

PROJECT FINDINGS in NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE (summaries by country)

While comparing project results across countries attention was paid to reveal similarities rather than dissimilarities. Below there are summaries by national research teams providing results obtained in each country in the course of the whole realization of the project. It also enables the reader to become acquainted with dissimilarities between countries/towns.

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PERCEPTION OF INTERGENERATIONAL INHERITANCE OF INEQUALITIES IN POLAND

Perception of the phenomenon of the Hoff

The problem of the intergenerational transmission of inequalities is not present in public discourse in Poland. During conducted interviews it was revealed that the threat of transferring poverty to the next generation is not a subject of spontaneous reflection of the people formulating and accomplishing tasks connected with social policy neither at the national nor at the local level. However, in the course of discussions it was expressed that the problem exists and can hamper the cohesive development of society.

According to the interviewed politicians there are areas in Poland where inhabitants are subjected to the problem of the intergenerational transmission of inequalities. The politicians pointed to the rural areas and small cities. However, the example of Tomaszów Mazowiecki – a medium-size town, clearly shows that the problem exists also in such locations. Tomaszów Mazowiecki is strongly

affected by this phenomenon; the main meso-structural cause of this state of affairs is the collapse of the textile industry. The representatives of the municipal authorities as well as social services workers pointed to this fact as the key one. The event became the “driving wheel” for different phenomena: marginalization of a relatively large social group – the former workers of the textile industry, and the rise of poverty enclaves in the former working class estates. Also young adults, the town inhabitants, often referred to the bankruptcy of the “Wistom” factory – major employer in the town under socialism, as the main reason for deterioration of the situation in the town, often also in their own families of origin.

The phenomenon of the intergenerational transmission of inequalities is chiefly associated with passing down poor education, low material status and a specific set of attitudes and life patterns (involving e.g. reluctance to undertake work, welfare dependency, and alcohol addiction) from generation to generation. Although the respondents perceived both the macro- and meso-structural conditioning of this phenomenon’s incidence and permanence, they focused mainly on micro-structural and psychosocial conditionings. The role of socialization (transferring of patterns, values) and volition factors in the process of passing on poverty and low status was underlined.

The individualistic approach of the respondents was also revealed in the discussions relating to the local social policy. Commonly expressed opinion was that the impossibility of breaking the circle of intergenerational transmission of low social status is largely the consequence of at-risk people’s reluctance to changing their own fate (undertaking employment, becoming independent of institutional support), even though it is known that there are no job vacancies in the town.

The risk of the intergenerational transmission of inequalities is mainly ascribed to the individuals growing up in the families affected by three major factors: poverty, low level of education, and unemployment. The size of a family also matters in opinions of the interviewees. According to some respondents, young people from multi-children or (less frequently mentioned) single-parent households are disadvantaged and likely to remain disadvantaged as adults.

Education

Education is perceived on the one hand as the factor petrifying the social structure and on the other hand as the main tool for preventing and relieving the intergenerational transmission of inequalities. Education should be the factor that equalizes chances of the younger generation. This objective, considered by the respondents as the crucial one, has not been achieved. School segregation in the

Polish educational system is a very disadvantageous phenomenon. Two kinds of segregation were mentioned. One is connected with the differentiation of schools in terms of quality of services they provide. Very often this differentiation is also related to the territorial aspect: a great disproportion between village schools and schools in cities could be observed. As respondents stated, children from poor families have very limited access to schools with high teaching quality and therefore their chances to attend good educational institutions at higher level of education are decreased as well. The second kind of segregation is caused by policy realized by schools themselves. They tend to segregate pupils according to the criterion of their parents' financial resources. School authorities usually prefer having homogenous classes in terms of financial capital as it reduces problems of organizing additional, chargeable activities.

It was a common opinion that education can play a crucial role in preventing the intergenerational inheritance of inequalities. In order to achieve this it was recommended that:

- every child should have access to good quality education
- children should have access to a broad offer of scholarships and grants funded by the state
- broader and easier access to kindergartens should be provided
- more stress should be put on extracurricular classes for children with educational problems, who very often originate from low status families.

Labour market

Respondents interviewed at all stages of the research often referred to the situation on the labour market when reflecting the problem of the IIoFl. Unemployment was perceived as a very important factor contributing to other social problems and their transmission. Interviews with young adults revealed that even though respondents assessed their social status as higher than their parents they mainly referred to their own education level which is higher than their parents had achieved. However, the higher level of education does not necessarily mean having a stable job or even any legal employment. What is more, many interviewed young adults in Tomaszów experienced: instability, precariousness of employment, and work without contract (long working hours, delay or not getting the salary for their work, extremely low wages).

According to politicians, labour market policy is underpaid and chaotic and active measures that can contribute to combating unemployment should be widely undertaken. The common opinion among the respondents was that special pro-

grammes (training courses) aimed at improving skills of the unemployed are not based on a reliable diagnosis of labour market demand. *The demand of the employer is usually fabricated by the labour office, like now we have the specialist in lathe-operation so we will be training lathe-operators. And in a village where there was no single turner needed, they trained 15 turners.* Therefore, the efficiency of these programmes is low. What is more, there is a mismatch between educational and labour market demand resulting in a deficit of particular occupations and professions required by employers. The same concerns education provided by the higher schools active in the town that produce a surplus of graduates in professions not needed on the local labour market. Additionally, decentralization of the labour market was perceived by the politicians as a mistake. Changes that followed administrative reform were perceived as highly disadvantageous. Decentralization of labour market services caused that labour offices became subordinated to the Poviats Self-Government what undermined their power and resulted in geographic fragmentation of labour market. It increased disorder and led to the lack of coordination between Poviats Labour Offices. *I got really mad when we passed the law about administrative division of the country and we created these damned poviats and at the same time liquidated State Labour Office and divided policy for counteracting unemployment among poviats. Dear people, 380 employment policies?*

Welfare policy

Welfare policy is the direct measure that should contribute to combating poverty and its transmission. However, top-politicians as well as local actors unanimously claim that giving people social assistance benefits contributes to petrification of inequalities mainly by strengthening the “demand driven” attitude of the recipients.

Politicians stated that decentralization of responsibilities for the solution of social problems is appreciated because at the local level (community, municipality) more accurate social diagnosis can be made. Local authorities are claimed to be able to define key problems of the local communities and sort out groups which should be supported in the first place. Having a reliable diagnosis, they are able to spend public money in a more efficient way. Moreover, at the local level it is possible to implement holistic and multi-dimensional social policy, aimed at families and individuals endangered by the risk of poverty or deprivation. Local government, using various institutions which are at its disposal (educational, social services, police, health care services, local NGOs) can support them efficiently.

All politicians agreed that, when there is positive “networking” and cooperation between different local actors, opportunities for absorbing money from different EU funds are large. It refers to the funds that could be spent on regional development, as well as to the social initiatives of the EU like the European Social Fund or EQUAL.

These opinions correspond to the views expressed by the local actors, who negatively assess regulations and budgets imposed at the national level. They believe that more independence in spending money would result in more efficient activities. The criticism concerned mainly the central authorities and the solutions (or lack of them) proposed by the government administration. *And sometimes I am thinking, what are these social assistance agencies for? Their responsibility is to help poor people but there are no funds from the state budget and everyone tries to get away from that responsibility...*

Communities are overloaded with tasks and under-financed. However, if there are programmes designed as central government programme, money is transferred to communities even in surplus. *The central administration of course has great ideas, ..., but our ideas are simply not carried out due to lack of finances. It is the central level which has ideas. (...) And when there is a stream of money for meals for children we have more than enough, we've got so much dough.*

The interviewees underlined that they have no influence on establishing the eligibility criteria for the selection of target groups and on the extent of that support: *we are not asked for any diagnoses, the decisions are made “at the top” and we've got to put them into practice. Sometimes decisions are made by theoreticians, unreasonable decisions, and we are supposed to carry them out.*

Local stakeholders underlined that the flow of information between different social service providers is insufficient because of the lack of concerted data set concerning current and potential welfare recipients. Also better cooperation between various institutional actors and coordination of the actions undertaken would contribute significantly to the proper functioning of the welfare institutions.

Top level politicians, as well as local stakeholders, pointed out that a fragmented approach to poverty and inequalities prevails and the actions that follow on from it are generally short-term in orientation and focused on the most burning social problems. Local experts claimed that actions undertaken by the social policy institutions are concentrated on the current issues connected with day-to-day, routine activities; priority is given to urgent matters connected with support for people in need (as it was described by one of the participants “putting out the fire”). In fact, Tomaszów Mazowiecki lacks a long-term strategy for counteract-

ing poverty and a solution to social problems, while measures applied there are most often of a provisional character. These measures, aimed at solving problems which are usually persistent, i.e. inherited from generation to generation, fail to bring sought-after results. Similarly, top-level politicians admit that they do not apply a long-term perspective while taking part in policy making. Various conflicts, often ideological ones, lead to inability to plan, create and implement a coherent, efficient and long-term social policy. It seems that politicians think about results of the forthcoming election rather than about the creation of holistic, systematic solutions. Issues like family policy or policy aimed at children and young people are in many instances treated as elements of ideological struggle, apart from the fact that before the elections the question arises who should be supported: pensioners or children who do not vote?

Assessment of the institutions and policy by young adults

The general conclusion following from the young adults' narrations is that they do not consider public institutional support a factor that could contribute significantly to the scope of their overall life achievement. Those who managed to improve their status frequently declared that they did not need to apply for any kind of support (which was identified by respondents with welfare or unemployment benefits) or if they did, their contact with relevant institutions was incidental. It seems that interviewees relied on parental family members and on their own rather than on institutions. The respondents who have been covered by labour market or social welfare measures criticized the unclear and unfair (from their point of view) rules of granting support.

However, despite the fact that the majority of respondents do not realize the impact of the institutions on their life course, a support from public institutions (school, welfare) can significantly contribute to getting out of the poverty circle. Research findings show that young people from low socio-economic status families who achieved higher than their parents' social status got some kind of support from public institutions connected with social policy. The above mentioned conclusions are very significant. They imply that social intervention can be supportive and, even though the common opinion (that nothing can be done) is different, it is possible to improve the social position of people whose parents have low socio-economic status. Even if improvement is not so spectacular, usually these respondents can satisfy their basic needs by themselves and it is not necessary for them any more to be dependant on welfare benefits (at least when they are young adults).

As far as educational institutions are concerned, the interviewed young adults expressed very diverse opinions regarding teachers. Teachers were sometimes mentioned as providers of non-material support to pupils (especially in primary schools), even more frequently by those who did not experience upward social mobility. What is more, the scope of care and attention given by teachers to respondents was not linked with their institutional roles but rather with their personal characteristics.

Moreover, sport was quite frequently mentioned by respondents as one of the most significant elements of their biographies. In a few cases it could have become the gateway to a big life achievement, but interviewees' careers were usually short and the reason why they had to give up sport was mainly of a financial nature.

Feedback from the local stakeholders

During a seminar the stakeholders, as well as the local politicians and the municipal council members spoke about activities of the institutions they represented. In the opinion of some practitioners, the conclusions drawn by the researchers about the implementation of social policy instruments in Tomaszów were too critical. This opinion was supported by examples of various initiatives and activities taken by public and NGO actors, which were considered good practice by local stakeholders (multidimensional activities coordinated by the head of Roman Catholic parish were reported to be the best). Some participants also tried to refute the argument that networking among particular institutions in the town is weak. But the examples put forward in support of this thesis provided evidence that existing networks are based mainly on informal contacts between social service workers.

The disputants also reported changes in administration and regulations, as well as new initiatives, implemented after the study had been conducted. Local elections held in the autumn of 2006 resulted in a change of ruling coalition in the town. Newly elected authorities consider that they have an idea of how to improve the management of social problems.

However, it was agreed that the scale and characteristic of social deprivation in the town should be better recognized. There is a lack of precise statistical information on the town and its citizens. One of the main problems faced by social policy actors is, apart from insufficient funding, lack of coordination. In course of the discussion it emerged that the body perceived as the „natural” potential coordinating centre should be the municipal authority. It was also admitted that

measures aimed generally at families endangered by the inheritance of social inequalities are scarce.

Conclusions

- A long-term strategy for the town should be devised
- The strategy has to include a holistic social policy programme
- The creation and implementation of social policy in Tomaszów should be preceded by gathering detailed statistical data about the town and its citizens
 - In order to collect information, scientific research should be conducted
 - The creation of a resilient coordinating centre in the town will increase the local potential in applying for EU funding
 - Activities undertaken and social services delivered by the Roman Catholic Parish of the „Sacred Heart of Jesus“ were assessed as the best example of good practice in a given field.

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PERCEPTION OF INTERGENERATIONAL INHERITANCE OF INEQUALITIES IN BULGARIA

The entire research work of the Bulgarian team in the frame of the PROFIT project shows that the problems related to social inequalities are acute in present Bulgarian society. This estimation was expressed by the interviewed social, political and economic actors at national level, and by the participants in the focus-group discussions at local level in the town of Pernik. The occurrence of the risk of intergenerational inheritance of social inequalities was empirically verified in the conducted sociological survey among young adults in the town of Pernik and in in-depth interviews with some respondents.

The risk of intergenerational inheritance of social inequalities

It is a common opinion that the generations after 1989 faced the emergence of such significant and sharp social inequalities for the first time in the last six decades. The intergenerational inheritance of inequalities is clearly visible in the country despite the short period of change between generations. The respondents in Pernik used to connect poverty with two periods – the one before the rapid industrialization and the other after the political and economic changes in 1989. The elderly participants pointed out the widespread poverty in the town before and immediately after World War II. For several decades in the second half of the 20th century, when the town experienced rapid economic development, the local population had a higher purchasing power compared to the country's average. The inheritance of poverty was reduced significantly although there were still some groups of poor people. However, the participants in the discussions were unanimous that over the past 17 years the social and the material status of many people in the country and particularly in Pernik had worsened on the whole.

Factors determining the intergenerational inheritance of social inequalities

The participants in the study named the factors determining the intergenerational inheritance of social inequalities. These factors can be divided into the following major groups: political, economic, regional and psychological. To some extent, they result from political decisions, actions or inactions. The political platforms of all political parties and coalitions in Bulgaria include the problems of poverty and the struggle against it. However, the very issue concerning the inheritance of social inequalities is not yet precisely identified as a problem and is not explicitly part of the party platforms. The differences between their concepts are not significant in terms of the reduction of social risks. The information exchange among the main social institutions and actors is sometimes quite inefficient, as some interviewed politicians said. However, what matters more is the lack of an innovative approach in interpreting the information, some added. The interviewees with academic experience saw the lack of indicators for social inequalities as particularly important. There is no developed system of indicators to measure the social effect of social programmes in Bulgaria yet and, thus, of the flow of money towards certain groups under the social programmes. The interviewed politicians pointed out the lack of consistency in social policy and the unwillingness of each new government to take into consideration the experience of their predecessors as major problems. Local stakeholders also stated that each new local government tended to start everything from scratch. This hampers development and restricts the civil control over the authorities. Everybody agrees that there is no solid tradition of negotiations and dialogue at different levels. The interviewed social actors and local stakeholders agreed that the directions for the development of economy, labour market policy, education, healthcare, social security and the social support system should grow into long-term strategies at national and municipal level. According to some of the respondents, the municipal strategies are even more important for the local populations.

The processes and factors, determining the formation and the spreading of new inequalities, are typically regarded as a consequence of the intensive social transformation of Bulgarian society over the past fifteen years or so. The main conditions that bring about and maintain social inequalities include regional differences in economic development. There are some very poor regions in Bulgaria. In the case of the town of Pernik, the respondents mentioned the economic restructuring accompanied by massive long-term unemployment as the major cause for social inequalities. Poverty was pointed out as the most important effect of

high unemployment rates and low incomes. Some participants shared the modern definition of poverty as a lack of finances for a life with dignity.

The respondents discussed poverty not only as a financial, but also as a moral problem. The interviewees pointed out to the moral and psychological factors as very important in the decision making process when fighting social inequalities. Some defined those factors as the presence or lack of willingness to adjust, and of political will to reform. Others pointed to culture, morality and competence of the decision-makers and the executive branch at all levels as most significant factors.

Inheritance of poverty

The major conclusion from the discussions and the interviews is that poverty in the country and particularly in Pernik is widespread. It has affected people of different age, different professional, educational, ethnic and social backgrounds, as well as different health groups. The major cause for poverty in Pernik is unemployment, resulting from the closing down of industrial enterprises, which used to provide full employment for the local population and relatively good incomes. Nowadays, enterprises usually provide low-paid jobs to women. This is actually a rather important structural change in the local economy, which was known countrywide for providing well paid jobs for men.

The respondents put many of the employed in the category of the poor. The low salaries in the public and the private sectors discourage some of those receiving social benefits from starting work, since the social benefits sometimes exceed the salaries. The vast majority of people can hardly pay their utility bills and taxes. For many of the *bona fide* payers these high costs imply low-quality food, difficulties in maintaining social life or in securing better education for their children.

Low incomes and mass impoverishment over the past 15 years are considered the main social problems of Pernik. In comparison with other towns under scrutiny the empirical data from the survey carried out in Pernik show:

- the highest share of those who describe the financial situation of their parental families as very serious – 16.4% could not satisfy their basic needs and 36.8% had to spend money very carefully;

- the highest share of those who cannot satisfy their basic needs (12.0%) or have to spend money very carefully (41.6%) in their present families;

- the highest percentage of those who estimate their neighbourhood as rather poor or very poor both during their childhood and in the present day;

- the highest number of respondents who put their parental and present family in the lowest positions on the 10-point scale and perceive their current social positions as lower in comparison to their parents' positions at the same age.

During in-depth interviews it was pointed out that young adults, who have not made social progress in comparison to their parents' situation, face serious trouble in three inter-related directions. First, they often work without formal employment contracts and are not protected appropriately against dismissal. This creates a permanent feeling of insecurity and a fear of losing work. Secondly, they have to work overtime in order to keep their jobs. This is why they found it difficult to combine work, family life and bringing up children. According to the respondents, this was not the case before the transition, when employment was more secure and young families received adequate institutional support when taking care of children. The third dimension of the problems, faced by the interviewed young people, is the lack of opportunities to change their current employment for better-paid jobs and to improve their standard of living. Young respondents consider entrepreneurship as the highest professional and personal achievement. The main criterion for young respondents to feel successful is the financial independence from their parents. This is an example of how the handicap of a poor family background cannot be overcome easily and in a short term.

The role of the family

Family relations are included in the list of psychological factors. Some respondents said the family bears the biggest responsibility for transmitting inequality. However, they admit that the state should provide the basis for economic stability of the family and equal opportunities for development in the first place. The opportunities for young people to achieve a high social status are closely connected to the family environment because children follow their parents' behavioural pattern and replicate it. A significant part of the population is forced to focus solely on survival, rather than on self-improvement. The parents focus mostly on providing subsistence for the family and work overtime and sometimes even commute to other towns (this applies strongly to Pernik). The children are left without parental control and are influenced by street culture. According to experts, the reason for juvenile delinquency in these cases is not only economic, but also results from the bringing-up of the children. According to the teachers, an explanation should focus on deformations in the normative value-systems. Many of the adults should change their way of thinking and their system of values, should be more tolerant, take professional responsibility in their work together with personal responsibil-

ity for the future of their children. Often the adults and their children depend on unmanageable problems. The children witness negative examples of their parents' inability to achieve the desired living standard. This situation in small social units makes the basis for self-assessment of one's social condition and for the development of a sense of inevitability. The feeling creates a poverty culture, which passes from one generation to another. By encouraging parents to put enough financial resources into better education for their children, one may help the talented children to have better chances. In-depth interviews with young adults confirmed that young people strongly believed that their parents had a crucial role in their lives. Family was the only one, which helped them to complete their education, to develop responsibility and to overcome all employment-related difficulties. Some interviewees think that within the market economy people have more possibilities to improve their living standard. However, chances are open not only for talented, but also for those willing to take risks.

The role of education

Due to the prolonged social crisis in Bulgaria, it is hard to assess particular social problems and to establish their ranking in a well-substantiated way. However, the continuation of poverty and low education in particular social groups is considered a solid mechanism for intergenerational inheritance of poverty among them. Low education and even illiteracy pass from one generation to another especially in the Roma community, thus providing for the continuation of poverty and the strengthening of all kinds of social inequalities in Bulgarian society. Actually all the interviewed persons agree that social inequality in Bulgaria is related to ethnic origins, especially for the Roma and the Turkish communities. The Roma are mentioned frequently as social group of working age that lives on social benefits. The low social status and the social behaviour of the Roma, who are the only ethnic minority in the town, were pointed out as one of the major problems for Pernik.

The problem of education of the Roma children is a topic deserving special attention. Because of their own illiteracy, Roma parents neither can, nor want to educate their children. The state must intervene radically and the Roma parents must be forced to send their children to school. In fact, legal measures for achieving this purpose exist, but are rarely applied. Low material status and poor education seem unavoidable and bound to continue among the Roma. This point is confirmed by both social studies and simple everyday observations. The conclusion is that the measures for integration of the two biggest minorities into

the mainstream social processes often do not go in the right direction and have not yielded the desirable results so far.

In addition to the general problem of receiving education, another serious problem concerns the quality of education and the real possibilities it offers for increasing the competitiveness of young people on the labour market. The overall assessment of Bulgarian state-financed education is that it is of low quality. The lack of access to modern technologies also limits personal and national development, the interviewees said. It is a common opinion that the long delayed and still incomplete educational reforms hinder the future development of the national economy and thus preclude the breaking of the intergenerational transmission of inequality. Bulgaria's educational system has become highly dependent on the material status of the parents. Only the rich can afford to pay the high tuition fees in the elite private schools. The inequalities resulting from different levels of education will most probably continue to deepen. Some young interviewees considered higher education as a chance to overcome the handicaps of their poor origin and to live independently.

As to the system of professional education, it was generally assessed as lagging behind the needs of the restructuring of the economy. Bulgarian education must be reformed and become part of the market economy. Young people enter the labour market with a significant lack of professional training. State funding for vocational education is insufficient. As a result, the specialised establishments have obsolete technological equipment while modern companies tend to work with advanced technologies. The necessity to provide teachers with further training poses other problems. In addition, there is insufficient coordination between state institutions, the employers, and the educational institutions. Each year students graduate from vocational secondary schools preparing them for occupations which are needed neither in the regional, nor in the national economy, or with qualifications that cannot meet the current requirements. This is one of the major reasons for the difficulties that young people experience in the labour market. Teachers, representatives of the employers and of the labour office pointed out the need for a re-orientation of the secondary vocational schools in line with the new requirements of the labour market.

Programmes promoting upward social mobility

The assessment of the active measures aimed at improving the labour market situation was not unanimous. Representatives of labour offices, some politicians and municipal councillors confirmed that intensive work is taking place. Numer-

ous programmes had been started. However, the effect of some initiatives is short-lived. The real problem lies in the effectiveness and the efficiency of these active measures. According to the representatives of the municipal administration and labour office, these programmes have positive effects because the involved people who are no longer passive and dependent on social benefits, but return to work. Other participants in the discussions think that the efficiency of these programmes is low and they need to be improved since few of the involved in the temporary employment programmes actually continue to work on a permanent basis. A positive assessment was given to the initiatives for reducing unemployment among young people. For their part, the interviewed young people estimated public employment offices as very inefficient and of low quality. The same conclusion was made with regard to social welfare institutions. All of the young interviewees declared that these public institutions played no role in achieving their personal plans and life strategies. Young people from poor families do not trust the public institutions because neither the employment office, nor the social welfare offices have ever helped them. Young respondents said they mostly rely on their own efforts to solve their problems. If the problem is too difficult to be resolved without external help, respondents expect to receive support from their family or friends. The lower the respondents' assessment of the formal institutional role, the higher is the young people's evaluation of the personal efforts, family and informal circles.

Attention was paid to various employment programmes, some of which have good ideas and are organised, funded and implemented properly. But there is no co-ordination between the particular programmes and institutions. That makes the results short-lived and does not secure long-term effects from the invested efforts and money. It is a shared opinion that the involvement of institutions and the co-operation between them is necessary to reduce the inheritance of social inequalities. Most of the interviewees think that the state should bear the highest responsibility for resolving this task. Other institutions should apply the state policies through the mechanisms they can avail themselves of. The co-operation between the central and the local authorities is considered inefficient by all interviewees. There are positive examples like the setting up of a national network of centres for social consultations and protection of the poor on a local level and of regional councils for combating poverty and social exclusion in close co-operation with the central structures from the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy. One of the biggest national social programmes of the ministry *From Social Benefits to Employment* showed a good pattern of co-operation at the local level. According to individuals, directly involved in the programme, the local authori-

ties have already prepared staff on a local level to manage the financial aid from the EU Structural Funds. However, most of the interviewees forecast that if the role of the local authorities is not changed, the superficial implementation of the programmes and the inefficient utilisation of the EU funds would continue. The local authorities should be allowed to be more flexible when implementing their initiatives. The social workers from the municipality mentioned this in order to improve the co-operation between the separate institutions. There is an idea for a co-ordination centre with the participation of the municipality, the NGOs and entrepreneurs.

The social support system has also received various and in some cases contradictory assessments. On the one hand, the need for supporting poor people was not questioned by any of the interviewed actors. It was repeatedly mentioned that social support programmes are needed for raising living standards. On the other hand, there is a widespread opinion that these programmes also have negative effects, since they discourage some people from making efforts to work. It was noted that the administrative capacity at the local level had increased and the system is now better suited to manage concrete situations in the social sector. However, there are still quite a number of problems and shortcomings in this field. First, the system of social support has to be streamlined and better structured, but not expanded. Second, despite the large scope for social support schemes, there are needy people who are not covered. According to the stakeholders, there should be a restricted initial period of support of the economically active individuals when they experience difficulties. An undesirable result of the social support programmes is that significant funds and social energy are expended, but there is no certain result. These schemes function as substitutes for a certain period of time, but fail to create capacities for raising income from work and thus to help the individuals benefiting from the programme to live independently in the future. The financial support should be combined with training courses and with alternatives to encourage the activeness of people in need to get out of the social assistance programme.

The common opinion is that poverty is a severe economic, political, social and cultural problem in the country and particularly in Pernik, and that it is likely to be passed from the current to the next generations. It emerged during the discussions that the optimistic prospect for the children to fight inherited poverty successfully still cannot prevail over the pessimistic one. The participants of the seminar in Pernik discussed the necessary steps that are to be undertaken against the intergenerational transmission of social inequalities. First, according to the

local stakeholders the most important thing to be done in order to overcome the inheritance of the low material status of households is to foster the development of the local economy by supporting businesses in the territory of the Pernik municipality. The stakeholders were unanimous that the improvement of the local economic situation is the only sustainable way to combat the transmission of inequalities from one generation to the next. The most important point in this respect was the agreement of the participants about the leading role of the local authorities. Second, participants believed that there was a need for improving intra- and inter-institutional co-ordination. Third, stakeholders agreed that the improvement of the educational system is a crucial task. The short-term prospects for the intergenerational transmission of inequalities in Bulgaria are basically pessimistic as indicated by the interviews and the discussions. Hopes for softening social inequalities and for reducing their inheritance are more long-term in nature.

Recommendations

None of the interviewed social actors at national and local level doubt the need for or the results of efforts to adapt Bulgarian legislation to the requirements of the *acquis communautaire*. More precisely, this concerns the European social model and its application in Bulgaria. Aside from acknowledging the positive results, the stakeholders also gave recommendations for reducing the negative effects due to social risks.

Most interviewees think that the state should bear higher responsibility for the efforts to resolve the issues connected with the inheritance of social inequalities. Indeed, the issues should be explicitly identified and put into the focus of the national social strategies. The strategies and the programmes should be designed for joint implementation by the governments and the local authorities. It is a commonly shared opinion that a stronger mobilisation of institutions and a better co-operation between the central and the local authorities, between the particular programmes and institutions is necessary in order to effectively alleviate the inheritance of social inequalities. More precisely, the local authorities should be given the possibility to be more flexible when implementing their initiatives. The local authorities are close to people and should be involved in the activities in a way which would boost people's confidence in them.

The educational reforms should be continued with growing investments in the field. State and municipal institutions should support research in the local labour markets in order to meet the specific local needs. This means adaptation

of the locally offered professional education to the local needs of production and services. The business circles should fulfil their social responsibility by investing in the education and training of their staff or by developing other corporate initiatives supporting active policies for coping with the intergenerational transmission of inequalities. It would be desirable to think about initiatives covering the life cycle of the households and individuals affected by poverty. The support should be therefore extended from education up until retirement. This longitudinal approach still needs to be discussed by the state, trade unions and employers.

The system of social support has to be streamlined and better structured, but not expanded. What should be done in social assistance is to reduce the formal criteria in order to make the officials from the social services more active in identifying persons who really need help, to get enough information about the socially vulnerable persons, and to assess each case individually. One of the suggestions was to improve the social services legislation by expanding the realm of the activities potentially conducted by NGOs.

All interviewed politicians, participants in the discussions and the majority of the respondents in the survey expressed their interest in the scientific study on the inheritance of social inequalities. The political and practical understanding of the research results is considered a necessary part of the joint actions, aimed at the reduction of social risks.

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PERCEPTION OF INTERGENERATIONAL INHERITANCE OF INEQUALITIES IN GERMANY

Social structures of Giessen

Giessen is one of the most affected towns in Hesse when it comes to poverty. Particularly long-term unemployed, single parent families, immigrants and families with three or more children are highly affected by poverty. In Giessen there are four main disadvantaged residential areas which are centres of social exclusion. One third of all families living in Giessen are single parent families. The ratio of lone parents in Giessen –mostly women – is far above the average in comparison with the given percentage of lone parents in Germany. 13.5% of the total town's population are immigrants of 148 different nationalities. In comparison with other middle-sized towns in Hesse and Germany this is clearly an above average rate. Most of the immigrants (27.5%) have a Turkish migration background [data from the local poverty report Giessen, published in 2002]. The number of long-term unemployed, submitted under the new labour market regulations, increased in 2006 by about 6 percent up to 19.500 in the labour district of Giessen.

Results

General remarks

Concerning the starting point of the PROFIT-Project we could scarcely find any available and comprehensive data about the problem of inherited inequality in Giessen. Even if there are local reports on poverty (the last one in 2002), there are hardly any data concerning social mobility at the local or regional level. Therefore a more exact analysis of the existing problems is vital in order to be able to intervene in the local situation effectively. Herewith it is not only important to assess long-term and inherited inequality but also to integrate a wide-ranging report on wealth in order to achieve better information about the distribution of income and to realize whether social inequality is increasing or decreasing.

Living conditions

Growing up in a family affected by poverty

All respondents shared the view that children from families with a low social status and from disadvantaged residential areas have very low chances of escaping the poverty trap and of achieving a higher social status. The transmission of low social status and poverty from one generation to another is present in Giessen.

My assumption is that poverty in Giessen is largely inherited. There are families, which are living in poverty for several generations. [...] There are names and city areas, where they come from, known by the Youth Welfare Department, the social welfare office, and they are known throughout the city everywhere. These families affected by long-term social exclusion have many children. I sometimes even recognize where they come from without knowing before. On the whole, this is a large group of people we are dealing with. (Social worker)

The young adults who took part in the study are in more or less the same social position as their parents were. In some families significant problems cumulated and this situation had a crucial effect on the children. This was not always solely connected with the unemployment of the parents. Unemployment can not be seen as the only factor causing the problematic family situation, although it is an important one especially with regard to the economic situation of the family. Other factors were mentioned by respondents as having had a remarkable influence on their living situation as a child. These factors include indebtedness, migration background, separation and divorce of the parents, disturbed family climate, a bad parent-child-relationship, neglect and low competence of the parents, violence in the family, missing family and social network, health problems and addiction of the parents and growing up in trouble hotspots. The coping strategies of the respondents are very different and depend on the concrete situation of the family, age, and personal abilities of the respondent. The young respondents in the study are not resigned at all, but try to improve their situation by working very hard for themselves and taking their apprenticeship very seriously to change their situation in the long run.

Growing up and living in socially disadvantaged areas

An interesting result of the study was that living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods was portrayed very ambivalently – integration into the neighbourhood on the one hand, stigmatization on the other.

Currently it is difficult again to find a vocational training when your address is e.g. "Leimenkauter Weg". Then the chances are very low. (Social Worker)

Many families moved back into trouble hotspots because that is where they have their social relations and it is difficult for them to get into contact with better-off families.

Only very few families get out of this environment. The families that move into another part of town often return after a certain time because the social environment they have created is not to be found elsewhere. They have problems getting to know the families there that might be slightly better off. (Educator)

Proposals

The close relationship to the neighbourhood is also reflected in the fact that kindergartens often serve as contact points for families.

The families come to us as a contact point that is in need of expansion. We counsel them even though that doesn't really fall into our scope of responsibilities. Even in completely different matters, for example debt counselling. They always come to us and ask 'Can't you help us?' There should be something created that is accessible from where the parents live, where they feel safe, where they can also talk about their fears and apprehensions. (Educator)

This clearly indicates the special need for contacts to low threshold local institutions in the neighbourhood and for experts and people known to them. Centralisation of public tasks even at the local level is a hindrance for the poor. Therefore it is strongly recommended that the infrastructure in disadvantaged areas be strengthened e.g. establishing low threshold "advice centres".

For the people living here, this area is their whole world. They need a contact point, where they get support and help. It would make sense to establish such a centre directly in the area. (Young male adult living in a socially disadvantaged area)

The people living in disadvantaged areas often have a very close relationship to their area. It is difficult to send somebody to other institutions in town because we often experience that they do not arrive there. (Social worker)

It was regarded as important to undertake more efforts working towards a better environment in the disadvantaged townships. In general, improving the housing conditions and fighting the negative image of social hotspots by providing e.g. sports fields, playgrounds and youth centres is stressed as being vital. Through

this, the residents of the neighbourhood should get involved in projects, acting as “experts of their own affairs”, with the aim of being able to completely hand over the project into the responsibility of the neighbourhood’s residents. Examples show that the participation of residents in disadvantaged areas in planning and realisation of projects leads to remarkable results. To reach these objectives, planning security and long-term projects over at least three years are necessary in addition. Different providers of social services and social initiatives should network more closely in neighbourhood activities. Social workers from different neighbourhoods reported some positive examples of networking, but it was also evident that more resources are needed. In the end, noticeable improvements in the neighbourhoods cannot be achieved without adequate financial investments.

Education

Education plays a crucial role as regards the inheritance of poverty from one generation to another as social mobility depends heavily on educational qualities. The majority of the participants agree that a success in the educational system is still dependent on the social background of a child. In Giessen about 40% of families are unable to afford the fees for public kindergarten. In many families the parents are not able to support and promote their children in kindergarten and schools, either because they are poorly educated themselves or because they do not have time for support due to hard work. Often the children are also not provided with books and computers at home. All these circumstances of poor social environment explain why numerous children have more difficulties in school. Children from disadvantaged families often lack even the necessary equipment:

It starts with that they don't possess the things they need. Yes, mommy is only getting the money next Monday and then again she might not and you end up buying it yourself. They come to school with a plastic bag because they don't have the money for a backpack or it has been spent otherwise. At home the children are not able to look things up because there are no books, no computer, no internet. (Teacher)

The school can have a very important function to provide a richer environment that the pupils do not find at home. Therefore the school can, to certain extent, depending on the school structure and the possibilities offered by the school, compensate for missing opportunities at home. “Significant others”, for example teachers, can have a very important influence on the development of children with difficulties.

I have been lucky. I got support from one of my teachers. She organised German courses and extra tuition for me in the afternoon. The personal engagement of my teacher and later also of my class-mates helped me very much. These language courses were not offered by the school for all pupils. I only got the chance because I was hard-working and my teacher was very engaged. (young female adult with migration background)

Only the intervention of one of my teachers and my older sisters changed the attitude of my parents towards the high school. [...] (young male adult who improved his social status)

Proposals concerning education policy

1. Comprehensive schools. All respondents emphasize the decisive role of education in fighting poverty. PISA shows for example that success in the educational system still depends on the social background of the children. Consequently the educational system is not able to establish equal opportunities. A huge number of respondents identify the early selective German tripartite school system as the main source of promoting educational discrimination and excluding migrants. Learning together for a longer time was seen as a necessary step to overcome the early selection. Therefore many front-liners and some young adults advocate comprehensive schools aimed at overcoming the highly selective character of the German educational system. These reforms are urgently needed and should be orientated towards the Scandinavian school system as positive example.

Integration is important. Children with different social backgrounds should stay together in school and learn together. The children can learn from each other and they can learn to cope with differentiations. (Front-liner)

Everyone studies together. In my opinion establishing comprehensive schools should be the central project to improve the educational system in Germany significantly. More participation in education should be the aim of political reforms. (young male adult who improved his social status)

2. Almost all participants agree that investments in education are imperative. It also means the **establishment of full-time schools**, targeted especially at children from socially disadvantaged families. Special supportive courses for disadvantaged children like extra-tuition lessons or language courses should not depend on the personal engagement of single persons, but should be institutionalised at school.

Children should have an independent area of life outside the family as early as possible. I developed all abilities and interests when I wasn't at home. [...] One assumes much too strongly and too often today, that all parents naturally promote the abilities of their children. But often parents offer the children the same things which were offered to them. In case of socially disadvantaged families, this isn't often very much. That's why all-day schools could offer more opportunities and support especially for disadvantaged children (young male adult who improved his social status)

3. Free access to crèches and kindergartens (especially in social hotspots).

Early support of children in crèches and kindergartens is regarded as very important. There is also a need for smaller classes in schools and kindergartens. The teachers reported that they do not have the possibility and time to support the children individually and to include the parents into the activities any more. The reason is, on the one hand, the increasing number of children per class and per teacher, on the other hand, the growing amount of attention children need as they experience more and more difficulties and problems at school.

Now I'm getting to the strategies of making sure that the groups are smaller and at least two qualified persons are present. Then you can also involve the parents. (Educator)

4. Because the educational career of the children from disadvantaged families is often realized against the will of their parents, **free access to educational institutions** and public financial support is an important issue enabling the children to make independent decisions.

Labour market and social policy

The majority of the front-liners argue that an increase in the inheritance of poverty in Germany is to a large extent due to the hazardous development in the labour market. They confirm that the latest reforms are worsening the situation of the people affected by poverty significantly and are intensifying social exclusion by cutting back unemployment benefits. Before the labour market reforms were passed, recipients could additionally file an application for example for a washing machine or winter clothes. This has changed and now the welfare recipients are expected to save money and to cover all expenses with their low unemployment benefit. Because the amount of money they get hardly permits any saving it is most likely that their problems are increasing. All front-liners agree that the financial support for poor families is not sufficient and should be increased.

It can not be expected that the welfare recipients save money for unusual and un-expected expenses. In former times they had to file applications, and now they suddenly get money and have to save it. That can not work. [...] This will lead to an increase of indebtedness. (Social worker)

At present the unemployed with no or low qualifications have the lowest chances of entering vocational training and the labour market. The demand for skilled and well trained employees is increasing whereas the number of jobs offered for low-skilled workers is declining.

If you have failed in school, in the past you had a second chance, because there was a need for workers. Nowadays the enterprises have very high expectations and they want already highly qualified apprentices. The enterprises can make their choice, because we have an oversupply of those asking for work. In addition, there are not many professions and jobs for low qualified people any more. (Trade unionist)

The majority of the young adults in the study are undergoing vocational training at the moment and therefore are still depend on their parents to a significant extent. Because the respondents do not receive much money during their apprenticeship, some try to earn some extra money through illegal work at weekends. Experiences described by the respondents prove impressively how difficult and precarious the transition periods from school to vocational training to work for disadvantaged young adults are. After leaving school many of the respondents faced unemployment for a longer period of time. They tried very hard to find a vocational training place and often wrote a lot of applications but had to face rejections only. Many of the respondents found a vocational training place at last through ZAUG (Centre for Work and Environmental Protection). The task of this public institution is to resolve the discrimination produced by the education system and the labour market with the focus on disadvantaged teenagers and young adults in the transition period from school to work. Although most of the respondents found a vocational training place at last, the transition is not really complete yet, because vocational training is a step in between school and labour market, and they will probably face the risk of unemployment again afterwards. To be unemployed for a longer time without the prospect of overcoming the situation is very difficult for the young adults. Because they do not find any job they feel left out of society and sometimes think that they are responsible for that.

I had difficulties to find a vocational training place. I was unemployed about one year. I wrote about 50 applications. From time to time I was even invited for a job interview. Nevertheless I received refusals one by one without giv-

ing reasons. Unemployment really sucks. One feels so miserable. You feel as if nobody needs you, as if you are loser. I asked myself why I made such an effort at school to achieve a good school-leaving qualification if it doesn't help you at all afterwards. I really blamed myself for this situation. (Young female adult with migration background)

The experiences with the labour office are very different, often depending on the advisor responsible for the respondent. The young adults often feel helpless dealing with the office and not being treated fairly:

I don't feel treated well. The last time I went to the labour office they said: "You filled in the wrong form." Then they didn't pay the benefits. Just like that. And it was their fault, because they sent me this form. I told them, that it is unjust. They made a mistake and we have to suffer because of that. The advisor told me, I would receive a new form but till then I wouldn't receive any money. (Young female adult)

Proposals concerning labour market and social policy

1. Vocational training places. The fight especially against youth unemployment was regarded as a key objective for providing the younger generation with a perspective of development after leaving school. More vocational training places in general and a public occupation sector are necessary. The public occupation sector should offer employment and social insurance contributions. Especially the unemployed with no or very low qualifications, who have the lowest chances to enter the labour market, need intensified support.

What we really need is more vocational training places. There are so many young adults searching for work after school. Vocational training is the Alpha and Omega. [...] ZAUG is really important for us, because it reveals a perspective to young people to make something out of their lives. (young male adult)

Many participants regarded the 'Federal Government's Job Training Initiative' in conjunction with trade and industry, relying on the voluntary self-commitment of companies, as failed. It was not possible to effectively tackle youth unemployment with this instrument. As an alternative, participants favoured a training levy. This legal obligation would imply a fee for companies that do not offer job-training opportunities. The generated revenues would benefit companies offering apprenticeship positions.

2. Social und cultural participation. It was also regarded as necessary that access to public cultural and social facilities is available to everybody and that public utilities are not privatized. The so called “Giessen-Pass” is a good example of a tool designed to increase participation:

The City-Pass offers cultural and social participation. The social-cultural minimum of 345 Euros per month is extended at least a little through this. It is important that people have access to cultural facilities. (young male adult)

Strategies of the political actors

Although all political actors take for granted that there is a problem of inherited poverty in Germany, there is a lack of strategies at all political levels. With the exception of the former Federal Family Minister (SPD), all interviewees accepted public responsibility for poverty reduction policies. Combating poverty is seen as a political obligation and not perceived as a personal matter. In contrast, the Family Minister stresses the individual responsibility of the persons affected. The Family Minister publicly maintains the scarcely demonstrated point of view that the example of the parents and the social environment where the poor children are brought up are the main causes of inherited inequality, not the external or structural factors.

Suggestions for improving social policy are scarcely to be found among conservative party members and government representatives. But some of the politicians at the national and regional level demand more transfers to guarantee a sustainable income for the poor. They also point to the requirements of flexible child care and satisfactory provision with acceptable accommodation and the right to sufficient language courses, especially for the children with migration background. All these measures should primarily benefit single parents, children, and immigrants.

A majority of politicians at the federal, regional and local level favours improvements of the educational system. They consider education to be the key for overcoming the inheritance of poverty. But ideas about the reform of the educational system vary considerably: Whilst the conservative party (CDU) advocates a secondary school form model that divides an age group into different schools based on assessed ability (for example in Hesse), Social democrat representatives and the Greens criticize the German educational system as being too socially selective. Their reform ideas are orientated towards the Scandinavian system which assumes that children stay together in the same class and school for as long as possible. At the local level all political parties with the exception

of the CDU want to abolish fees for kindergartens. The party representatives of the opposition (the Social Democratic Party, the Green Party and the Party of Democratic Socialism) suggest establishing family centres, investing more money in education, establishing more all-day schools and improvement of the carer-to-client ratio.

The answers of the politicians at national and regional levels with regard to labour market policy indicate that nobody is willing to take responsibility: representatives at the federal level are referring to the responsibility of the different Länder. At both levels – federal and regional – politicians demand that the private companies take more responsibility for the supply of employment and especially for vocational training places.

The front-liners criticize the fact that politicians at all levels intervene very hesitantly in fighting unemployment and poverty and mostly do it by imposing disciplinary measures.

Also the young adults have the impression that politicians, even at the local level, are not really interested in helping them:

But I am not a politician. I have no idea how it works. All I hear from the politicians are empty promises. The only thing they care for is their career. [...] The future lies on you[interviewer-D.E.], students from university, not on us, the common people. (young male adult with migration background)

I often listen to poor people saying that this is the first time that somebody is listening to me. The disadvantaged people need a voice. (social worker)

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PERCEPTION OF INTERGENERATIONAL INHERITANCE OF INEQUALITIES IN ESTONIA

Nature and patterns of intergenerational inheritance

The interviews with national elites and local stakeholders in Pärnu revealed that the Estonian society is exposed to a high risk of intergenerational inheritance of inequalities which could be considered as an obstacle for ensuring the sustainable development of the society. The phenomenon of intergenerational inheritance was interpreted as an inevitable part of social life, an unexpected outcome of societal transition, or a result of personal choices and individual values. In more detail, the social and cultural values and attitudes of the family of origin will determine the aspirations of the younger generation to achieve a social position in the society. In real life, the realization of these aspirations will depend on the economic resources of the family. It means that the simple factor of economic hardships or poverty would not necessarily result in inherited poor social status.

The inheritance of inequalities has a multidimensional nature, where the values, material and non-material resources combine with each other in the particular social environment. The main perceived risk factors for inherited poverty were: poor education, living in a peripheral area, unemployment, poor knowledge of the Estonian language, insufficient social capital, and poor social networks.

The elite interviews and focus groups revealed that the ascribed social status and limited social mobility is unequally distributed within the society. Some particular social groups have a higher risk of inheritance than others do. The young people from families with a low level of material resources and lower education are more vulnerable to the transmission of inequalities compared with the more wealthy and educated families. The low level of economic and social capital could be caused by several factors and the pattern of inherited inequalities is not very clear. Nevertheless, the single parent families, families with unemployed

members, families with many children were the most typical examples presented by the respondents. In addition, the non-Estonians were revealed by the study as a highly vulnerable group.

However, the interviewed young people did not perceive the causal impact of the parental family and social institutions on their current life. The main determining factor of the current socio-economic status in the narratives of the respondents was individual active orientation, willpower and entrepreneurial spirit. Most of the interviewees declared that all relevant decisions in their lives were made personally by themselves and all other possible impacts (from parents, peers or institutions) had only had an indirect and minor effect. This understanding in the context of the whole project can be interpreted as a lack (or insignificant effect) of intergenerational transmission of inequalities. Such an interpretation seems to be valid for the whole young population concerned, not depending on gender, place of origin and other socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents.

Education as a main risk factor of inherited inequalities

Education was considered as a main tool for improving human capital and it therefore plays a key role in the reduction of inherited inequalities. In respect of education several issues were tackled. The interviews revealed that access to education is a main determinant of the future social status for the young generation. The physical access to an educational institution could be limited in the small rural areas, where the long distance and high transportation costs may hinder access to educational opportunities and certainly reduce the opportunities for hobby education. However, access to good quality education is restricted for a significant part of students. Here the main cause for that is the high level of differentiation in the Estonian education system. Division of schools into elite and ordinary schools creates competition between the students. The children from less educated and economically deprived families may more probably find themselves among the losers in the game.

At national level, the unequal educational opportunities for Estonians and non-Estonians were highlighted. Non-Estonians compared to Estonians have less choice in selecting schools because insufficient mastery of the Estonian language bars attendance at Estonian schools.

School drop-out is one of the main problems in the Estonian education system. Drop-out involves mainly boys, who have other interests and whose behaviour is not acceptable for the teachers. Estonia does not have enough information about the family background of the dropping out students, and the interviews

did not reveal a correlation between the low family status and the interruption of studies.

Vocational education in Estonia has a poor image among the population. The vocational institutions are least popular in Estonia and the great majority of students are planning to continue their studies in grammar schools and prepare themselves for university.

Higher education in Estonia is in the process of rapid development. The number of students has increased several times. Most of the students, who have failed in the entrance competition, have to pay for their studies. A system of partially paid higher education tends to increase inequalities in Estonia, the students from poorer families are not able to cover the study fees and the everyday expenditure on food, accommodation and study materials may exceed the level of available resources, which makes the continuation of studies impossible.

Unemployment as a main cause of the transmission of inequalities

The representatives of the national elites indicated that young people are exposed to a relatively high risk of unemployment in Estonia. The risk of unemployment is the highest in the case of students who drop out, but also among those with just primary education. The conducted studies revealed that the link between education and labour market is not sufficient. As a result, unemployment among young people with higher education may increase if the economic growth of the country starts to slow down.

Pärnu and the surrounding region has one of the lowest rates of unemployment and for this particular reason, unemployment was not considered as a relevant risk of disadvantage by the local stakeholders as well as by the interviewed young people. Most of the young respondents have successfully entered the labour market and are working in a field close to the profession obtained from the educational system. Entrance into the labour market was mainly supported by informal social networks (parents, relatives, peers and their relatives) and to a lesser extent by the measures of employment and educational policies (apprenticeship, career counselling, etc).

Policy responses to the intergenerational inheritance of inequalities

Education policy

Both, the representatives of the national elite and local stakeholders considered education policy as a main tool for preventing and relieving the intergenerational transmission of inequalities. The main suggestions made were concentrated in the following policy measures:

- **Improving access to (good-quality) education.** The policies should improve access to competitive education at all levels, which is currently more problematic in rural areas. It could be done by providing necessary funding for all educational institutions, strengthening quality assurance, improving support mechanisms for students studying far from their place of residence (scholarships, dormitories, etc).

- **Improving training of pedagogical staff at schools.** The training and refreshment courses for teachers should first of all concentrate on social pedagogy. The teachers should learn about the socialisation process and the stages of child development. They should notice and deal with the social problems of children. They have to increase their competencies concerning the provision of social skills. A specific topic in the area of training is the restoration and expansion of the training system for teachers in the non-Estonian schools.

- **Increasing prestige of vocational education.** The role of vocational education should be increased and the prevalence of general grammar school education should be reduced.

- **Reformation of the higher education system.** The state should show more initiative in designing the profile of higher education and try to achieve a higher correlation between demand and supply in the labour market. The system of study benefits needs to be revised. All young people who would like to study should have an access to higher education, even if they lack the appropriate material resources.

- **Implementation of the system of career planning and educational counselling.** Students should have an opportunity to receive advice from specialists to get to know about his/her personal abilities. They should have neutral and adequate information about the study opportunities and labour force requirements. The implementation of such a system could prevent youth unemployment and contribute to a significant reduction in inherited inequalities.

Labour market policy

The studies conducted in the framework of the project revealed that unemployment is the main single cause of a low social status in society. Thereby, the participation in the labour market could be seen as a relevant resource for breaking the cycle of the inheritance of inequalities. The main problems of reducing the access of young people to the labour market are related to: (1) mismatch between education system and the labour market, which results in the overproduction of certain professions, (2) significant regional disparities in employment oppor-

tunities, (3) absence of a strategy for integrating young people into the labour market, (4) low position and 'value' of young people in the labour market (low pay, illegal work), and (5) insufficient social capital of young people.

In the opinion of interviewees, the following policy responses should be applied:

- **Strengthening the link between educational output and labour market needs** by improved co-operation between the employers and educational institutions.

- **Improvement of the system of youth career counselling;**

- **Expansion of active employment services** (apprenticeship, work training, etc.) for young people;

- **Increasing the role of the trade unions.**

Social welfare policy

Social policy could be seen as a main tool for relieving poverty and social exclusion. However, in the Estonian case, the levels of benefits and social services are not sufficient for ensuring an adequate level of subsistence. An additional set of problems concerns the disproportion between labour and social income – the minimum wage is too low when compared with benefit level which lowers the motivation to work and look for work.

The possible solutions proposed by the respondents concerned an increasing balance between minimum salary and the threshold for social benefits, expanding the good practice of an individual case-management approach in social work and networking between different agencies as well as developing active services targeted towards 'problematic young people'.

The discussion of the vignette in the focus group gave evidence of numerous policy measures that really could be implemented in current socio-economic conditions of the town. The supporting mechanisms for people in need as well as the organizational structures of actors providing assistance is well developed in Pärnu, and the experience of the town could be presented as a good practice, which potentially could be implemented in other local communities. As a generalisation of the analysis the following lessons can be drawn:

- **Prevention of transmission of inequalities is easier than the alleviation of the consequences of it.** Thereby the minimisation of environmental risks of Ilõfi and the earliest possible intervention into the problem should be prioritised among other policy responses.

- **Careful analysis of problems related to the transmission of inequalities is a necessary precondition for efficient policy implementation.** The discussion of

the vignette revealed that the phenomenon of Ilofi has a complex character where the different risk factors are causally interrelated. Thereby, the personal strategies focusing on every individual member of the family should be elaborated.

- **Active involvement of the client in the policy process has a crucial importance.** The application of policy measures should be based on the principles of subsidiarity: the first resources are good will and active participation of the individual; afterwards the potential support from the family and the closest social network should be realised before the formal policy interventions.

- **The formal policy intervention should be balanced.** The analysis revealed that too generous assistance carries a high risk of the formation of a dependency culture. For this reason assistance should not provide the possibility to live only on assistance, but should require a personal contribution as an obligatory entitlement criterion of social assistance.

- **Efficiency of the implemented policy measures could be significantly increased by mobilising different social actors and by formation of networks.** The complex character of Ilofi could be necessarily considered only by the co-operative involvement of different specialists and social actors.

Evaluation of policies by interviewed young adults

The interviews with young adults in Pärnu revealed no specific policy impacts. Such a result might be explained by the following objective and subjective arguments: (1) rapid development of the policy environment during the time concerned by the study has made it complicated to construct an 'adequate landscape' of policy measures, (2) Estonia's policy environment can be characterised by a low level of social expenditure and a low redistributive effect of policies, (3) the respondents have declared their lack of interest towards policies and politics as well as distrust of public authorities and powerful institutions, (4) prevailing individualistic value orientation and 'self-help ideology' among young people refuted any impact apart from the influence of one's personality.

Brief conclusions from each stage of the fieldwork

The main conclusion drawn from the elite interviews: the intergenerational transmission of inequalities in Estonia was perceived mainly as a potential risk rather than a real phenomenon. It was revealed that the most problematic fields of policy-making are concentrated around educational policy. The political elite of Estonia were concerned about the highly differentiated and selective education system which may restrict the opportunities of children from economically less

successful families. Low education and insufficient cultural capital of parents are the main negative factors which can be transferred to the generation of the offspring. Unemployment was perceived as the most important cause directly impacting inherited inequalities. The employment status is highly correlated with the education level achieved, thereby the main political solutions for the reduction of the intergenerational inheritance of inequalities could be found in integrated measures of employment and education policies.

The focus group interviews confirmed the findings from elite interviews concerning the mechanism of intergenerational inheritance of inequalities. The specific focus was directed at mapping and evaluating existing (as well as potential) policy measures in the local policy environment. The main finding from this stage of the project was that the problems of the intergenerational transmission of inequalities can be solved with the help of existing policy measures – the town has sufficient administrative, financial and professional capacities for dealing with the population in the most vulnerable situation.

The survey data show that Pärnu has the highest level of upward social mobility of young people compared to those in all other towns in seven countries involved in the project. The study also revealed that there is no significant correlation between the social status of the respondent and his/her parents, which means that the phenomenon of intergenerational transmission of inequality in Estonia was not empirically confirmed by the survey data.

The in-depth interviews provided some explanation to the missing correlation between the social status of parents and children. On one hand, the interviewed young people had problems conducting comparisons between their current economic and social situation and the situation of their parents when the respondents were 14 years old because of the crucial differences in the social, political and economic background of Estonian society in the early nineties compared to 2006. In addition to the incomparability of societal situations, the former patterns of transmission of material, social and cultural assets from parents to children were transformed and reconstructed according to new values and requirements of the society, individual adaptation and coping strategies.

Evaluation of the main results by stakeholders

The main results from the project were introduced to the local stakeholders at the final dissemination seminar held in Pärnu on 21 February 2007. The participants of the seminar considered the results as reliable and as a relevant material

for understanding of the socio-economic situation in the country in general and in the particular town. It was agreed that education is a key factor in creating and abolishing the risks of the transmission of inequalities. Education policy should be targeted towards reducing selectivity of the education system and ensuring smooth transition to the labour market. The participants raised the issue of school drop-out, which is apart from other areas in Estonia also a problem in Pärnu. The drop-out can be prevented by increasing flexibility in curricula and teaching methods as well as by early recognition of economic, social and psychological problems of a child and his/her family. Thereby the school social workers and school psychologists play an important role in the prevention of the intergenerational transmission of inequalities.

The results from the survey and in-depth interviews with young adults were widely discussed. In general, the discussion was concentrated mainly around two questions: (1) how to explain the overall positive attitudes of young people concerning their current socio-economic status and further perspectives in comparison with their parents; (2) what could be the reasons that the studies did not reveal the intergenerational inheritance of inequalities. The discussants agreed that the particular period of societal development is an important determinant of the results revealed. In this respect, the question of determination of the age group for the study was highlighted. Some participants suggested that conducting the study among older (30-35 years old) respondents could give a better opportunity to capture the mechanism of transition to early adulthood in more homogenous societal conditions and to reveal the direct transmission of assets from the parents to the children. Some of the participants by referring to socio-psychological regularities of human development, tried to explain the phenomenon by reference to the high self-confidence of young adults, connected to the rejection of external impacts while speaking about their own success in life. Last but not least, young people as active social actors form their own life careers supported by their own networks of peers and friends.

The participants also expressed concrete comments and criticism concerning the results. It was pointed out that the regional disparities between the districts of the city are not as significant as could be understood from the analysis. In fact, the minor differences in economic resources and social status of the residents of different town districts exists but they do not allow conclusions concerning the spatial and social segregation of the town. The participants also did not agree with the statement about the economic differentiation of students in different schools of the town.

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PERCEPTION OF INTERGENERATIONAL INHERITANCE OF INEQUALITIES IN FINLAND

Introduction

According to several statistical indicators and comparative studies, Finland is currently one of the most equal societies in Europe. The Finnish educational system, health care and social security are universalistic by nature. Income inequalities are small compared with most of the European countries. The share of women in the labour markets is high. The number of female members in the parliament and in the cabinet of ministers is probably the highest in the world. So are there any reasons to worry about inequalities in Finland?

According to a recent analysis, more than 60,000 Finns are at relative risk of poverty. The economic crisis at the beginning of the 1990's meant a real redistribution of income and wealth. As a result, part of the population are winners whereas others are losers. This division has also had an impact on children and young people. Generally speaking, the economic crisis meant that the position of children and young people deteriorated. After the crisis, childhood poverty has doubled. The share of children living in the lowest income groups has also doubled. In 1990, only 5.4 % of the families with small children belonged to the lowest income decile. In 2003, the share had increased to 9.4 %. Income development in families with small children has been uneven. Incomes in families with only one child have grown substantially. On the other hand, incomes in families with more than three children have only slightly increased, and incomes of single mothers have hardly increased at all. The economic crisis has meant a clear polarisation among Finnish families.

The work of the Finnish Profit team shows that issues relating to social inequalities are a really existing problem in contemporary Finnish society, too. This was clearly shown by the interviews of the national reports and local stakeholders in the city of Pori.

The intergenerational aspects of equality have not been a popular field of study in Finland in the past ten years. The inequalities that are highlighted in the studies are less related to the *inter-generational* than to the *intra-generational* dimension of social mobility. In social sciences there is a large body of studies discussing whether there is equality as regards to different matters such as economy, employment, education, health, power, prestige, etc. The studies also cover different groups of people, comparing conditions between occupational or socio-economic groups, between men and women and between population groups living in different regions of the country, and whether levels of equality have been changing over time. In this respect the notion that there is a lack of research in the field of intergenerational inequality seems quite accurate, especially when considering the fact that equality of opportunity has been the normative goal of Finnish society for a long time. Nevertheless, such studies regarding the intergenerational aspect focus usually on the relationship between various family background characteristics and either economic status (incomes, poverty), employment status, occupational (or social) status or educational attainment.

Despite the empirical evidence for the existence of these patterns of intergenerational inequality transmission in Finland, research findings have not been used very much to challenge policy making. Actual suggestions for appropriate policy responses are even scarcer. No matter how deep or severe the problems of the poor, the long-term unemployed or socially deprived might be, it is quite probable that the intergenerational transmission of these inequalities is considered to affect only minor groups of Finnish people, and therefore it is not seen as a big social or political problem. From this perspective, the idea of inheriting *a risk* to become poor, unemployed or poorly educated gains more favour than the idea of actually inheriting poverty, unemployment or any other inequality.

The patterns of inequality transmissions, which are considered as the crucial defects of welfare policies and thus the most challenging ones, concern first and foremost the inheritance of poverty, unemployment and impending social deprivation related to these. Secondly, the empirical findings of social inheritance of low educational attainment raise anxiety especially among those who believe in and work for the goal that everybody has an opportunity for education and schooling regardless of his/her socio-economic background. Finnish welfare policies have long been committed to the aim of increasing social mobility and thereby strengthening social equality by providing public education to all on equal basis, free of charge.

In social science literature there is very little discussion about what kind of special policy programmes or actions should be brought into play to combat the inheritance of inequalities. In general, there seems to be some kind of consensus that something should be done – with unemployment of young individuals in particular – but it is not clear what and how. The lack of this kind of thorough investigation of different policy options may suggest that the intergenerational inheritance of poverty, unemployment and low educational attainment is not seen as a very big social problem in Finland, even though the existence of these hereditary inequalities is recognised and considered as a weak point of the welfare state. It is perhaps not very far-fetched to think that the transmission of these inequalities is after all considered to affect only minor groups of the Finnish population, and thus taking care of these problems should take place mainly within the limits of the current social and welfare policies, just as it has been done so far. More practically this means that besides the viable system of social and welfare policies and the selective actions taken already to overcome poverty, social exclusion and educational inequalities, there seems to be no need for any additional policy programmes or schemes specially destined to overcome the problems of intergenerational inheritance of inequalities.

The case of Pori

The study we conducted in Pori is by its nature a community study. Before the economic crisis in the early 1990s Pori was a flourishing industrial centre. It had a wide range of manufacturing industries, mainly connected with metal production and machine building. During the past 15 years Pori has experienced rapid de-industrialisation. As a consequence unemployment has increased and is today at about 15%, which is twice as high as the average in Finland. So it is quite understandable that we also analyse the effects of de-industrialisation on poverty and inequalities.

We completed our field work Pori in the autumn of 2005 and the summer of 2006. Focus group interviews were conducted in 2005, the survey was fielded in the spring of 2006, and the qualitative interviews were done during the summer. The field work was done in close co-operation with the authorities of the city of Pori. The city administration had a very positive attitude towards the project from our first contacts up to the seminar with local stakeholders in January 2007. The social policy department of the city administration helped us to contact participants for our focus group interviews and all the discussions took place in the city hall.

One part of our survey was collected by social workers. The over-all orientation of the city authorities was very positive towards the project.

On the basis of the focus group interviews, survey data and the qualitative interviews, we can say that in general young adults are coping quite well in Pori. In fact youth unemployment is a little lower than on average. Today there are also substantial educational opportunities in the Pori region. Housing conditions follow the general Finnish pattern. Pori has experienced deep structural changes during the past 20 years, which have caused also major economic deprivation in the region, but during the past few years we have seen a clear recovery. So in the spring of 2006 there was a feeling of growing optimism on the whole.

In general our respondents think that they are doing somewhat better than their parents were doing when they were at the same age as they are now. The interviewees express *a sense of moderate success* rather than a feeling of deprivation or degradation in comparison to their parents. However, when we interpret the results, we have to take into account the fact that Finnish culture has a strong normative ethos to get by on one's own. This means that in public people try to keep up the façade of success and well-being even though they have serious problems to cope with. The Finns generally, and in particular men, do not easily express publicly that they have personal problems. This is, probably, the reason why our team did not succeed in reaching those young adults, particularly males, who were the most socially excluded.

We would have used other methods too to get in touch with people in marginalized positions. In social sciences there is ample experience to show that those who participate in normal postal surveys are in good or in average positions. Finding the really poor young adults in Pori would have needed a lot of effort to contact many different actors.

Generally, the interviewees consider that they have more and better opportunities for achievements in life, i.e. better educational and occupational opportunities and career prospects than their parents had when they were young adults. The educational opportunities have indeed increased. Especially the number of tertiary institutions has increased. Also the financial support by the state for students is much better than it was for instance 30 years ago. Thus, as regards the macrostructures of society, the replies given by young adults in Pori support the view of a positive development.

When asked about their overall life achievements, our respondents come to think of their educational level, employment or occupational status and the material well-being in general. Even though some have not achieved any employment or permanent status yet, they, nevertheless, consider they are *having*

more opportunities ahead of them than their parents had in their youth. In spite of their current economic or other personal problems, young adults see their future in a positive light. They have a strong sense that they will overcome all these problems.

A desire to achieve something in life and a determination to realise their intentions are the major factors behind the positive life achievements of our respondents who regarded themselves as survivors or as winners in comparison to their parents. The interviewees had very positive attitudes towards the education system and their career opportunities. They also valued the Finnish welfare system. It is, however, the individual contribution that is crucial here, because it is often assumed that opportunities already exist and that supportive measures are available for everybody who needs them.

In Finland, important transitions within the education system occur at two points. The first is the decision whether young people will continue their studies in the general upper secondary school or in the vocational upper secondary school. The second occurs when the young students graduating from secondary education choose whether they should apply for a study place at the tertiary level of education, to continue their studies in further vocational education at the secondary or post-secondary level or alternatively enter the labour market. In principle there are enough study places for the entire cohort, but there are much fewer of the most valued places at the tertiary level than there are applicants. As higher education is popular, there is strong competition and access to universities is restricted.

About half of our interviewees had chosen to study in the general upper secondary school and half in the vocational upper secondary school. In most cases, the first transition from the lower to the upper secondary level of education has occurred without any major difficulties. Particularly those who had chosen the general pathway express their satisfaction about their choice and the transition. Those who succeeded to move on to study at the tertiary level of education, are basically rather satisfied with their educational career and the qualifications they have already received or are gaining at present. However, there are also those who say that they are lost or have been lost at some point of their career before finding their own pathways.

Transition from school to work very much depends on the general economic and labour market situation. At this moment youth unemployment in the Pori region is not any serious problem. Most of our interviewees are employed. They are also quite satisfied with their employment situation. Those who are unemployed are planning to continue their studies. The biggest problem at the moment is the fact that there are only fixed-term employment opportunities for those who are

entering the labour market. This means that young adults are faced with insecurity, which has a strong effect on their entire life.

Moving from the parental home to one's own home happens at an early stage in Finland. Young adults move out at about the age of 20. In most cases this is the point when young adults either continue their studies at the tertiary level or they start to work after vocational training.

One important finding of the field study in Pori is that parents' social position is a weak determinant of a child's social position. At the societal level we have still a lot of social mobility in Finland. Investment in higher education has opened opportunities for children from working class families, too. The Finnish education system and the social security system play an important role in providing equal opportunities to children from different social backgrounds. Many of the respondents tend to think that they have all the opportunities in their reach which their parents were lacking. Of course, social problems are not all connected to poor living conditions. Alcoholism or lack of care may also occur in middle-class families with good living conditions.

Conclusions

Reforms needed in social and welfare policy: more holistic approach. The political actors who we interviewed find concern in both pillars of the social security system in Finland: in income transfers and in welfare services. To summarise briefly, in the discussions with politicians, three themes were raised above all others. The first one is about developing a more holistic (comprehensive) approach within the policies at every level of both income transfers and services systems. The second theme is closely related to the former and deals with the activation of people (rebuilding identity) instead of just reallocating or redistributing money. The third theme concerns emphasising early intervention, which again is strongly connected to the first one, thus stressing the importance of multi-professional work in helping people.

The second theme of activation can be read in several comments and replies given by political actors. At first, this comes up when discussing the adequate level of the income support. Many of the political actors do consider that the level of minimum security – both the labour market support and social assistance – is too low for a decent standard of life. However – and what is more important – they speak more about “cutters” and mismatches between the different elements of minimum security, which makes it difficult for people to behave rationally and earn a little money without losing social welfare benefits. Thus, the biggest

problem here is not the adequacy of support, but the risk of combining various parts of minimum security in the wrong way, i.e. in such a way that *the young people are not supported enough to be able to help themselves*. In some comments, there is a strong belief that the dependence on income support increases because there are these incentive traps in the system.

Parallel to the themes of activation, self-help and incentives, fostering and improving proactive services are also stressed, such as increasing *home help*, *vocational rehabilitation* and creating *social networks*, *social enterprises* and other supportive surroundings, which might prevent the social exclusion and more serious marginalization. As one of our respondents highlights, it is not enough that one is given money, but one has to be a member of some meaningful network or community in order to get a sense of belonging to society. Furthermore, all the work with basic care is seen of utmost importance, because only in this way it is possible to find out what is wrong with the person and what motivates him or her. The starting point is to (re)build the person's identity: *thinking that one is not a drug abuser or an unemployed person, but one's identity is totally something else*. Thus disadvantaged people should be helped to find goals in their life that are realistic and give hope.

Some of the political actors bring up the need for a more holistic approach in social and welfare policy, which they think is much lagging behind the labour market and educational policies that are given far more resources. The more holistic approach would mean firstly, that people are treated as "whole persons" and not just labour market actors or economic actors. Secondly, it implies that educational and labour market measures are not enough with regard to combating Ilofl. If a person has been unemployed for a longer time and is experiencing a crisis, he/she needs other kinds of support and services than that of signing on the dole or attending courses. Unemployment may not even be the most serious problem. If the person is going through difficult mental or drinking problems, these have to be worked out before he/she can start to go to work or on training courses. Accordingly, there should be more resources for welfare and social policies, since these sectors and their workers bear the most serious and heaviest burden.

In several comments made by the political actors, there is a reference to a programme called "Early Intervention". This is a project coordinated by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health in which the central administrative sectors as well as social organisations operating in the fields of child welfare, substance abuse and mental health are taking part. The aim of the programme is to improve the ability of service systems to intervene at an early stage in the problems of children, young people and families, helping them cope.

The problem of Ilofi is more severe and more difficult to solve than before.

When asked how problematic they consider the question of intergenerational inequalities in Finland today, most of our interviewees, both at national and local level, respond that the problem is a serious one. As many of them conceive the situation, the problem of intergenerational inequalities does not concern so many people in Finland, but those who are concerned with it are in a very weak position in society. Thus, while quantitatively speaking the problem is not so big, qualitatively speaking it is a difficult and “deep” problem to tackle, and therefore the question of Ilofi should be regarded as an important social and political problem that needs to be discussed more.

To some extent our interviewees share the view that people facing the intergenerational inequalities such as poverty and unemployment today are much worse off than people facing similar problems twenty years ago. There are several reasons for political actors to think like that. Firstly, the problems today are much more complicated and more difficult to solve than those previously. Problems are often multidimensional and cumulative in their nature so that they do not have only one cause or symptom that can be treated, but multiple ones. That is why there are simultaneously many difficulties to be overcome or many illnesses to be cured, and the traditional tools and methods of the welfare system cannot easily cope with all of them.

Secondly, some of the political actors consider that in Finland today, there are fewer opportunities for social and occupational mobility than there used to be in the recent past. Thus, with regard to social advancement, the prospects for Finns are worse today than twenty or thirty years ago. For example, after suffering social or economic loss of position, it is much more difficult to get back up again. There are notably fewer jobs on offer in the manufacturing sector of the economy than before. On the other hand, the majority of jobs that are available in the service sector today do not bring the same ‘lifetime’ security and advantages for a person with working-class background as the traditional ‘smokestack industry’ brought in the seventies (and still in the eighties). One of our interviewees notes that as soon as the big “baby boom” generations born after the war will retire, there will be more jobs on offer for those with higher educational qualifications. Instead, people with lower educational qualifications or without any qualifications will have even worse prospects than they ever had.

Thirdly, the problem is regarded as a serious because the prospects of Ilofi are seen in general quite pessimistically. In this view, which many of our respondents share, the intergenerational inequalities will rather remain unchanged or increase than decrease in the near future. As it was put by two of our interviewees, the problem of Ilofi has been “worked out once in Finland” or “kept somehow in control until today”, but now it is “getting out of hand again”. Thus, even though the problem of Ilofi is not very big yet at the moment, it will get bigger or worse in future. These statements refer to two kinds of perceptions of the future of Ilofi. In the first one, the problem is getting bigger and “out of control”, because of growing inequalities in the Finnish society. In the second view, the inequalities are not so much increasing, but the problem is worsening or deepening, because it is taking on entirely new dimensions that are not treated solely via the traditional methods of welfare state policies.

Children of socially excluded and unemployed people with multidimensional problems are at the biggest risk of inheriting disadvantages. When asked about the groups of children and young people, who have the most limited access to social and economic advancement in Finland, the answers given by political actors are quite clear and unanimous. According to our respondents the children of socially excluded people and the children of long-term unemployed people with many problems (social, mental and physical) simultaneously are at the biggest risk of becoming disadvantaged themselves, and therefore have the most limited opportunities for any kind of success in their lives.

Quite often inherited inequalities are connected with long-term unemployment or other kinds of social exclusion, which, when lasting for long enough, usually produce new problems; these may be at first financial problems and after a while possible problems of substance abuse, mental problems or physical illnesses. Apart from these background characteristics, which are often thought to offer a “fertile” breeding ground for the appearance of inherited inequalities, there were few observations made by political actors about the effects of homelessness, poor local surroundings or area deprivation.

To conclude, Ilofi in Finland is foremost a political issue. To help young adults who are in the risk of marginalisation and social exclusion a holistic approach and targeted resources are needed. All depends on the political will at national level. Only then can local actors implement the necessary programmes.

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PERCEPTIONS OF INTERGENERATIONAL INHERITANCE OF INEQUALITIES IN ITALY

The national elite view

At national level the Padua research group has carried out 15 semi-structured interviews with political, economic and NGOs elites. To the interviewees the topic of the intergenerational transmission of inequalities was not very clear; in other words this theme is not taken much into consideration by the national elite. The interviews were mainly about the analysis of the present state of inequalities in Italy, about their causes and the policies to reduce them. With regard to this last topic, the interviewed people did not know much about policies and about the results they could lead to. It is also important to note that none of the interviewed people used “social class” as a category of analysis.

In general, they tend to focus on their own specific field of work/intervention, showing gaps of knowledge. Politically right-wing people believe that inequalities should be reduced, but not eliminated, because they encourage competitiveness; on the other hand, politically left-wing people argue that the return of old inequalities is a topic they can use to attack their political adversaries.

More recently, some inequalities seem to have been overcome as the education opportunities have increased; however, educational levels are still low and for many interviewed people this is a core problem for labour mobility. People with a low income or living in the countryside are considered to have fewer opportunities to gain high educational levels. Cultural and educational levels are generally considered to affect the transmission of inequalities.

The interviewed people do not believe that information technologies affect the transmission of inequalities.

In relation to what people think of opportunities and ways to overcome the Plofi, the interviewed elites seem to be clearly divided. There is no model society and no necessity to cancel social inequalities.

As regards what people think of policies and programmes relating to the transmission of inequalities, we got very different answers. It can be assumed that the opinions of the interviewed reflect opinions in our society in general. Present political leaders (centre right-wing) try not to interfere in social life; on the other hand, the left-wing elites are demanding new laws in order to reduce social differences.

The opinion of the people we interviewed is that labour market policies as well as welfare policies need to be changed because they are inefficient. However, it is not clear in which direction the change should go.

Social Structure of Rovigo

The Italian research group chose Rovigo as the town of their study. Rovigo is a medium size town with 50.000 inhabitants, located in the north east of Italy. It is a “particularly relevant typical case” because even if the city is a part of a rich and developed region (Veneto), it is economically and socially deprived. During the recent years the town experienced some improvements, but the economic crisis that involved Italy since 2001 - and in particular the north east part of the country - had very strong consequences in Rovigo. Between 1999 and 2002 the town of Rovigo was involved in an experimental and innovative project called “Reddito minimo di inserimento” (Minimum Income for Placement) in order to fight against poverty and social exclusion. The project involved 39 municipalities in Italy and Rovigo was one among 5 towns chosen in Northern Italy.

The unemployment rate in Rovigo is 6.42% [Istat 2001], the female unemployment rate is 8.93%, while the region of Veneto has 4.11% of unemployment (5.83% female). Rovigo has the highest unemployment rate in the region; and we have to compare these data with the lowest activity rate in the region: 51.48% (female 41.93), while in Veneto it is 52.51% (female 41.14%). Also the youth unemployment rate is the highest in the region: Rovigo has 22.01% (25.33% female) while Veneto has 11.02% (female 13.06%). Finally the employment rate is 48.17% (female 38.18%), while within the region it reaches 50.36% (female 38.74%) [Istat Censimento 2001].

The point of view of local stakeholders

The research team has generally observed some curiosity and interest in the topic of the reproduction of the social inequalities by the local stakeholders. Unlike the experts contacted at national level, the ones at local level have demonstrated more availability to take part in the debate and greater competences as to the analysis of the local situation. The research team has invited 40 persons who were particularly competent on the subject of the research: local policy makers (chairmen and town and provincial councillors of the different political coalitions), members of non-profit organizations (both Catholic and secular with different aims), and finally social workers (with competences both purely social and in relation to health)

The intergenerational transmission of inequalities in Rovigo is considered by the local stakeholders in quite varied ways. Almost all initially denote some difficulty in considering the phenomenon as a problem; what is being noticed is rather the poverty which affects various social classes. The participants refer to the economic and social context from a historical point of view, complaining about the chronic unemployment which has characterized this area. In fact it is a town involved marginally in the economic development which has characterized Veneto in the last thirty years. As some participants especially point out, this is an area where the presence of the sectors considered mature, such as the textile and the clothing industries, is imposing. The crisis of these sectors, generally labour intensive and with relations of sub-supplying, tends to increase unemployment rates, in particular female unemployment.

The size of the town, with little over 50 thousand people, constitutes the chance both to apply to the community in case of need and to monitor more closely its members. In particular, in some people's opinion the small number of entrepreneurs and managers prevents the formation of a real social elite.

A common factor pointed out by many local stakeholders is that the increase in social mobility typical for the period between the 1960s and 1980s is declining. If 10 or 20 years ago social mobility was a diffuse phenomenon and many people could be upwardly mobile, nowadays this mobility seems to have stopped. This change is due to two phenomena: mass schooling and the precariousness of work relations. In fact on the one hand the diffusion of high levels of education has caused a relative devaluation of the qualifications which do not succeed in assuring access to the labour market at high levels any more. On the other hand the precariousness of work relations affects the new labour market in a noticeable way. However, those who have a certain social capital in terms of rich and

varied networks of acquaintances in the job market are the ones who can enjoy more opportunities to find work. So the processes of inclusion and social mobility are slowed down by the advance of the precariousness which widens social inequalities.

The interviewees think that the intergenerational transmission of inequalities is a social problem which has to be fought by public institutions. Local elites clearly point out that a process of inversion of the social mobility is being made; unlike the parents' generation who have experienced a strong upward mobility, nowadays the children remain in stagnation or risk of slipping socially lower. One of the main causes which had facilitated the mobility of the parents' generation had been the strong effect of better schooling, which had increased the level of education, reducing the reproduction of inequalities; while the reversal of this trend is due to the precariousness of work.

The interviewees perceive the town of Rovigo as a community where social groups are integrated and social control is very strong. Inequalities are interpreted as individual discomforts due to a whole range of negative events happening in the course of the persons' lives independent of their social group. As to the intergenerational transmission of inequalities, the local elite believe that young people today live under social conditions which are profoundly different from those of their parents; in fact they are seen to have much higher levels of education, but they have to face new factors which restrict them in their personal and social realization, above all the fact that they cannot practice the professions corresponding to their educational qualifications or their hopes.

Many members of the local elite point out the importance of social networks in the mechanism of production and reproduction of the inequalities; in fact the lack of a network can become a reason of social disadvantage. Also they link the intergenerational transmission of social disadvantage with the cultural capital of families, believing that the whole family is at a high risk of poverty when its cultural capital is low. So the reproduction of conditions of social disadvantage is due to the interaction of several factors rooted in the social context of Rovigo, and these have an effect on the situations of families and individuals which are already problematic.

Some of the local elites connect the social inequalities to the social group to which individuals belong, and they point out new forms of vulnerability caused by the introduction of work flexibility, which has deepened precariousness and social insecurity in Italy. Besides they point out the problems of unemployment and precarious employment which have hit many graduates of both social and natural science subjects.

The number of social groups affected by the intergenerational transmission of inequalities is increasing. Divorce and separation, the loss of the breadwinner's job, and chronic illness of people with temporary work contracts lead to extreme discomfort for the whole family, particularly for children. These are the people described as "the new poor" or at risk, such as people experiencing long term unemployment, often having old parents and not much education. A particular category can be found among migrants. For migrants, the residence permit which is now connected to the work contract, is the main cause of inequality. The long-term life plans of immigrants and their children depend in the last instance on having a work contract, and those who failed are deprived of any rights and become illegal. In addition, they experience further inequality at work, since immigrants are segregated into the most tiring, unhealthy and low-paid jobs. The lack of the right to vote is another serious injustice and cause of social exclusion, since the matters faced by immigrants who live and work in Italy become invisible for politicians.

However, according to local elites the social groups more at risk of impoverishment in Rovigo are:

- families where parents are separated, single parent and single income families;
- women with low education who have lost their job because of the textile industry crisis;
- well educated young people (very frequent in the town of Rovigo), who cannot realise their hopes for adequate employment and thus are obliged to look for jobs in richer urban centres, such as Padua and Bologna;
- disabled people;
- men over-fifty years of age who are out of work and have a family to support;
- migrants.

Proposals

The policies suggested by the interviewees to combat the reproduction of social vulnerabilities and to give support in situations of disadvantage are first of all **integration of the private and of the public institutions in a network of local welfare** able to sustain people who are faced by the changing labour market. The network should be set among all the subjects who cooperate in the conception, planning and implementation of these policies. However, it has to be pointed out that the network is now a concept shared by the subjects concerned with welfare policies, while the practices in setting up the network are still far

from being realized. In certain cases the network is considered as a substitute for the community which, as it seems, cannot adapt to the social changes.

With regard to the educational field, the local stakeholders think that a reform of the system has to be carried out, intended for **the reduction of the gap between education and the employment world**, in order to facilitate the access to work for young people. **Housing policies** are also necessary, since housing is one of the main problems for migrant people as well as for the natives. The inadequacy of the social policies is due to the fact that interventions are short-lived, sporadic and not consolidated over time.

At institutional level, many local stakeholders point out **the importance of professional training and re-qualification**. Such measures are currently in existence but only partly known to possible recipients; moreover they are provided by different agencies, such as university administration, the Region, the Province or the Town.

Institutional policies should be activated to revive industrial activity, not only through plans aimed at reducing labour costs for enterprises, but also at increasing security for workers. A measure which enterprises should adopt to link economic development to the social one means that social responsibility must be developed.

Some participants point out that **public intervention becomes effective if it is activated in the presence of subjects who have a substantial social capital**. In situations characterized by precarious social relations, public intervention becomes a form of relief with little success to alleviate the disadvantage effectively. It is also because of it that intervention is based on short-term projects what has a negative effect on the peoples' ability to modify their work and living situations.

All the local stakeholders point out the heterogeneity and the high number of subjects who take part in the planning and in the implementation of policies intended to overcome inequalities. With regard to this a basic role is played by **information, which has to be very clear and detailed**. As the town chairman for social policies explains, the population is often not able to understand the various bodies which deliver services or benefits and sometimes they do not apply to any of them, since they consider the current measures humiliating.

Apart from information, measures active not only at local but also regional level have to be developed and implemented. The lack of **such coordination** sometimes makes the measures ineffective. The changes undergone by the Italian welfare system, with the more and more delegation of responsibilities from the

central State to the territorial bodies do not seem to be effective since there is a lack of substantial funding, and this leads to the fragmentation of interventions.

The point of view of young people

In the third year of the research we carried out interviews with young people in Rovigo. These showed that people often seem to be attached to a perception of social mobility, whose cognitive frame is to be found in what may be defined – both metaphorically and literally – as the world of “concrete and steel”. This world is mainly located within a model of “the professions”, where the idea of “flexibility” itself is not only a logical contradiction, but the tangible sign of limited achievement in employment and of rare social and professional success.

The scenario where an individual, beginning with an accreditation guaranteed by a diploma, started at the lowest level of an “office” and gradually went up and up through the hierarchies, has abruptly changed in most situations in today’s world of work. All this implies a radical change in the strategies aimed at improving one’s socio-economic position. Paradoxically, in fact, the typical features of social mobility today are exactly the opposite to the usual perceptions of parents. Parents considered the improvement of their own socio-economic conditions as a synonym for “tranquillity and security”, whereas for young social actors the opportunity for social advancement is given only provided that it forces the individual to a permanent challenge which inevitably includes a certain degree of uncertainty; in this frame, the individual micro-business has to confront any other individual micro-business fighting without mercy. From this point of view, the social actor openly considers the search for economic stability – and the resulting job security – as the main elements which prevent him or her from achieving upward social mobility.

In most cases, indeed, the choice of a vocational school rather than a more academic school providing education in the sciences or classical learning is the specific behaviour of families with little cultural capital, with few books at home, no experience of the theatre, visits to museums and places of culture in general. The drastic separation between the world of culture and the professional world is implicitly consistent with such a vision of the world. Anything that cannot be translated in the immediate or in the near future into revenue or profit is perceived as superfluous.

Other aspects, external to the family, appear to have an irrelevant impact on the choice of future schooling for the children, unless they coincide exactly with the family’s point of view. The young social actors also seem not to express

any autonomy in the decision of their own future. The choice made by parents seems to fully satisfy the young people, who declare to identify themselves with the “pragmatic” decision suggested by the family and imposed upon them at the same time.

To summarize, apart from some rare exceptions, young people living in Rovigo are on the same wavelength as their parents and tend to consider the future job prospects offered by certain schools as the main focus of their major educational choices. The focus of their expectations, therefore, is a job that is guaranteed and able to improve their social and economic status. Finally, for most of them, the major cognitive horizon seems to be represented by the ambition of upward social mobility. Choosing a professional school is seen as the quickest way to achieve this goal. But the transition to the world of work will present most of them with surprising implications.

The transition from the school world to the world of work appears to be basically characterised by an overall homogeneity, regardless of the social conditions of each social actor. Nevertheless, this does not mean equal opportunity for everybody; on the contrary, the above illustrates a deep-rooted socio-economic pattern that tends to magnify social differences more and more. The transition to the world of work, moreover, mostly takes place through private channels, which are generally related to personal connections or friendship. In the light of this consideration, it becomes more evident that the social actor's status is, even more clearly, a main determinant in his or her personal destiny.

Autonomous life experiences of the young people living in Rovigo are in most cases temporary and related either to the study period outside of the city, or to post-university courses and practices. In almost every case, even the transfers made necessary by new work experiences fail to become a chance for the young adults to fully emancipate themselves from their families of origin and turn out rather to be just a parenthesis whose duration will be limited to the length of training. The few cases in which the respondents reach autonomy are far from being representative of the most common and frequent experience of young people in the town of Rovigo. Lastly, we cannot consider young people who start to live autonomously but still rely on their family of origin for support as being truly autonomous. Instead of speaking of full autonomy in these cases, it seems more appropriate to consider further social differentiation between the numerous young people examined. Those who can rely on a higher family income usually enjoy apparent autonomy, and they will be able to go and live alone, whereas all the others tend to remain with their parents.

The family seems to play an increasingly relevant role, a concrete element that conditions the future of the respondents. It is no accident that our interviews do not dedicate much space to this issue. The institutions which could help here seem not to exist; there is apparently no trace of social policies in this direction. On the contrary, the trend appears to be exactly the opposite: the institutions tend to fully offload any responsibility for the children's life onto their families. And the children, having to cope with an increasingly precarious and uncertain world of work, do not even seem to realize this. Instead they are inclined to consider their bonds with their parental families as something steady and unchangeable.

The educational training courses and welfare policies overall have a negligible effect on the lives of young people in the study; in no way they seem to affect or improve their real chances for upward social mobility. If we do not take into account those respondents who benefit from the protection of their families, who thus are of course able to be in career training programmes for longer, the only real chance of upward social mobility is represented for all the other young people purely by their individual ability to assert themselves and find their place in the world.

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PERCEPTION OF INTERGENERATIONAL INHERITANCE OF INEQUALITIES IN LITHUANIA

General remarks

Social transformations occurring in the political, economic and social life since the 1990s have inspired many scientists and researchers to start analyzing social issues, such as: social inequality and exclusion, marginalization and polarization, social differentiation and deprivation, etc. However, there is still little analysis produced on long-term inequality, including the patterns of inequality transmission in Lithuania. Research discussing the issues of social stratification usually only briefly touches the risk caused by already existing or probable long-term inequality. More thorough research has been done in the general analysis of poverty, social exclusion, marginalization and social policy applied to overcome them. So, the research done within the PROFIT project created possibilities to look deeper into the HofI phenomenon and discover new opportunities to overcome problems at the national, local, organizational, and individual level.

Perception of inheritance of social inequality and poverty

The respondents agree that the poverty and social exclusion have an inheritance aspect. They acknowledge that the family as one of the main social institutions is a very important subject/actor influencing the emergence of and solution to many social issues. The family and its characteristics make a crucial impact on inequality inheritance, especially if we have in mind ‘problem/risk families’ – families where such social practice as alcoholism, drug abuse, violence, lack of common values, etc., are dominant. Parental status and dominant ethical attitudes determine a child’s chances of reaching a higher than his/her parents social status in society. Restrictions in the problem families basically are related to dominant

value attitudes in the family who do not develop the child's improvement and intension to reach higher education and status; insufficient financial resources and genetics were also mentioned. National politicians forecast that social inequality transferred from generation to generation would be reduced in Lithuania. They related these improvements to the economic development in Lithuania after joining the European Union, the development of new technologies and reforms in state policy and special programmes. A lot of focus-group respondents noticed that the evidence of the phenomenon was not so obvious in Jonava, when comparing the present situation with the time three or four years ago, but they stressed that new forms of very deep exclusion are emerging, with the appearance of 'rubbish heap' people, begging children, etc.

Factors and processes generating the intergenerational inheritance of social inequalities

The participants in the study named the factors for the transmission of social inequalities through generations. These factors can be divided into the following groups: political, economic, regional, pedagogic and psychological.

Politicians noted inadequate *state policy* as the dominant reason for the development of inequality. The gap between authority and the people, and the pursuit of people's own interests influence the formation of policy directed towards the property differentiation. The *dominant political option* in parliament is a very important factor, determining which political parties have strong influence on government formation, what kind of priorities and attitudes will be dominant in policy, since *essential positions in committees are given not on the basis of competence, but of political affiliation*. The lack of political will enacting appropriate solutions was mentioned as one of the factors preventing the reduction of social inequality.

Standardized state policy is not flexible and sensitive to local problems, either. Respondents agree that *central and local authorities* have to cooperate and pay attention to each other's limits of competence, and some of them single out that they miss effective and constructive cooperation. The respondents mentioned various reasons, which, according to them, create obstacles to effective cooperation between these two levels of state authorities: there is no mutual dialogue between the national government and local authorities. Among the problems there are inadequate perceptions of the limits of competence of both of these authorities towards each other; the defectiveness of a centralized tax system; the absence

of legislation and authorities responsible for cooperation; the lack of human and financial resources to maintain cooperation, and so on.

Most respondents pointed out that the main reasons and processes motivating the transfer of social inequality from generation to generation lie *in peculiarities of post-communist state development*, which after 15 years have almost no new traditions. According to the respondents, the present situation can be seen as the consequence of 50 years of Soviet occupation, which formed public attitudes, as people used not to feel personal responsibility for the family and work; thus the Soviet way of thinking impedes different processes of progress in the state, economic development, and on the personal level – adaptability to change, and this results in the development of social disjuncture.

As one of the peculiarities of the post-Soviet state development we can see the *switch from planned to market economy*. It has been mentioned that privatization was implemented not in democratic ways and this effected social differentiation as well as the formation of social inequality.

One more reason for the reproduction of low social status mentioned by the respondents is the **specific geographic location**. Families living in *villages/small towns* have few chances to integrate into society successfully. This is determined by the high poverty levels in these regions, the village environment (lack of accessibility to new technologies, the general economic level of the region), low quality of education in rural schools, and specific dominant variables like alcohol dependency. Focus-group respondents noticed that Jonava and its district, being close to the big and relatively expensive city of Kaunas, are attractive to people in risk groups, i.e. those with lower qualification, long-term unemployed, etc. The respondents identified the formation of the phenomenon as so-called *poverty concentration*. There is a settlement close to Jonava called Rukla¹ where the poverty concentration has been particularly marked. Favourable conditions to transmit poverty, problematic social practices and low social status have dominated here for quite some time.

Low qualification, unemployment and *poverty* were mentioned as very important factors. It would be too artificial to characterize these reasons as separate ones, because they are interrelated. Low qualification determines long-term

¹ Rukla was a military campus of the Soviet army where about 15.000 Soviet soldiers were located. After the Soviet army left Lithuania, a lot of empty houses were abandoned by the officers. Rukla is still used as a military campus where the Lithuanian military corps is located. However, most army personnel come to Rukla for work. They usually live in Jonava where there is a better developed social, cultural, economic infrastructure, or in other big cities. Rukla is mostly inhabited by social benefit receivers.

unemployment and finally leads to complex poverty in terms of economic, social, moral, and psychological conditions. All this has an influence on the application of twisted values in family life and the education of children.

The family as one of the main social institutions is a very important subject/actor influencing the emergence of and solution to many social issues. The family and its characteristics make a crucial impact on inequality inheritance, especially if we have in mind ‘problem/risk families’ – families where such social practices as alcoholism, drug abuse, violence, perverted values, etc., are dominant. Families with small incomes or unemployed families with limited financial resources and inadequate traditions and attitudes act as restrictions to the child’s aspirations.

Family role in inheriting poverty and social inequality

The financial and psychological atmosphere of the respondent’s parental family has a direct impact on achievements in education, the labour market and social status.

In most cases, if the family is not asocial, the parents who have no higher education supported and motivated their children to learn. They indoctrinated their children with the value of education as a way to a better life. In most cases, parents opposed the children’s wish to choose a vocational school, which was based on the desire, *to finish the vocational school more quickly and go to work*, but also on the influence of friends. Respondents emphasized that if parents had allowed – they would not have quit secondary school. Parents helped not only during school-time, but also during time at university. Lots of respondents had to move to other cities for their studies. At this time material support from parents was very important, however, not always sufficient.

Interviewed respondents who grew up in asocial (alcohol-addicted) families or in boarding-schools have not felt family support. Even though at the beginning they learned quite well, later they lost their motivation, were playing truant, or left the school. Problems in the family directed them towards “experimentation”, not towards learning, self-expression and the search for better results. Bad financial situation at the parental home meant that the respondents left secondary school early and continued their education at vocational school. They referred to apprenticeship during their vocational training as their first earnings.

Analysis of the life of respondents who had family support and motivation to learn, showed that their life became a little more successful, compared to respondents who grew up in asocial families or boarding-schools. The aspiration to education and life goals of the first group of respondents are higher, their social

relations are more successful, and they see the future more optimistic. Respondents who originated in low status families and experienced difficulties in their childhood often mentioned problems in their parental family such as: alcoholism, divorce, unemployment, housing and food problems, and poor relationships among family members as well. They were up against problems such as lack of personal aspirations, low education, insufficient income, ineffective state support and the generally problematic economic situation in the country. However, the role of the family seems to be one of the most important factors.

Role of education in overcoming Ilofl

The vast majority of the respondents agreed that educational policy plays a crucial role in overcoming Ilofl. However, most of respondents indicated that the Lithuanian government pays too little attention to educational problems and does not regard education as a priority in overcoming social differentiation, Ilofl, and other social problems.

Almost all respondents critically evaluated the *educational reform* and educational policy aimed at decreasing the Ilofl. The fact that the educational system was reformed by replicating a *Western model* which does not suit local traditions and conditions was also criticized by respondents. On the one hand, *restructuring* of schools provided Lithuania with a better choice of different schools, including a range of secondary schools, colleges, etc. On the other hand, this caused many problems mentioned by most of the respondents. The closure of rural schools had dramatic consequences for the community development, since this meant the loss of meeting places, cultural centres, the absence of teachers, libraries, and so on. In addition, in some remote areas, there is a problem of transport to school, which leaves rural children without the possibility to get to school. Even such relatively positive examples of the reform as newly *established 'gymnasiums'*, which provide education of a good quality, also have shortages, as they are barely accessible for those children who are from disadvantaged groups, including poor families and/or rural areas, etc. *Profiled education* enabling students to focus on one subject area also restricts children's possibilities to change their minds in the course of their studies and focus on a different subject area. Respondents were concerned that such a situation causes problems of non-attendance, dropout and increasing social exclusion and the Ilofl.

Very often *school* was mentioned *as supporting social inequality*. The experience of respondents at school is closely linked to family situation. Some of them did not feel discrimination from teachers or from schoolmates. Sometimes

parents were able to let children go on excursions or attend various extra-curricular activities. Some respondents themselves, sometimes discouraged by their family members, never spoke with teachers and schoolmates about the real situation in the family, aiming to give the impression of an average family life. This shows that respondents did not have trust in schools and teachers. However, sometimes, even when the hard family situation of a learner was known, the school did not try to deal with the situation positively. In some schools classes were formed according to parental status creating the feeling of exclusion for the children from poorer families. Another segment of respondents, who lived in asocial families or boarding-schools, were faced with negative attitudes by classmates and especially teachers. It showed that children were ranked according to their parents' status. Respondents pointed out that teachers disliked children whose parents were alcoholics and never disguised this. Often such children felt unfairly treated or given lower grades compared to their classmates; they also had fewer chances to experience success in the learning process. Respondents who grew up in asocial families or had bad relationship with their parents reacted extremely sensitively to negative behaviour and, at the same time, were very receptive to the kindness and warmth of teachers. Negative behaviour of teachers caused de-motivation and increased non-attendance. The teachers' strong personality, regularity and humanity had major educational influences, acting as a resource to motivate the learner and stimulate major interest in the subject. Unfortunately, only very few teachers were mentioned and only in isolated instances.

Almost every respondent strongly emphasized *regional differences* in the Lithuanian educational system. It is assumed that urban schools have better teachers, are better equipped and provide better quality education than rural ones. Lack of IT skills is strongly related with the poorer rural family situation. Families living in rural areas usually cannot afford buying all teaching materials necessary for their children, providing them with extra classes or support them during their further studies. All these factors construct different starting positions for young people later in the labour market.

An inconsistency between study programmes and reality was also mentioned when discussing *higher education policy* in Lithuania. The majority of respondents indicated that there is a lack of measures to equalize the opportunities for young people on this level. The politicians and experts also pointed to the lack of adult education. It is problematic when people who need knowledge in business development, political science, accountancy, etc., cannot get it because of financial reasons.

Proposals

It is crucial to improve the efficacy of educational policy, first of all by setting *long-term goals* and implementing the measures seeking concrete results. In order to equalize the opportunities for all, persons regardless of their social status, income, etc., should be of value to the state, its servants and society as a whole.

It is important to extend the functions of schools and pay more attention to *extracurricular activities*. Schools should provide children with the possibility to spend their free time in an interesting way, do sports, prepare their homework, and have dinner and even overnight accommodation, if necessary. The improvement of teachers' qualifications is also one of the suggestions, as they should not be mere teachers; they should also be educators.

Vocational education and training policy needs more attention, in order to encourage more young people to study at vocational schools and provide them with better chances in the labour market. As vocational schools have had a bad image since Soviet times, it was suggested to reorganize these schools into technological gymnasiums. Also, it is crucial to analyse the demand for certain vocations in the labour market, so that graduates can be integrated into labour market.

It is important to equalize the opportunities to acquire *higher education* for young people from underrepresented groups, i.e. children from poor families, rural areas and also the disabled. Universities may have different missions. Some of them may be elite schools, others specializing in reducing social inequality can provide education for socially disadvantaged people.

Labour market role overcoming the Hoff

Labour market institutions were named as having low influence on successful entrance to labour market. Most of the respondents argued that people with lower education and less training have fewer chances to enter the labour market. However, the problem is that there are no adaptation programmes for socially disadvantaged groups which would allow certain groups of people to be better integrated in society.

Most respondents criticized the current labour market policy as inappropriate and incorrect because of growing hidden unemployment, lack of working people, increasing protectionism, and low wages. Despite the national employment policy and implementation system, the system does not correspond to the needs of different social groups, including people living in rural areas and working in the agricultural sector, lone mothers, national minorities, etc.

Another problem with labour market policy measures is that they are available only for those who are registered at the Labour Exchange. However, those who are not officially registered as unemployed usually belong to the groups at social risk; they do not have the same rights and guarantees. One part of Labour Exchange applicants from the in-depth interview respondents group applied for help in finding a job and were disappointed about the lack of expedience and attention to clients, and generally the passivity of these kinds of institutions. Most of the applicants were not satisfied with the service provided by the Labour Exchange and were looking for a job themselves. The respondents were disappointed and usually rejected employment proposals because of “low salary”, “health status inadequate to work requirements”, “inconvenient or inconsistent timetable”, etc.

Proposals

Most respondents emphasized the importance of **coordination** between educational system and labour market. A very serious problem is that colleges and universities do not provide their students with professional skills, focusing mainly on theoretical knowledge, which is a big problem when graduates are willing to enter the labour market.

More control and coordination is needed between the labour market and educational policies in order to reach a balance between supply and demand in the labour market.

There should be possibilities created for young people to assess their personality, opportunities, needs and skills and what kind of work they could and would like to do.

New models of cooperation between social partners should be developed, aiming at **sustainable development of the labour market**. Local government should also be encouraged to solve unemployment issues. Universities and other institutions of higher education should be more involved in retraining programmes, especially for people with higher education who lack certain skills and knowledge.

Role of social welfare in overcoming the Hoff

There are 17,000 problematic families raising 39,000 children in Lithuania. Current welfare policy has not been effective at providing social benefits to these families because they do not motivate individuals to look for solutions by themselves. Most respondents argued that the social welfare system does

not solve major problems. Existing measures are only partially effective, as they are focusing on the consequences, but not the causes. The existing social support system is oriented towards financial allowances, compensations and free social services rather than active measures of social support. Such social policy encourages the passivity of allowance users; people who receive social benefits often do not make any attempt to change their situation by looking for jobs themselves.

One of the major problems which make the whole system inefficient is categorical social benefit, which depends on certain characteristics and multiplies social differentiation. Stigmatization is a serious problem, particularly among school children who try to avoid social benefits, including school meals free of charge, because of the stigma attached to it. This causes problems of non-attendance and dropout.

National planning and distribution of funding for social affairs is inappropriate. Since it is the national government which decides not only about the amount of funding, but also about the categories or the purposes of spending, this way of funding does not meet the local needs. Such a situation also reduces the independence of municipalities and restricts the possibilities to manage regional problems. Therefore, a closer and more open dialogue between the state and local authorities is needed.

Social policy measures were criticized because of the lack of coordination between them, their one-sidedness and short-term effect that increase social exclusion and promote passive behaviour among the recipients of such measures. Without assessment mechanisms and supervision measures between policy decisions and implementation, their effectiveness and expediency are at risk.

When talking about the main factors of social inequality, most of the participants emphasized the role of the family. Accordingly, the strengthening of family support systems should be the priorities of national and local social policy. However, the present situation shows that there is *no clear family policy in Lithuania*. It is important to create a complex social support system for a family as a whole, rather than for individual members.

Insufficient human resources in the field of social work were emphasized by the locals. This is a serious obstacle taking into consideration that new forms of social services and reforms of the existing social support system are necessary to improve the situation. Low salaries for teachers at all the levels of educational institutions and also for social service providers lead to increasing lack of human resources in these areas. Therefore, funding strategies have to be revised at the national level.

The whole social welfare system has been inadequate. The minimum standard of living estimated by the government does not reflect reality. Although the level of social welfare depends on the financial opportunities of the state, it is also important what kind of priorities the government sets.

Proposals

In order to improve the efficiency of the welfare policy, the number of categorical benefits should be reduced, including free school meals, which cause stigmatization and social differentiation. Since almost 70 percent of rural pupils are receivers of this particular benefit, there should not be any differentiation at all, so that all schoolchildren in rural areas would receive free school meals.

The quality of social services should be improved and a more personal approach applied in social work. The *direct social work with risk families should be implemented*. Families are the social actors who play the determining role in the personality formation of every human being's life; problem families are most at risk when it comes to living in conditions conducive the transmission of values and habits which cause social inequalities. This means there should be *a complex social support system for the family as a whole*, not only for its separate members.

The consolidation of the *community role* is necessary when talking about preventive measures to combat social problems like the IIofI, to empower individuals to better adapt to changing situation, to encourage them to take care of themselves and their children. NGOs and the church should also play more active roles in providing social services.

The implementation of the *holistic approach*, i.e. collaboration between all institutions, is necessary in order to reduce the IIofI. Social workers, education and health professionals have to work together after a thorough analysis of the situation.

The *assessment mechanisms* and supervision measures between policy decisions and implementation should be applied with the purpose of efficiency and expedience.

The promotion of foster families could be the most efficient way to cut the roots of the intergenerational transmission of inequality among children who are left by their parents. This must be included as part of the state policies for the family. Improving the quality of education would be the next important step to eradicate this social phenomenon.

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PERCEPTION OF INTERGENERATIONAL INHERITANCE OF INEQUALITIES IN UNITED KINGDOM

Loughborough profile

Population profile

The Borough of Charnwood in Leicestershire, has a population of some 155,000; its largest conurbation is Loughborough with a population of around 57,000 [Charnwood Community Profile 2005]. This however increases by around 15,000 during term time due to the student population attending Loughborough University, bringing the population to over 70,000 inhabitants. According to the 2001 Census, the Black and Minority Ethnic Population in the town was 13.4%. However, the current influx of immigrants from Eastern Europe in the East Midlands region has, undoubtedly, contributed to this figure increasing, although specific Loughborough statistics are not yet available.

The local economy

The nature of the local economy has altered significantly over the years. Until the 1980s, economic activity and employment was concentrated in textile manufacturing (hosiery and knitwear) and light engineering; by the end of the 1990s both industries had virtually disappeared, leaving one large pharmaceutical company (Astra Zeneca) and one much reduced engineering works, together with a much expanded service sector, dominated by the now biggest employer, Loughborough University. The University has shifted the weight of the local economy from low-skill, manufacturing jobs, to high-skill, service sector jobs, reflecting the overall sectoral development of advanced industrialized economies. The reliance on the University to provide employment, has, on the one hand contributed to the relatively low levels of unemployment in the town (2.3% by July 2006) but on the other has limited the opportunities of the low-skilled workforce, which tends to be concentrated in run-down estates.

Deprivation

In total, there are five Super Output Areas (population circa 1500 inhabitants) within Leicestershire which are ranked within the 20% most deprived in England in the *Indices for Multiple Deprivation 2004*; two in the Greenhill Ward (Leicester) and one each in the Loughborough wards of Hastings, Shelthorpe and Storer. There are no Super Output Areas in Leicestershire in the 10% most deprived in England. The 'geographical' and 'ethnic' distribution of disadvantage in the town is evident when one looks at statistical indicators of poverty in various wards; it then becomes clear that one of the most deprived wards in Loughborough, the *Hastings* ward, has an unemployment rate of 6.1% (as opposed to 0.8% for the richest ward in the town, Loughborough *Nanpantan*). Almost a third of the population in the *Hastings* ward is Bangladeshi and a third of 16-74 year olds have no qualifications. Homelessness also represents a significant aspect of deprivation in the Borough. Recent *National Statistics* data revealed that the percentage of accepted homeless applications in Charnwood stood at 11.1% (for the period April 2004 – March 2005), a percentage significantly higher than the East Midlands level of 6.6% [Office for National Statistics 2006, *Neighbourhood Statistics* section, Charnwood Homelessness]. Housing occupies a dominant position in the Council's overall policy field and our focus group discussions with local social workers mostly centred around the subject of (social) housing, highlighting the limitations of funding in coping with social housing demand at local (as well as national) level.

Community Strategy

Local Authorities are under a statutory duty to secure the production of a Community Strategy:

...for promoting or improving the economic, social and environmental well-being of their area, and contributing to the achievement of sustainable development in the UK [Charnwood Community Strategy].

The formation of a Charnwood Strategic Partnership in 2002 attempted to co-ordinate actions between various actors locally (like the Council, public bodies and voluntary organisations) to address community needs and '*improve the quality of life for everyone living and working in Charnwood*' [Ibid.]. It was the forerunner of the first comprehensive Charnwood Community Strategy, published in 2003 and reviewed in 2005 under the flagship name *Charnwood Together*. The Charnwood Together Community Strategy addresses future policy challenges (up to the year 2012), as articulated in the research and consultation processes

carried out in the Borough over the years. Figure 1 below, has been taken out of the latest consultation document (published in 2006) and is an illustrative summary of the *key themes or projects that Charnwood Together can promote, co-ordinate and provide leadership on* [Charnwood Community Strategy : 8], if vision of an improved quality of life for all living in the Borough is to materialise.



Figure 1 . Aims of the Charnwood Community Strategy, p.14

Interviews with national and local level politicians (elite interviews)

For the UK partners, the project brief was such that the majority of the ‘elite’ interviews had to be conducted at the time of the British general elections of May 2005. The timing proved to be a ‘two-edged sword’, both acting as a deterrent for participation due to time-consuming canvassing responsibilities for several interviewees, whilst simultaneously being an opening platform on which the parliamentary candidates could voice their manifestos. Bearing the above in mind, three interviews with local-level politicians were conducted over the phone and two written responses were received; questions were semi-structured, allowing the respondents to expand on points which they felt were important. The interviewees were representatives from the three main political parties, namely, the Labour, Conservatives and Liberal parties, with their insights and perspectives

being as varied as their political manifestos. However, convergence of opinions was registered on the admission that pockets of deprivation exist locally with an urgent need to address them.

The problem of attendance was also resolved by inviting local Councillors to attend a focus group later on in the year, in September 2005. As the current Labour member of Parliament, Mr Andy Reed, could not be approached for interview, his personal website was used to extract information about social issues affecting the town of Loughborough relating to our project. The most important points arising from the interviews with local-level politicians in relation to the familial, labour market and educational disadvantage of young people in Loughborough are summarized below:

1) All local-level politicians were in agreement that parenting is the single most enabling/limiting factor in a child's future life outcomes. The role of educational institutions is significant in recognizing and realizing individual ability and talent, but only comes second to 'good' parenting, as this prominent MP highlights:

Parental circumstance is (probably inevitably) an important contributory determinant towards the life chances of their children. It should be part of the objective of the education system to enable individual children to overcome any disadvantages associated with their family background, but in an imperfect world, this is unlikely to be ever wholly effective. (written response)

2) There is a clear need for more vocationally based education at local level, alongside a need for British society to truly value education, not merely the acquisition of qualifications.

3) The lack of adequate housing stock in Loughborough exacerbates problems of homelessness in the town and limited funding is likely to compound this problem in the near future.

The council hasn't built any new housing stock for 10 years, hasn't built any properties anywhere. I think there are partnerships working with some of the housing associations but nothing in comparison with what's really required. (Councillor, focus group interview)

4) The competencies and resources of British local government are constrained by the discretionary powers of central government. Funding decisions for social housing, education and even council tax are taken at national level and this has repercussions for the powers of local government to cater independently for the specific needs of its citizens.

5) Although interviewees accepted the *structural* causes of poverty and the uneven life-chances starting at birth (see last sentence of first quote below), there

was an underlying premise that *personal actions* (linked to the notion of individual responsibility), largely accounted for why disadvantage is either exacerbated or overcome during adulthood:

A young girl about 18-20 had a child and I had gone to see her, trying to help her with her accommodation and she was mouthing-off about the Council, the fact that she was using cocaine and the fact that the baby was born and she didn't even know who the father was. None of that was her fault, it was merely the system's fault. Then the baby started crying and she turned round, kicked the pram and said: 'shut up you git', to a baby 3 or 4 months old. What chance does that child stand? (Councillor, focus group interview)

Some successful people come from very disadvantaged backgrounds but have the strength of character not to let that affect them, or just to ignore that and get on with making the best for themselves. (Councillor, telephone interview)

6) There are obvious efforts to alleviate poverty in Loughborough, but these are hampered by limited funding which often depends on competitive bidding, and by the complexity of a faceless, bureaucratic system:

I don't think that many of us sitting in those committees understand a word of the documents we are filling in to get grants. This business of 'aims and objectives', 'put in for that and get money for that', there is no strategy. It is as if there is an abstraction beyond care that we are not part of and that is really worrying. I think that we are quite lost. The world that Mike inhabited and I thought I did, is actually that human world where the local Councillor was a face and the policeman was a face. (Councillor, focus group interview)

In-depth interviews with young adults

Fifteen in-depth interviews were conducted during the last year of the project with young people in Loughborough (aged 25-29), who shared a common background in-as-much as they had all experienced childhood poverty. A small percentage of our interviewees were in employment at the time of interview; for those young unemployed welfare dependency equated to low self-esteem and a continual struggle to make ends meet. Through biographical narrations prompted by pertinent questions from the interviewer, those 15 young people were given a 'voice' that informed the PROFIT agenda in a direct and detailed way.

The main conclusions drawn from the interviews are summarised in different sections in one of the published PROFIT reports and in many respects reiterate

national findings on the general ‘vulnerability’ of young people’s lives, regardless of their economic and social status (after all the term ‘working poor’ has entered the government’s political lexicon for good). Education combined with a supportive family was described as the main vehicles for escaping adolescent poverty. Nevertheless, this finding gets caught in the discursive struggle to establish which of the two factors is more catalytic; some sociologists argue that family influences are more important than schools in shaping future life-outcomes [Sparkes 1999] others claim that schooling overrides family effects [Mortimer et al. 1988]. Referring to our own small-scale study and in response to the question *What was the one most important factor² shaping your life-course*, the majority of our interviewees responded that family members tended to have overwhelmingly positive or negative influences in their up-bringing, with schooling being important, but not as important as family in preventing poverty. While there is a danger of over-simplifying complex arguments, the interviews revealed that schools were either unable to pick-up the pieces of a broken home and the specific needs of pupils (for those with negative educational experiences), or merely supported the parental interest in a child’s schooling (for those with positive educational experiences). There are signs that a renewed interest in adult education (partly triggered by the government’s life-long learning initiatives, partly due to a growing realisation of the benefits of education as our interviewees reach their mid 20s, combined with a physical and emotional distancing from parents) may help neutralise the significance of family in transmitting disadvantage, but this argument requires further investigation.

Concerning attitudes towards work the results highlight no real differences in the working ethos between the working and the non-working population. Our young sample clearly valued the benefits of work and education (in some instances belated education). Nevertheless, signs of societal exclusion were also evident, as the unemployed often felt stereotyped and excluded by members of the public and local institutions. However, it should be born in mind that our respondents were also prone to stereotyping others; they claimed notably that race and gender were significant determinants of benefit-entitlement; for example, white British respondents claimed that the system disproportionately benefited members of the local Indian and Bangladeshi communities who claimed benefits for their predominantly large families, or single mothers who had priority in getting council accommodation.

² This could be a person, an institution or an event.

In terms of the contribution of local organizations to tackle adult disadvantage, there were mentions of good practice within two government initiatives; the Connexions and the New Deal for the Unemployed, alongside the positive contribution of local NGO's [like *The Bridge*] where some of our respondents sought support and advice on housing issues. Adult educational bursaries were also seen as a positive educational incentive, with some financial assistance attached to College attendance. Nevertheless, the restriction that unemployed claimants can only take up a part-time course of training or study whilst claiming Job Seeker's Allowance (JSA), does limit the claimant's availability for work as well as the choice of courses available. Finally, the complex rules and regulations of claiming bursaries were also seen as a disincentive to pursue adult-learning courses, for fear of loss of one's benefit. The government's effort to turn the Further Education (FE) system into *the powerhouse for delivering the skills at all levels that are needed to sustain an advanced, competitive economy and make us a fairer society, offering equal opportunities for all based on talent and effort, not background* [Department for Education and Skills White Paper, '*Further Education: Raising Skills, Improving Life Chances*' 2006: 3], are clearly well intentioned. But legislative detail reveals that there are gaps in educational service provision for people in the mid-20s, who want to be given a second chance in full-time FE. During this demanding time at College, young adults should be getting enough financial support to realise their academic potential, if the above pledge is to materialise.

The overall conclusion drawn from the interviews is that for people in their 20s depending on the welfare system in Loughborough are let down by an overly bureaucratic system that leaves them confused and frustrated, often waiting for money that is urgently needed. The Local Authorities' dependence on central government bodies to instruct policy and deliver funding, does relate to the peculiarity of the British system of central governance, although the piloting of Local Area Agreements (which will mean decision-making about policy and service-delivery will be made at a local level) may eliminate this dependence and assist Local Authorities to respond to the local needs of citizens. However, the immensity of this task and the timescales required for this to happen, should not be underestimated.

Main considerations arising from the dissemination seminar with local stakeholders

Fifteen representatives from various organisations, such as Councillors from Chamwood Borough Council, financial advisors to the Council, local NGO representatives, a school Governor and sociologists were present at the seminar to share their professional experience and knowledge with the UK PROFIT team. Dr Jeremy Leaman and Christina Kokoroskou introduced the seminar by presenting the main research findings from the various stages of the project. The floor was then open to questions and what followed was an hour-long discussion of the main issues informing the local policy agenda.

The majority of the representatives found common ground between our research and their personal and professional experiences relating to the transmission of poverty from parents to children. Representatives from local homeless shelters and charities were particularly vocal about the cycle of homelessness that repeats itself once the children of what have previously been homeless families, also seek temporary accommodation. However, it is important to note that this pattern of transmission is not explicitly followed; the discussion transcript suggests that there are clear instances locally, where children have broken free from their parental predispositions. In the words of a social worker:

I have thought of a family we have supported for over 4 years. The mother is over 60 years old; she is a chronic alcohol user. She had 7 children (one has passed away from a heroin overdose), 3 are on incapacity benefit and have drug or alcohol dependence, one I know does have a criminal record as well. These 3 children all live in social housing, and I would agree that poverty and disadvantage for them have been inter-generationally transmitted. But in contrast she also has 3 children who are in employment, they do not have alcohol or drug dependence, and either own their own accommodation or live in private let homes. I have not met these children, so rely on the mother's perspective of how successful they are.

There was an acknowledgement that positive moves have been made to break this cycle of disadvantage, through the development of a youth 'competence model' by a local independent youth organisation, with the identification of 8 areas of focus (mainly educational) which local practitioners need to concentrate on, to increase the skills-base of their young clients. It was also acknowledged that projects like Sure Start (which operates locally) have helped young families on a low income by improving parenting skills, accessing support and affordable child care so that they can return to work. Furthermore, the introduction of an

Educational Maintenance Allowance (EMA) under the current government has made a difference, with some 16 year-olds reporting that their parents have encouraged them to continue in education because their college course has an income attached to it, offering youngsters some financial independence and security.

However, despite positive measures to combat poverty, there are also serious disincentives for change and various examples were given to highlight this, like the market gap between the inflated prices of private rented houses in Loughborough and the amount the council pays a social landlord for renting his/her property to benefit claimants:

A private landlord, if he takes a tenant who's on benefits, he is going to be paid 4-weekly in arrears. If he lets the house out to University students he gets paid a term in advance and he's going to get at least £11 - £12 per room per week more.

In addition, according to the participants, the 'discriminatory' nature of benefit eligibility has a clear 'gender' and 'age' dimension; for example, a single male is not in 'priority' need for council accommodation and the eligibility for full benefits does not start until the age 25. The lack of continuity and need for 'quick-fix' solutions in the political decisions of ever-changing governments, was blamed for the existing discrepancies within the system; in the words of one Councillor:

Governments need to keep introducing something new to keep their name in the public eye.

Apart from the 'structural' factors of poverty relating to the wider societal factors and the political preferences of the day, the 'personal' dimensions of poverty were also reported. Mental illness or addiction was recognised as key factors of homelessness and unemployment amongst young people locally. One social worker attributed the perpetuation of disadvantage to a 'culture of poverty' that is transmittable from parent to child, the latter trying to maintain the value-structure of his/her most familiar networks (in this instance by 'using' the system to get council accommodation):

There is a small community of disadvantaged youths, what we are talking about, and what we found is they all know each other. You get one person at the hostel, they know most of the people in the hostel, they've gone through the same system they've been to the hostel, they've been to the Bridge, they grew up on the same estate, their mum and dads go to the same pubs, so they know the system through their community. We often get referrals from friends

of people in that community, so they've come in contact with someone with similar disadvantage but not necessarily from the same network.

The major conclusions deriving from the final Dissemination Seminar can be summarised as follows:

1. There is a clear recognition that poverty and social inequality exist in British society at large, with an urgent need for these ills to be combated.

2. There are instances of youth homelessness and 'hidden' poverty in Loughborough that are masked by the relative success of an affluent University town.

3. There are clear gaps in welfare policy provision that adversely affect benefit eligibility for needy local young people. The limited competences of local authorities which constrain their ability to counteract largely correctly diagnosed multiple deprivation with integrated, holistic, 'joined-up' strategies, illustrates these deficiencies.

4. Local NGOs work hard to ameliorate the effects of poverty and disadvantage locally, but the limitations of central government funding and changing policy priorities undoubtedly hamper these efforts.

5. 'Prevention' was emphasized as the best possible 'cure' for poverty.

6. There was a distinct confusion amongst some practitioners about the underlying causes of poverty and whether they are primarily attributed to 'structural' or 'personal' factors.

Point 6 above clearly reveals that conceptual barriers to a consensus about the causes of poverty remain, even amongst politicians and policy practitioners. Some stress individual responsibility for poverty and subsequent life-outcomes, others stress structural factors more insistently. Faced with the practical problems of dealing with existing poverty at local level, practitioners rarely have time (and often lack resources and influence) to construct policy responses that accurately reflect considered analysis of culturally transmitted poverty. With this in mind, the dissemination seminar conducted at Loughborough University under the PROFIT 'flag', exposed, firstly, the very basic problems of conceptualisation and, secondly, the challenges that social workers, politicians, academics and everyday citizens face in the battle against poverty and inherited disadvantage.

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PROJECT FINDINGS IN NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

(Summary)

This part of the volume is devoted to discuss the most crucial results of the PROFIT research project in national perspective (by country). Each of the eight national research teams selected most vital findings of the research they had carried out, at the national, as well as at the local community level.

WYNIKI PROJEKTU PROFIT W POSZCZEGÓLNYCH KRAJACH

(Streszczenie)

Ta część tomu poświęcona jest prezentacji najważniejszych rezultatów projektu badawczego PROFIT uzyskanych w poszczególnych krajach uczestniczących w jego realizacji. Każdy z ośmiu zespołów badawczych dokonał wyboru najważniejszych wyników przeprowadzonych badań, zarówno na poziomie krajowym, jak i społeczności lokalnych, w których realizowano projekt.