they get facilities to advance their business they fail to honour these obligations. They further argue that these unproductive attitudes and behaviours of Ghanaian entrepreneurs have to a large extent contributed to the demise of many institutions set up to promote the entrepreneurial process. Whereas the structural framework managers postulate an individual view of ethics and entrepreneurship that pits blame on the entrepreneur, the Ghanaian entrepreneur on the contrary holds the perspective that the ways in which institutions are structured and function present a number of challenges to their business operations and hence contribute to the unethical operations. The entrepreneurs consequently direct the blame more strongly to the structures and their implementers and the general institutional environments within which they operate their businesses.

They tend to share in the view that in recent years, governments of Ghana have embarked upon a number of frameworks and policies that are attempts towards promoting private enterprise.

However, they perceive that not much has been accomplished to that effect: they argue further that government mandates in this direction have been fragmented and weak institutions which do not serve the needs of SMEs. The operational requirements of the various institutions have also not been simple; there are “unwritten rules” which appear to be operating more powerfully than the formal systems themselves. The Ghanaian entrepreneur (from their perspectives) are not breaking the institutional patterns and subverting established norms and status quo to achieve their entrepreneurial goals as the framework managers assert, but they have had to find strategic options to respond to the institutional constraints and to negotiate these difficulties to survive.

They further point out that the recognition that the private sector is the engine for growth for the Ghanaian economy is also a presupposition that the business people are really the ones in the driving seat to push the economy to grow in terms of its GDP component. They set up the businesses and industries and therefore create jobs; they employ people and obviously contribute substantial amounts to the total spending money in the system. If industries and businesses create jobs then the question is if these same industries are not assisted to grow, how can they become the engine for growth? Metaphorically for an engine to function effectively it needs oil and fuel and therefore no one can operate an engine without these necessary tools; for the Ghanaian entrepreneur who is the engine in this regard believe that they do not have the fuel and the oil. The fuel and the oil they refer to are: the microeconomic policy that should be in place to make the financial institutions function to the benefit of SMEs; the resources available that will make it possible for any industry to have land to operate their industry. Resources must be available to facilitate effective communication for business to run, and the effective process of registering a business without incessant bureaucratic procedures. Information must also be available at the various institutions, ministries and agencies that are promoting SMEs in terms of equipping and supporting them so that they can effectively offer valuable services for SMEs to grow.

## **Discussion**

North (1995) argues that institutions are made for the very people who have the guts to create them and in the Ghanaian context, schemes and frameworks are often created for entrepreneurs but at the same time the very people who these facilities are created for do not become aware of their existence. In the few situations where they are aware they cannot have access. Who is creating these institutions? Martinsons (2008) suggests that relationship based commerce will prevail where rule based markets cannot flourish due to institutional deficiencies. His theory suggests that factors such as personal connections (guanxi in China and blat in Russia, etc.) informal information

and blurred business-government relations encourage corruption. Similar to this the entrepreneurs informing the current study in many ways seek to have personal connections to form their business deals or to secure a business deal. This is also connected to the fact that the institutions function on the basis of who has the power to benefit.

According to Scott (2007) the normative institutional pillar represents models of organisational and individual behaviour on obligatory dimensions of social professional and organisational interaction. Therefore institutions guide behaviour by defining what is appropriate or expected in various social and commercial situations. To Scott normative systems are typically composed of values (what is preferred or considered proper) and norms (how things are to be done consistent with those values) that further establish consciously followed ground rules to which people conform (Scott, 2007). Consequently March and Olsen (1989) believe that normative institutions exert influence because of a social obligation to comply, rooted in social necessity or what an organisation or individual should be doing. As Baumol et. al. (2009) and Sojo 2000) argue that some societies have norms that facilitate and promote entrepreneurship and its financing while some other societies discourage it by making it difficult. From this perspective does the Ghanaian environment promote or encourage a challenging milieu for entrepreneurs?

The discourses so far point to the fact that whereas intermediary institutional managers posit that the Ghana government has made the environment entrepreneurial by making several provisions and creating more institutions to facilitate entrepreneurial behaviour the entrepreneurs come to view the structural provision as burdensome, bureaucratic and think that the environment in general is not favourable both in the formal and informal environments.

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# Changes in welfare professions – reflections on the meaning of gender

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## **Introduction**

A new and different type of professionalism seems to be developing in the welfare sector. However, what is happening in welfare professions should be seen in light of changes in public sector and in society more generally. In this paper I will call attention to the fact that economical thinking, as represented in New Public Management (NPM), may have a tremendous impact on professional work, and I am especially concerned about what is happening in work areas where women are in majority. Greater efficiency and effectiveness in producing and delivering public sector services is the stated objective of NPM (Evetts 2009). Obviously, this focus will leave its mark on work contents, role performance and relationships in work organisations. The framework, which is grounded on a technical-economical rationality and adopted from a different field, implies other ways of thinking and behaving, especially in institutions and settings, where caring for dependants, or caregiving work, is a core activity. This type of work has its own rationality, called the rationality of caring (Waerness 1992: 210).

The aforementioned rationalities, which represent different value systems and ways of thinking, are often associated with different gender and gender roles, male and female respectively. Consequently, this implies a danger of essentialist thinking about women and men, their roles and behaviour. Hence, it should be pointed out that both rationalities are needed in the lived lives of individual women and men and in the society as a whole. As value systems they might be regarded as equals, but priority could be given to one of them to the detriment of the other (cf. Johansson 1997). This seems to happen in public health and social sector where a caring rationality often has to give way for a more influential technical-economical rationality. I will elaborate more on this in the following.

## **Changes in the welfare sector – towards a new professionalism**

Going further into changes in professional work and professionalism following in the wake of NPM in the welfare (health and social) sector, I will especially draw on the work of Julia Evetts (2008, 2009, 2010) and Sarah Banks (2006, 2009). Whilst Evetts is concerned about changes in professionalism and professional organisations more generally, Banks is interested in how social welfare work is performed or practised in changing institutions and societies, which includes a concern for conditions and demands in this type of work.

Evetts (2009) is presenting many arguments for claiming that a new form of professionalism is developing in public sector in western societies. In her analysis of what has happened to professional work during the last decades, she uses two ideal typical forms of professionalism, picturing the influence of NPM on professional work. I will go further into these ideal-types, occupational professionalism and organisational professionalism, and changes in welfare professions, in the following.

### **From occupational professionalism to organisational professionalism**

Managerial control, standardisation of work and procedures, and externalised forms of regulation are some of the characteristics in NPM. Such elements are important in organisational professionalism, where discourses of control are used increasingly by managers in work organisations (Evetts 2009: 248ff.). It is built on rational-legal forms of authority, having hierarchical structures of responsibility and decision-making. In contrast, occupational professionalism is characterised by discourses constructed within professional groups, collegial authority, discretion and occupational control of the work. Controls are operationalised by practitioners and the latter are trusted by both clients and employers in this ideal-type. Furthermore, professional ethics are monitored by institutions and associations, whereas accountability and externalised forms of regulation, target-setting and performance review seem to be the equivalent in organisational professionalism (cf. model p. 263).

Evetts's conclusion is that NPM is working in ways which promote organisational professionalism whilst occupational professionalism is hampered or undermined (p. 252). Of vital interest from my point of view, are the consequences of this development when it comes to authority and identity in professional work, as these are central concepts and seem to have different basis in the different forms of professionalism. As pointed out by Evetts (p. 248), authority in occupational professionalism is based on practitioner autonomy, discretionary judgement and assessment. Furthermore, it depends on common and specified systems of education and vocational training, which, consequently, promote and develop strong occupational identities and work cultures. A development in the direction pictured by Evetts, means vital changes for welfare professions which often have a strong occupational identity based on values associated with their special work or occupational work group.

However, the two different forms of professionalism are ideal-types and as such they are extremes (p. 248). In most cases in real life there will be elements from both forms. Both of them have relational and structural elements; but, as underlined by Evetts, whilst occupational



professionalism emphasises relationships, structures are more predominant in organisational professionalism.

In the following I will present different models of social work practice and how a technical-bureaucratic model is becoming more and more dominating in social work practice (Banks 2006: 136ff.). Thus, this is in line with the picture Evetts has given.

### **Different models of social work practice**

Sara Banks (2006: 136ff.) is presenting three ideal typical models of social work practice, called the committed/radical, the professional and the technical-bureaucratic. These models may be helpful in exploring different emphases in work practice when it comes to ethical stance and work settings. The ideal types have different emphases on personal, professional and agency values and commitments; thus they represent different identities as social workers. In short, the *committed/radical* social worker has a personal or ideological commitment to work for change, which is her primary concern. As pointed out by Banks (p. 137), this model may encompass different types of approach, ranging from an individual to a more collectivist focus and from individual empowerment to societal change. In the *professional* model the social worker is seen as an autonomous professional, having an expertise grounded on education and guidance coming from the professional code of ethics (p. 138). The rights and interest of the clients or service users have first priority and her identity as a social worker is mostly based on membership in the professional group. In the *technical-bureaucratic* model the social worker is first and foremost seen as a member of the work organisation or agency. This implies a duty to carry out prescribed tasks and roles according to agency rules and procedures.

As in Evett's theorising, the models above are ideal types. All of them are evident in social work practice, and the professional codes have elements of all three, although the emphasis is more on the professional model (Banks 2006: 138). Holding a position as a social worker very often means to take into account elements from these models in practical work, otherwise something would be missing in fulfilling the role(s). What might be regarded as the most important elements will depend on the social worker's view of her role, the particular piece of work or task and the work context (p. 140). However, professionals' freedom to choosing might be modified or limited by organisational frames and demands. Notwithstanding degree of freedom, choosing between models and their elements often imply giving priority to certain values to the detriment of others. Such decisions could be difficult, especially if different identities and loyalties are involved. According to Banks (p. 147ff.) there are constant tensions between the models, implying ethical dilemmas because of the different and contradictory responsibilities and roles.

As Banks (2006: 138) points out, the technical-bureaucratic model is becoming more dominant in social work practice, especially in the state sector and large not-for-profit organisations. I shall be careful not to equate the technical-bureaucratic model and a technical-economical rationality; though, it seems obvious that a technical-economical rationality is more dominant in the technical-bureaucratic model, whilst a caring rationality is more expressed in the professional and the committed/radical models. However, I would rather draw attention to the influence of a technical-economical rationality more generally, as economical reasoning seems to prevail regardless of social work model. I assume that social workers first and foremost have a professional identity grounded on a different code of ethics and rationality, in accordance with expectations based on their vocational choice and training. Hence, different and conflicting value systems may imply dilemmas of identity and loyalty in social work practice, as professionals are struggling to fulfil conflicting demands (cf. Banks 2009).

### **Some reflections and conclusions**

As pointed out by Evetts (2010: 131), most professional occupations and expert groups might be deeply affected by organisational principles, strategies and methods, which are supposed to transform their identities, structures and practices. However, organisational changes might have gendered implications which are easily overlooked. Built on male standards as they often are, models and theories used in promoting changes are not gender neutral. A gender perspective has been missing in theories and discourses of professionalism and professions (Dahle 2008); hence, putting on gender lenses would shed light on power relations otherwise not seen.

### **A dominant technical-economical rationality**

My presentation more than indicates that organisational changes based on values and principles in NPM or a technical-economical rationality have gendered consequences; for instance when a caring rationality has to give way for economical thinking and arguments in the health and social sector. Implementing NPM in work organisations where caring is the core activity might imply many conflicts and contradictions in professional work because of the different values and rationalities which are in play. Compromising with occupational values and principles, grounded on the rationality of caring, might inflict problems of identity and loyalty on professionals when carrying out their work. Women are numerically dominant in these organisations and there are reasons to believe that change processes deeply rooted in economical thinking could be difficult experiences for many of them, may be especially if values in vocational/professional and private life are merging. Moreover, work tasks are changing and often in demand of another kind of

knowledge than before; work tasks and procedures are more standardised, implying measurement of facts, documentation and control of results, which again means less discretion ( – and it seems like nobody is talking about tacit knowledge anymore!). Thus, professional work might be fragmented and separated in well-defined tasks, and nobody seems to be responsible for the whole of it; this development is in contrast to traditional thinking in female professions in this sector, having the whole human being in focus.

Transforming occupational identities might be difficult, but women are seemingly adapting and accommodating to changes in their work area, although this means that sometimes they are overloading themselves. Their responsibilities as caretakers are often very strong, and this devotion will probably make it difficult to leave clients without doing their utmost, using more time than scheduled. Thus, economical and organisational problems, which first and foremost constitute a political matter and responsibility, might be concealed as individual problems (Gullikstad & Rasmussen 2004). Maybe women generally, more readily than men, are susceptible to accepting and adjusting to existing work conditions or changes in the organisation, because of different or traditional expectations of role behaviour. Being ‘obedient, conscientious and clever’ could reflect more traditional female virtues. Moreover, in their traditional role, women are often expected to adapt readily to other people, situations and settings, which in turn may make it easier to accept changes in work organisation.

Many of the reforms and changes in work organisations in Western societies in the last two decades have met surprisingly little resistance from professionals (Evetts 2008: 535). Maybe it is time to ask if professionals in the welfare sector and their unions should raise their voices more often in the future when ideas from the market are introduced and implemented in their work organisations. My suggestion is also that gendered consequences of these developmental changes should be looked more into. Furthermore, another suggestion is that the patriarchy concept could be useful in this analysis. I shall comment on this in the following.

### **Revitalizing the patriarchy concept?**

Whilst the patriarchy concept was more used by feminists and in feminist theory in earlier stages of women’s liberation and feminist history, this concept does not seem to be in the empirical or theoretical frontline any more (Holmquist and Sundin 2010). Today patriarchy has been replaced by concepts like ‘gender order’, ‘gender system’, ‘gender regime’ or ‘gender relations’, which seem to be less provocative concepts in a society where equality between women and men is the official policy and an accepted value, whereas patriarchy is more provoking and might easily awake emotions. However, Holmquist and Sundin strongly argue for the usefulness of the

patriarchy concept. They point out that if the concept of patriarchy is not used, then we fail to obtain much of what is hidden in a gender-neutral language. Without this focus and concept, male dominance and female subordination might be disguised or over-looked. Hence, the patriarchy concept is needed, especially when looking into power structures and relations, because of its reference to hierarchy and male power. Furthermore, as asserted in their discussion, patriarchy has many faces and may change over time; seemingly, it is a system being able to resisting and adapting to change. They point out that there are different views among researchers, when it comes to the relation between patriarchy and the welfare state, if this is a discussion at all. However, I shall not go further into this discussion here. Nevertheless, I think time has come to revitalising the patriarchy concept in order to better understand how gender and power are intertwined in organisational changes and reforms in Western societies.

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# UK social housing organizations: change, restructuring and reorientation

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## **Introduction**

The origins of Social Housing in the UK can be traced to the *Housing of the Working Classes Act* of 1890, which was aimed at the most vulnerable citizens (Clapham et al, 2000). The ways in which this provision is provided and distributed has changed radically in the last 20 years, with the move away from the majority of provision being supplied by governmental local authorities in the form of council housing towards private sector provision by ‘Registered Social Landlords’ (RSL’s). Recently, many commentators and researchers have focused upon ‘what will happen next?’ to SH provision (see, for example, Pawson and Mullins, 2010; Fitzpatrick and Stephens, 2008). The debate is located predominantly at a macro level (Hills, 2007), resulting in a paucity of micro/empirical research concerning such issues as ‘who will manage these changes?’; the process of change; the implications for HRM/D practices and specialists; how the changes have been received by employees (Ward and Preece, 2010a, b). Given the space constraint, we draw below upon our empirical material to address two particular matters: what we have called ‘managership development’, and local union leadership and employee voice in these new regimes. Before doing so, however, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of the main challenges currently facing SH providers in the UK (see Czischke, 2009, regarding other European countries, where some similar challenges are occurring).

## **Changes and challenges – beyond council housing**

The SH changes have been of an ‘anticipatory’ and ‘strategic’ nature (Nadler and Tushman, 1989), where corporate and human resource strategies have been aimed at creating a new/different type of organization, and have occurred at three different but interrelated levels: sectoral, organizational and tenant/customer.

## Sectoral

In England approximately 30% of households live in some type of rented accommodation (*The Times*, 2007). The sector today consists of a variety of private individual and company landlords, and social housing organizations of four types: (i) a (reducing) number of houses owned and managed by local councils; (ii) council- owned, but 'Arms Length Managed Organizations (ALMO) housing stock (which came into existence in 2002); (iii) traditional housing associations; (iv) Large Scale Voluntary Transfer (from local authority ownership) Housing Association landlords. These SH providers have a range of different governance and funding arrangements. However, they have two key features which differentiate them from the rest of the rented sector: (a) rents are set by non-market criteria, which normally results in below market levels, and (b) allocations of people to houses are made by administrative criteria (Fitzpatrick and Stephens, 2008: 28).

New funding and governance arrangements have been developed for (ii) and (iv) above. Overall, there has been a move away from a 'landlord' to a stronger social, economic and community orientation, focused upon such matters as the employability of tenants (or 'clients'/ 'customers'). Alongside this has been a tendency for SH organizations to change their modes of management and operation from the 'local authority bureaucratic' towards those found more usually in private businesses, resulting in comments such as 'we are losing sight of what mattered about social housing' (Sprigings, 2002:16).

## Organizational

Given that the new SH providers can be privately funded, a core objective is to repay the loans taken out from financial institutions. Senior managers are endeavouring to change them from a bureaucratic to a performance- related mode of employee management (Cuthbert and Ward, 2010), and are introducing different roles to that of the traditional Housing Manager (Grainger et al, 2003). The sector has also experienced organizational restructuring and downsizing, moves towards a stronger service orientation, technological change, etc. The above has, inter alia, resulted in the emergence of the *Places for People* SH provider, the largest in the UK with 60,000 properties, offering 'much more than just building homes...' ([www.placesforpeople.co.uk](http://www.placesforpeople.co.uk)) with its claim to provide job and training opportunities for clients, along with 'affordable childcare' and business support and financial products. This represents a significant shift away from the traditional 'landlord' function of maintaining properties, collecting rents and dealing with housing/welfare benefits issues.

## Tenants

A recent development here has been the introduction of ‘tenant choice’, whereby tenants (or, in the preferred terminology of many contemporary providers, ‘clients’/ ‘customers’) become non-executive board members (for a discussion of the changing governance and role of management boards in SH organizations see Ward and Hutchinson, 2010). Flint has observed that from the 1980’s ‘we have witnessed a reconfiguration of the identities of social housing tenants from passive welfare recipients to autonomous, empowered and responsible individuals’ (2004: 895). Tenants are thus being (re)configured by SH organizations beyond their traditional tenancy obligations.

The above changes at the sectoral, organizational and tenant levels have led to a situation where, as Bradley (2008: 883) has recently observed, SH organizations have had to become ‘market-sensitive’ (see also Pawson and Smith, 2009), as well as more customer focused. These changing contexts have implications for the (changing) role of managers, which needs to be understood in order to design appropriate forms of leadership/management development (Boxall and Gilbert, 2007).

### **Developing managers for the new regime**

A number of commentators have argued that an organization’s main strategic differentiator comes from its development of ‘talented’ staff (Porter, 1995; Boxall, 2003). This implies effective leadership and management development (Day, 2000; Iles and Preece, 2006). We now draw upon our research in a SH organization, formed as a result of a LSVT in 2002. The company has around 550 employees. One area of focus has been the nature of, and participant reflections upon, management development provision within the organization. During 2009-2010, 26 staff participated in a management development programme run by an external provider and accredited by the Institute of Leadership and Management (ILM). What were these employees’ views about the changing nature of their roles and the developments they anticipated for the future?

It’s the first time that I have realised while working for the company that they are empowering us...Working conditions have got better, we have left behind the ‘oldy worldly council’, people’s images have changed...public perception has changed.

(Interviewee F)

There was a lot of changes to staffing and quite a few redundancies too... There was too many people and we were perhaps a bit top-heavy. We lost about 50 people from the department. (Interviewee A)

We are contracting more work out than ever before...everything is a lot more open and there is not the fear factor. More development and training to encompass new knowledge...(Interviewee C)

I feel one of our biggest changes in the future for the organization is expansion. We are looking at moving into new sorts of fields...Secure some work going forward so we are more commercially oriented for our workforce...Our tradesmen will become multi-skilled. (Interviewee A).

The above interviewees, when talking about the programme and its 'outcomes', together with ourselves reflecting upon those comments and the content of the programme, found it difficult on occasion, if not impossible, to separate the *management* from the *leadership* development *per se*, and hence we have referred to what was occurring as *managership* development (Ward and Preece, 2010), involving a concern with both the day-to-day conduct of work (commercial orientation; using IT, etc), whilst at the same time looking towards the future and exploring possibilities for new/different ways of working and managing in changing times ('entrepreneurial' and marketing orientation, etc), including not least consideration of how colleagues and direct reports might be encouraged to 'embrace the future' and support managerial initiatives. How has this impacted upon local union leadership and employee voice in the organization?

### **Union leadership and employee voice in the new regime**

Managerial and executive leadership has attracted a good deal of interest in policy and academic domains in recent years (Ferlie et al, 2003; Van Wart, 2003). Union leadership, however, has been little explored, at both the national and local levels. Given the changes and developments in SH outlined earlier, we were interested in whether, and if so in what ways, the role of the local union leader had changed, and the sort of support they were receiving from their organizations in carrying out their role. The main source of data was semi-structured interviews with a range of staff, including the local union leaders, HRM and other managers, and Directors from two SH



organisations based in the north east of England. When questioned about the impact of the changes on the union leadership role, the union leaders and HR managers commented:

The 'them and us' scenario has melted, and not as aggressive as it used to be...it's a cultural change completely. (Organization A, Union Rep 1)

We are here to work together as opposed to work against each other...the union-management relationship changed when [there were] changes to management. (Organization A, Union Rep 2)

It is just a partnership approach, and I think staff see it as that...it does work and there's more of an emphasis over recent years on the HR department... (Organization B, HR Manager 1).

Because of the culture of the organization, everyone feels they have a voice...we used to be a family culture...[we are] now more professional.(Organization B, HR Manager 2).

Our interviews showed no overall reduction in the support and facilities made available by management (however, there were some important changes in the location used for union members' meetings). An 'open door policy' was claimed by the managers interviewed:

[Staff] can use all facilities within the organization, all rooms...just have to ask. We have a lot of staff who dip in and out of focus groups and other areas. (Organization B, HR Manager).

Management's focus was upon developing a collaborative partnership with union officials and members, with regular communication and monthly meetings, all aimed primarily at creating and maintaining a 'positive', pro-organization orientation amongst employees.

## **To conclude**

HRM/D specialists have developed and are likely to continue to develop policies and procedures and the associated skills and competencies required to deal with the sort of changes and challenges outlined. The development of the organization's human and social capital seems likely to continue to be high on management's agenda into the future in the competitive and relatively 'alien' market place in which these SH organizations find themselves. It will be interesting to see if in the future Talent Management comes to be embraced as an appropriate strategy (Iles et al, 2010).

It seems reasonable to assume that merger and takeover activity will continue, and may intensify; organizational downsizing and the resultant redundancies can be anticipated. This will not sit easily with any management emphasis upon staff collaboration, 'employee voice', and a 'one-team' approach to employee relations. It seems likely that SH organizations will continue to need to address HRM/D and employee relations matters, and hence look to the expertise which specialists in these areas provide. This is in relation to managing employees in both the 'here and now' and through organizational changes and restructurings. It can be anticipated that these 'social businesses' (Collier, 2005) will face intensified challenges as 'private sector' exigencies gather momentum.

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# First Line Managers Conditions How to Handle Ethical Dilemmas in Social Work and Police

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First line managers in Social work and Police organisations are confronting new, higher demands, which are contradictory, and they have to handle several ethical dilemmas in their daily work (Wolmesjö, 2005, 2008; Granér, 2007). During the latest years, ethical issues in public services as in child care, care of the elder and persons with disabilities, schools and police have been more noticed and observed than earlier. Questions, as well as explanations are directed to how managers handle these problems. In this article we have chosen to focus upon first line managers in public sector, (i.e. managers closest to the employers and squeezed between different organisational levels) (Richard, 1997; Wolmesjö 2005), their role, and working conditions on management and organisation in inter professional organisations. The reasons to focus upon first line managers are, the group have been relatively less studied, even thou it is in this group the largest amount of managers is to be found. The commission has gone from leadership towards management, and from an operative to a strategic role (Hagström, 2003; Wolmesjö 2005). An explanation can be found in that New Public Management, NPM theories have been implemented even in Police and Social work organisations (Agevall, 2005; Christensen & Laegreid, 2002; Montin, 2002). In NPM economic values and norms are central and democracy values often are decreased (Agevall 2005; Røvik 2008). Since several of the ethical dilemmas first line managers have to confront is contradictions it is interesting to find out if there is contradictions between economy and democracy values in laws and regulations.

More specific we have chosen to study their ethical dilemmas and the preconditions of how to handle ethical situations. Dilemma is here defined, as situations where something wanted have to be, not chosen, or where the option is between two bad alternatives (Strand, 2006). Dilemmas can be found at different levels in the organisation. What a person will chose, or the best alternative is not obviously and regardless of the choice the result is not to full satisfaction.

Both policemen/women and social workers have a freedom of action in many situations and their decisions affect other people's life in different ways. First line managers in these professions are interesting to study, both of their one, but in some issues – when taking children, youth or adults into temporary custody or when there is threats or violence, unexpected

deaths in social home help care – social workers and policemen have a legal obligation to interact with each other (SFS 1984: 387; SFS 2001:453). This makes them interesting to study together.

First line managers have a role meaning they have to handle different professional or organisational languages or cultural behavioural between different groups in the organisation. They also are responsible to pass on values of the organisations, thoughts and questions between different members and organisational levels to develop a sense of coherence.

A special issue of interest in this study is what does it mean to be part of the same occupation or profession as those you are managing? As managers you can have two different professions ethical codes and regulations to follow – as manager and as social worker/policemen – which can create new ethical dilemmas. How do they handle loyalty issues being negotiators between different organisations levels and different professions? Which profession will make the final decisions and have “the power of the other” in inter professional relations?

### **Aim of the study**

Aim of this study can be summarised as: to compare what kind of ethical dilemmas first line managers in different professions *must handle* and the conditions of possibilities *how to handle* these ethical dilemmas. Central questions are: What legal and ethical documents are there and what is said about ethical behaviour? What potential situations are there that will raise ethical dilemmas in inter professional work? What similarities and dissimilarities are there in the different documents according to how to handle ethical issues in different professions?

### **Theoretical perspectives**

Theoretical perspectives in this study are professional theories, where autonomy and jurisdiction is central and theories of public ethos as democracy and economy values, attitudes and values and ethics. Concepts as professional work-cultures, as well as concepts as set of rules and regulations and rule identity are central. In this first study that is a part of a larger project, we focus upon documents as laws, regulations and ethic codes in document analyses. Depending on how these documents are formed it can affect the way first line managers chose to, or must handle. An interesting question is when there are differences, which profession will take command and make the final decision? What consequences will there be for the users/clients involved?

## **Method**

In this study, (the first of three in this project), we have chosen to focus on public documents as laws and regulations as well as ethical codes of the different professions (Akademikerförbundet SSR, 2007; Polisförbundet, 2006; Rikspolisstyrelsen, 2009). To be noticed is that ethical codes is made by the professions them selves and purpose is to create a common professional norm and coherence. When analysing the documents we specially have been looking for words as *must*, *shall* or *should* in ethical issues. In the analyse contents of democracy- and economy values, norms and ethics, organisational- and professional culture, profession and role identity have been central as part of our theoretical perspectives.

In the following studies there will be individual interviews and focus group interviews with different professions as well as observations and diary notes from managers in social work and police.

## **Common and specific regulations**

The official and professional values of policemen/women and for social workers rest on special legalisation of each area. For both, United Nations Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement, general Swedish legislation of basic freedom and legal rights (SFS 1984:152) is the common base in their professional values. Special laws for Police (SFS 1984:387) and for different groups in Social work (SFS 2001:453, SFS 1993:387, SFS 1990:52, SFS 1988:870) are influencing the values. Above this there are special regulations (SFS1998:158; SFS 2001:937), guidelines and instructions for each profession that complete the ethical norms. For social workers there are also international documents to be aware of as International Federation of Social Work (IFSW) and International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW). At national level there are specific ethical codes of each studied profession; Ethical codes of Policemen, Ethical codes of Social workers and Ethical codes of managers in social work.

We also like to comment the importunateness of work related and work environmental related legalisation in relation to ethical decisions and choice of behavioural even thou they are not part of the empirical data in this document study. Another important regulation is the Discrimination Act from 1 of January 2009 (SFS 2008:567).

The importunateness of knowledge of how to handle ethical dilemmas have become more important and Boards of Ethics have been created in both Police and Social work to support the professionals. Ethical issues are included and knowledge of legislation and ethics is part of the curricula in Police and Social work education (UFB 3 2006/2007). The Police organisation in

Sweden has developed a special programme including a specific game to play where students and professionals can practice and train ethical discussions.

### **Policemen/women and Social workers – similar but different**

The result shows that in both Police and Social work the interest and awareness of the importunateness of discussing ethical issues have increased. The creation of Boards on ethical issues where professionals can ask for advice is one concrete example. The differences between Police and Social work are that the Police organisation has created a common national education and educated special ethic-supervisors. Further on some managers in the Police organisation have been offered a special education about ethic and value- issues. The investment the Police have done at a national level shows their ambition to create a professional organisation where employers share the common values, regardless of where in the organisation you work. This provide for a good ground to build on and develop the discussion of ethical dilemmas policemen/women have to handle.

In social work a similar investment have not yet been done. The responsibility is at local level and each municipality and their managers have the obligation to handle separately from each other. What has been developed is an ethical code of managers with high relevance of Social work (Blennberger, 2007).

Results also show a gender difference in the two studied organisations. In Police there are still more men than women employed. In social work there is the opposite. When looking at the different education programmes of policemen/women and social workers, there have been some radical changes during the latest period. In police education the amount of men and women in year 2010 is equal. In social work education there is still more women attending the programme thou different activities are made to make a larger group of men apply for the programme. The awareness of multiculturalism in Police as well in Social work as a mirror picture of society is strong.

An important difference, that affect the preconditions of how managers are able to handle in ethical dilemmas is, the Police have monopoly in their field. No one else can offer the same services. In social work, there are bout private and public organisations, which can lead to different ethical codes and thereby also different ethical behavioural.



## Analysis and Discussion

Our study of different documents as laws, regulations and ethical codes in Police and Social work shows there are several documents that professional in this field need to be aware of. Issues or guidelines on ethical issues are either expressed as *should*, *can* or *must*. In the regulations we have been studied about policemen/women is it mostly expressed as *must*. For social workers, it is the same in the laws, but in ethical codes it is more common to use should or can, than in ethical codes and guidelines for policemen/women. In ethical codes of Police (Polisens värdegrund, 2009) the policemen/women are described as a person who *take* responsibility, *is* focused, *is* helpful etc. This gives social workers a larger autonomy and possibility to rely on their own professional and individual ethics when making their decisions in ethical dilemmas. Questions is raised what will happen in practice when policemen/women and social workers interact with each other about clients. Interesting is we have not found any direct contradictions in the documents, neither in the single profession nor in between police and social work. On the opposite, there is a common thread where democracy values are central and dominant over economy values and efficiency.

In this article the purpose has been to point out the preconditions available for first line managers how to handle ethical dilemmas. Conclusions are – in general the trust seems to be high to authorities and their employers act according to the laws and guidelines. There are good preconditions in the laws and regulations on how to act, further research questions raised are: how these preconditions will make it possible to managing and organise professional strong organisations in practice. There is a lack of knowledge about have first line managers really act. What competence do they have, what is needed and how are they act. Still there are several ethical dilemmas both in Police and Social work where different way of handle can be chosen.

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# Concepts of Organisational Effectiveness: Towards Addressing the role of the HRM Function in Higher Educational Institutions

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## **Abstract**

In this paper, different definitions of organisational effectiveness are considered and related to various conceptions of rationality; particularly in the context of how the human resource management function (HRM) is seen as contributing to organisational effectiveness in higher education institutions. The paper is derived from research being carried out by the first author into perceptions of the role of HRM in universities by staff in the HRM function.

Rationality can be perceived in terms of *technical, economic, social, political* and *communicative* forms of rationality. The first two are essentially instrumental forms of rationality and relate to the contention that the effectiveness of organisations can be assessed in terms of how well (or efficiently) they achieve their objectives. The final three conceptions can have more deliberative implications and relate to an alternative view of organisational effectiveness, which concerns the extent to which the organisation satisfies the competing needs of its stakeholders.

The place of the HRM function in supporting the changing perception of effectiveness in organisations is then considered in the light of changing models of HRM's role and purpose. The effect on public sector professionals of moving from a 'stakeholder satisfaction' oriented view to a 'meeting objectives' oriented view of organisational effectiveness is also examined.

Thus HRM functions in universities may be attempting to re-orient their institutions towards a top-down form of organisation, which emphasises objectives and efficiency, following the prescriptions of the New Public Management (NPM). If so, this implies a move away from the traditional view of the nature of the university. This held universities to be discursive and participative organisations, where effectiveness is regarded as meeting the varied needs of stakeholders, such as academics, students and the wider society, in a balanced way.

## **Introduction**

The underlying logic of recent public sector reforms across many countries (i.e. the 'New Public Management') can be related to the quest for the three E's; Economy, Efficiency and Effectiveness (Boyne, 2002). Organizational Effectiveness (OE) is thus one of the key performance dimensions within NPM practices (Boyne, 1999). However, OE is a broad concept; it has different definitions

according to different points of views, different organizational levels and different organizational objectives and purposes (Mullins, 2007: 756).

The paper begins with attempts to define the concept of organizational effectiveness and explore its relation to ideas of organizational rationality. The impact of NPM on understanding organizational effectiveness is then considered and a discussion is undertaken of the role of human resource management in organizational effectiveness in the higher education sector. In particular, we are interested in whether definitions of effectiveness based on *process* are being displaced by definitions based on *output*.

In this paper, we are attempting to somewhat clear the ground conceptually for the empirical study being conducted by the first author. This is unusual in that it focuses on the attitudes and practices of HRM professionals in universities, rather than academics. In focussing on the HRM function or department, we acknowledge that HRM may be carried out throughout the organisation and that this raises controversial issues. (See, for example, Francis and Keegan, 2006.) However, we have adopted our focus to keep the scope of the study to manageable proportions.

### **Organizational effectiveness and rationality**

Understanding organizational effectiveness within a specific context involves notions of rationality in organizations. Hartwig (2006) refers to Dising's definition of 'rationality' in terms of 'effectiveness'. In this sense, rationality means a decision must be a purposeful and effective response to the given situation facing the organisation.

The definitions of organizational effectiveness within the academic literature can be broadly based within the following perspectives:

- ***Technical and Economic rationality perspectives:***

Technical rationality relates to situations and actions undertaken within their constraints in order to achieve a given end. According to this type of rationality, organizational effectiveness is 'The degree to which an organization realizes its goals' (Daft, 1995, p: 98). However, technical decisions are limited unless economic questions of comparative costs have been answered. Thus economic rationality refers to the evaluation and selection of alternatives in terms of the most cost-effective means of achieving ends and it applies when two or more options are in competition with each other.

These perspectives share an *instrumentally rational* view of OE. The organization is seen as being unitary, with clear and non-conflicting objectives which are accepted by all. Blame and sanction for failure to achieve goals (cost-effectively) are regarded as legitimate. It is linked to a philosophy of positivism. Managerialist techniques, such as performance appraisal loom large.

- ***Social/Political/Communicative rationality perspectives:***

Here rationality is considered in the context of organisations as social systems. Thus Hartwig (ibid, p: 167) argued that: ‘A social system in an organization includes cultural roles (e.g. expectations, obligations, and ideals)’. OE here is concerned with negotiated order among organizational members. It relates to social constructionism as a philosophical position about the nature of reality in organizations and is mainly focused on a social and communicative style of management (Herman and Renz, 2008, P: 26). Similarly, Gaertner and Ramnarayan (1983: 97) argue that

‘Organizational effectiveness is not a thing, or a goal, or a characteristic of organizational outputs or behaviours, but rather a state of relations within and among the relevant constituencies of the organization’.

These perspectives have a *stakeholder satisfaction* view of OE. In sum, the assessment of organizational effectiveness rests not simply on the output being produced, but also on the decision making process for the production of these outputs. That may well imply deliberative and participative approaches to decision-making. The organisation is seen in pluralistic terms, with managers seeking to convince enough (powerful) stakeholders of the organisation’s effectiveness.

A key theme of the introduction of NPM ideas into the public sector was to improve public sector effectiveness via a shift from “accountability for processes” to “accountability for managing outcomes” (Hoque, 2005: 369) and this idea is related to the managerialist perspective on organizational effectiveness that is discussed above. Therefore NPM strategies have an emphasis on efficiency, effectiveness and quality, and aim to make organizations more results-oriented (Noblet et al., 2006:335); i.e. shifting organisations from stakeholder satisfaction models to instrumental rationality models of OE.

## Effectiveness and Human Resource Management

These developments can be related to the emergence of the *business partner* model of HRM based on work originally carried out by Ulrich (1997). This has been described as a fundamental rethinking of HRM (CIPD Factsheet, 2005, cited in Francis and Keegan, 2006). Ulrich argued that there are a number of potential models for the role and activities of the HRM function, depending on whether the focus is on strategy or operations and on process or people. This is shown in Figure 1 below.

<i>Focus</i>	<b>Operations</b>	<b>Strategy</b>
<b>People</b>	Employee Champion	Strategic Partner
<b>Process</b>	Administrative Expert	Change Agent

**Figure 1: Model of HRM Roles**

These different roles may be defined briefly as follows (CIPD Factsheet, 2010):

- The **employee champion** is concerned with responding to employees and ensuring they have sufficient resources to carry out their jobs.
- The **administrative expert** is concerned with supporting organisational processes.
- The **strategy partner** is concerned with aligning HRM, line management and organisational strategy.
- The **change agent** enables and manages transformation.

Ulrich's work has been influential in engendering a shift in how HRM is perceived towards being principally concerned with 'business partnership'; i.e. strategy rather than operations (Francis and Keegan, 2006).

This suggests that, under the influence of the NPM, University HRM functions may be moving from a focus on the employee champion role to that of business partner. However, the downgrading of the employee champion role is controversial generally. (See for example, the critique by Francis and Keegan, 2006). It seems reasonable to suppose, moreover, that this will be even more the case in organisations like universities, which traditionally have had cultures which value professionalisation and participation highly.

## Effectiveness in Higher Education

Rosser et al (2003:1) argue that higher education institutions have moved to being increasingly accountable for measurable outcomes. Greater competition for scarce resources and decreasing public trust in higher education practices have resulted in demands for universities to demonstrate their productivity, effectiveness and efficiency. This may be seen, however, as a significant change in the way the effectiveness of universities is viewed.

Thus Cameron (1978) found that higher education institutions had a tradition of resistance to assessments of effectiveness. University staff claim that HEIs are unlike other types of organizations and, therefore, traditional approaches to assessment are not applicable. He argued that while judgments about college and university effectiveness occur regularly (for example, by students, parents, funders, and employers), no good criteria of effectiveness had been identified. Nevertheless, Cameron (1986) did propose criteria to measure effectiveness in higher education institutions. The most prominent is the use of "reputation ratings" by peers or experts. The second criterion is citation counts of faculty members in institutions. The other most prevalent criteria are faculty awards and honours, student achievements after graduation, scores of entering students on national exams, and institutional resources.

Cameron (ibid) holds that one of the most important factors affecting organizational effectiveness is the institutional strategy and how it contributes to the achievement of organizational goals. Those institutions with an external and proactive emphasis are more successful than those whose strategies are reactive and internally oriented. Cameron (1986:9) emphasises the need to reinforce the value of human resources inside the organization and the human resource strategy as a managerial strategy. He argues that the major predictors of improving effectiveness are factors under the control of managers (e.g. strategic actions) and the use of managerial techniques that help in improving organizational effectiveness.

Smart and Hamm (1993) conclude that Cameron's dimensions of organizational effectiveness represent key management and institutional performance indicators for higher education organizational effectiveness; but argue that there are other factors that influence effectiveness (e.g. decision making process, organizational culture and managerial practices). They also suggest the importance of human resource practices and strategy for organizational effectiveness.

There seems to be some support here for a notion that there is a change in emphasis in higher education from a stakeholder satisfaction model of OE to an instrumental rationality model. Certainly higher education in the UK (and elsewhere) has experienced a decline in resource

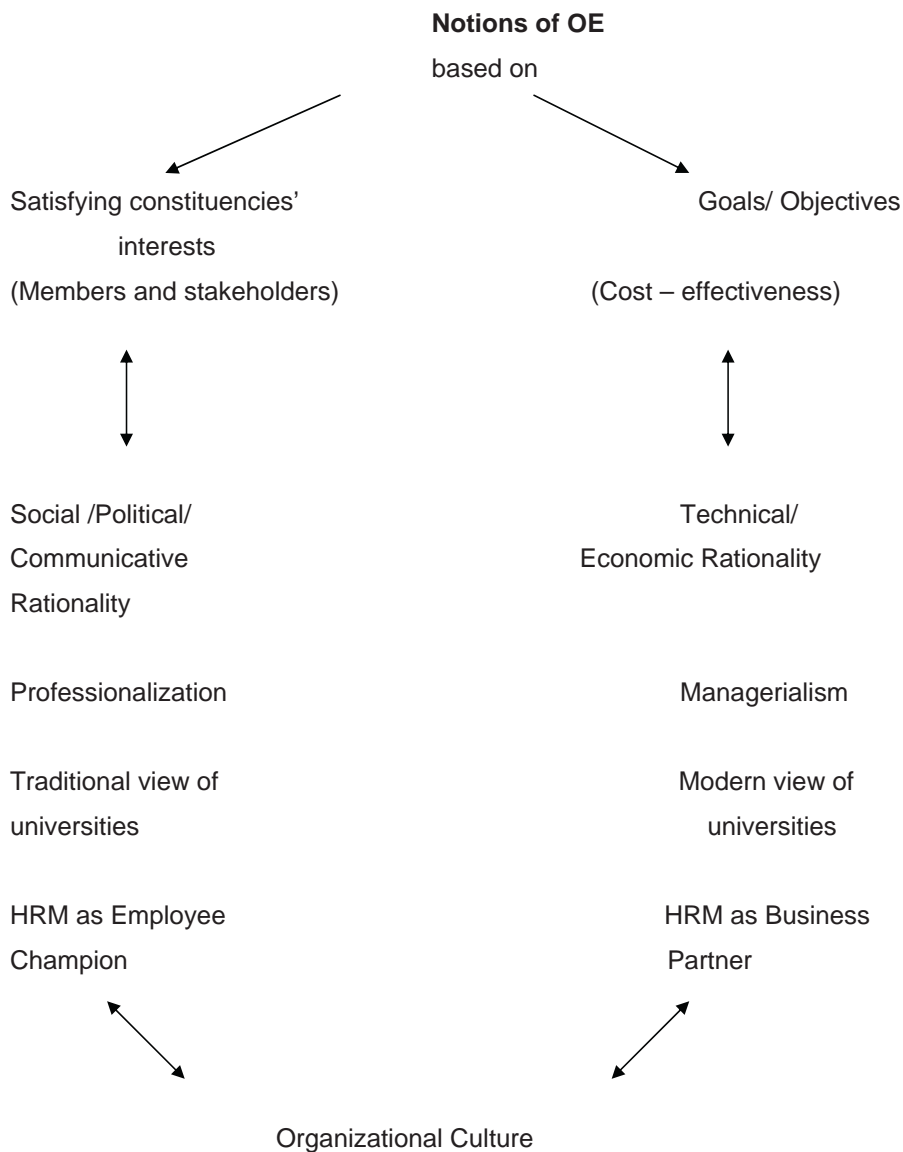
allocation and staff-student ratios, as well as attempts to transplant managerial techniques drawn from the private sector (see, for example, Barry et al., 2003).

Barry et al. (2003) point to an increasing emphasis on the managerialist perspective and on marketization in the sector. Significantly, these changes involve performance management targets and the introduction of systems of appraisal in the context of reduced resources and increased competition. They conclude that from an academic staff perspective, NPM may be seen as a governmental initiative and a means to facilitate a growth in student numbers and financial revenues. However, whilst this analysis is now well established, the views of HRM professionals in HE are less well explored.

### **Conclusion**

In this paper, we have proposed that there are two models of OE which can be applied to public sector organisations, such as universities: a stakeholder satisfaction model based on the need to balance the demands of different stakeholders and an instrumental rationality model which focuses on the achievement of given objectives. In turn, the first model can be related to political, social and communicative forms of rationality; and the second to notions of technical and economic rationality in organisations. Figure 2 overleaf represents a summary of the concepts associated with each of the models.





**Figure 2: Definitions of organizational effectiveness in HE**

The NPM may then be seen as an attempt to influence public sector organisations to move their cultural emphasis from the stakeholder satisfaction model to the instrumental rationality model. Similarly, this might well be accompanied by HRM departments in universities shifting their main focus from the role of ‘employee champion’ to that of ‘strategic partner’. Such developments,

however, would represent a significant change from the traditional model of HEIs as organisations which seek, primarily, to balance the needs of their stakeholders.

As might be expected, this has been controversial and, indeed, resisted in organisations where the prevalent culture values deliberation and participation, such as universities. The (largely adverse) attitudes of public sector professionals, including lecturers, to these developments are quite clearly established. However, the views of HRM managers are less explored and research into this should be of interest and significance.

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# ‘Was I supposed to touch the prisoners?’ issues of ethics, risk and gender during ethnographic research on prison health care

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## **Introduction**

This paper discusses issues and dilemmas which arose during short-term ethnographic work in a prison health-care setting in the UK during 2007/8. The project, funded via the Burdett Fund for Nursing, explored ‘good practice’ in a nurse-led prison healthcare wing (PHW) for male prisoners; the prison was built in the 1990s to house 1,000 inmates. The overall study used interviews, focus groups and ethnographic observation and raised issues about (inter)professional identities and identifications in the context of tensions between ‘caring’ and ‘control’ of prisoners. (see Bell & Foster, forthcoming; Foster et al (2008)

## **Ethical issues in relation to an ethnographic methodology**

For several years in the UK, research projects (especially in the health field) have been subject to scrutiny by standardised systems of research ethics committees (RECs). As I and others have written elsewhere (Bell & Nutt, 2002; Truman, 2003), these ethics processes are in some ways forms of ‘auditing’ (or are closely linked to auditing processes). As Strathern (2000) suggests: ‘Audit and ethics ricochet off one another’ (Strathern, 2000 : 291). These processes frequently link together aspects of research practice and professional practice (for example in health or social care). Ethics committees are now mandatory within UK Higher Education Institutions as part of research governance especially within the health-related sector (Dept of Health [UK] (2005), and other organisations concerned with social research have also developed ethics frameworks.

As a result of these developments, seeking ethics approval at the start of a research project is now seen as routine, even though there may be a number of issues relating to maintaining ‘ethical’ *research practice* during a project that will be difficult to formalize in advance (see e.g. Bell & Nutt, 2002). These issues will often occur ‘on the spot’ and, in my experience, have little to do with researchers trying to circumvent appropriate ethics procedures. However, Iphofen (2009) also asks how we are ‘to permit free social scientific enquiry while ensuring such freedoms are not abused’. (Iphofen, p.3)

As the current project was based in an unusual (prison healthcare) setting, the University's health ethics committee became involved and was able to grant approval in June 2007 to two university based researchers for the observational and interviewing aspects of the project. This covered issues such as confidentiality, informed consent, respect for participants, freedom for participants to withdraw from the project etc. It was agreed that prison healthcare and other staff who did not want to participate in the project would not be on work shift when the planned observations were carried out, and any individual interviewees or focus group participants would give individual consent.

As researchers we were then 'relatively free' (in Iphofen's terms) to pursue our enquiries in consultation with the prison authorities and healthcare staff. Interviews were planned with nurses and prison officers based on the PHW, and with others who visited it, such as probation staff, and a 'prison listener' (serving prisoner offering peer support). One caveat was that I, as the observational researcher, should spend a few hours 'induction' for health & safety reasons before returning on a later occasion to do a full ethnographic observation. The prison healthcare manager (who fully supported the work) said he would also request that researchers should be allowed to bring in tape-recorders for interviewing purposes. I also suggested, being on my first visit to any prison, that if possible I would like to shadow a female member of staff

Ostensibly, the granting of ethics approval and the prior arrangements we made should have meant that carrying out the project was relatively 'unproblematic' ; however, as I have written elsewhere (Miller & Bell , 2002; Bell & Nutt, 2002) previous research experience suggested this was unlikely. For example, it was possible that the prison setting would throw up political issues with which I might need to engage, for example relating to power or surveillance, although the connection to research ethics was not immediately obvious as I prepared to undertake the observational work. As Pels (2000) has stated:

'Professional ethics and methodology alike exemplify the liberal tendency to neutralize and depoliticize political relationships by constituting the self in isolation from the political interactions in which it necessarily has to operate' (op cit, p.156)

Like many anthropologists I had probably tended to think I could simply 'screen off existing political relations with the people researched to portray the anthropologist as a neutral expert or authoritative teacher' (Pels, op.cit p.155). However, part of the rationale for my participation as

observer in this project was that, since I had not visited a prison before, I could be even more aware of issues which others 'took for granted' (such as power dynamics) compared to someone having previous familiarity with these kinds of environments. In the event a variety of issues surfaced, relating to ethics and what might be called 'the ethnographic self', which (it turned out) had already been discussed and theorised by other ethnographers (see Strathern (ed), 2000).

### **Fieldwork examples of 'critical incidents'**

In this context I use the term 'critical incident' to refer to an issue or section of narrative from my fieldwork data that involved both methodological and ethical dilemmas; these can be used to pull apart the tendency to 'neutralize and depoliticize political relationships' (Pels, op.cit). Two example critical incidents are identified involving

- 'Security & subterfuge' : taking a tape recorder into the prison when it was unclear whether or not permission had already been granted for this
- 'Interacting with the prisoners' : gendered and voyeuristic aspects of everyday practice which I was drawn into but tried to resist; this included 'shaking hands' with one inmate.

These incidents are presented in the full paper as layers of data: firstly taken from my written field-notes, recorded during my observations; secondly from taped diary notes I made during the same evening when I had returned from the prison visit. Thirdly, subsequent reflections on these incidents are also intended as part of the ethnographic analysis presented. The written field-notes (1<sup>st</sup> layer) had already been shared with others as part of official reports. But the other layers revealed here have clearly influenced my subsequent thinking about these incidents. I could term this material 'auto-ethnographic' and there is certainly a flavour of that approach in these extracts. However my intention is not only to produce auto-ethnography but rather to allow this approach to shed light on other organisational processes as well as on the construction of a professional 'anthropological self' (as suggested by Boyle & Parry, 2007).

Pels (2000) writes insightfully about the difficulties of 'impression management' and suggests that it may be that whilst doing observational work 'as researchers, we can never find an audience to which we can show a true face' (op.cit, p.164). However he also holds out the possibility of constructing an 'anthropological interior, a private self that is familiar during fieldwork but which often has to be hidden, to make room for the pragmatic performances of disciplinary competences...' (op.cit., p.164). I would add that perhaps within these layers of material, in what

are essentially dialogues with myself, these versions of the critical incidents can be seen as constitutive in some ways of that anthropological self.

Presenting these layers of material that may come under the rubric of 'auto-ethnographic' can be personally and professionally risky and, I would argue, this is because they tend to raise ethical as well as methodological issues for researchers. Although I take note of Mykhalovskiy's (1996) (not entirely serious?) exposé of 'self indulgence' in autobiographical work, I also concur with Boyle and Parry (2007), who have suggested that narratives couched in auto-ethnographic terms can reveal stories that would otherwise be kept secret, such as those incidents mentioned above. Furthermore, as they suggest :

'The introspective and retrospective nature of auto-ethnography can enhance understanding of the link between the individual and the organization very effectively.) (Boyle & Parry, op cit, Abstract)'

In my desire to act as an academic anthropologist who did not tangle with the 'ordinary' people in this prison healthcare setting but merely observed them, I had, as Strathern discusses, fallen into a trap which is paralleled by recent developments in ethics procedures:

'Ethics clearance bodies, charged with ensuring that research does no harm to people, in effect define the anthropologist's informants not as autonomous persons engaged with the ethnographer in acts of interpretation and narration about the nature of social and cultural life, but as so many individual 'human subjects' whose consent can and must be given in an informed way' (Strathern, 2000: 295)

This approach, Strathern suggests, does not allow for collaborative ethnographic work but contributes to throwing back onto the anthropologist a feeling of responsibility and of 'working alone':

'However much talk there is of collaboration or of conserving the autonomy of subjects or recognizing their input into the research or taking power into account, this aspect of ethics in advance, of anticipated negotiations, belittles the creative power of social relations' (Strathern, 2000: 295)

In this project, wrestling with the dilemmas I have described, both at the time and afterwards, I felt exactly that: these were 'my' dilemmas. However this process has been very instructive in terms

of understanding the underlying issues of power and surveillance that pervade the prison setting that I worked in. I would argue that unless I had experienced for myself the (apparent) need for subterfuge, the gendered issues of privacy and voyeurism in this context and the realization that I was acting as a 'trickster' in some sense, I do not think I would have developed a particularly in-depth understanding of the day-to-day workings of this prison healthcare wing. This has been necessary as a corrective to match the equally strong drive to present a project driven by issues of objective auditing and accountability: *i.e. why* had improvements reported in a Prison Inspectorate report occurred in this PHW? (with the further implication – *could these kinds of improvements be replicated elsewhere?*).

### **Conclusions**

The point of this paper has not only been to show that obtaining ethics approval in advance of a project, especially where qualitative methods involving ethnography are used, is unlikely to cover all the ethical and methodological dilemmas that may arise on the spot. I have also tried to explore and tease out different layers of data and to inject an element of auto-ethnography to illustrate how these dilemmas can impact on the interpretation of research material. Being 'truthful' as a researcher in these circumstances is not straightforward.

The collaborative elements of this project (with my colleagues as well as participants) were already set up in advance and so the observations I carried out focused ostensibly on *staff* (but tacitly involved the participation of prison inmates); perhaps I would need to revisit this issue in future projects of this kind?. The intellectual boundaries of the project were not fixed (I acknowledge the tacit support of my fellow researchers in this respect), and paradoxically by getting 'under the wire' in relation to some apparently straightforward ethics procedures has opened up new vistas for this kind of social enquiry whilst forcing the recognition that we are nothing without *all* those with whom we research.

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