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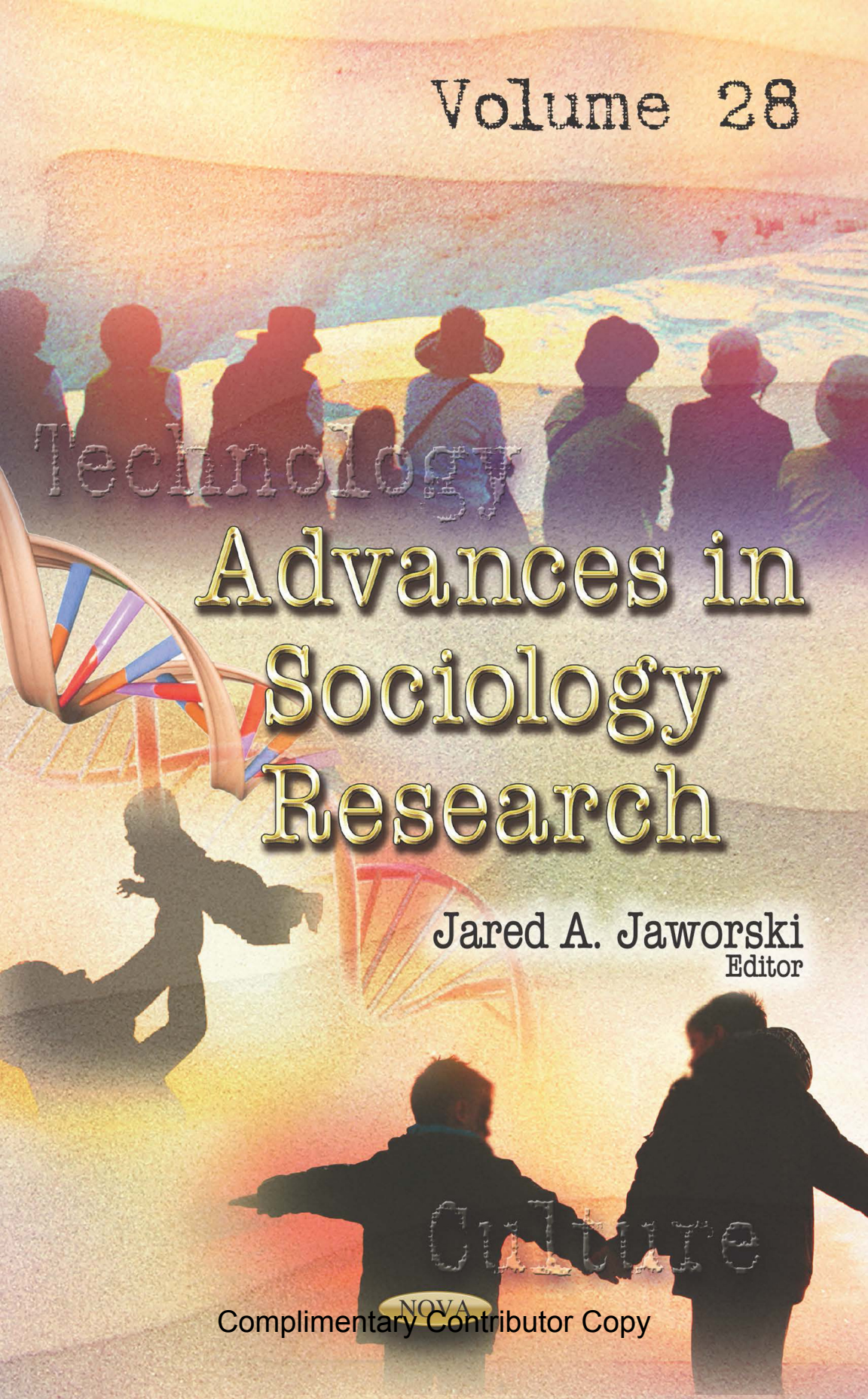

Advances in Sociology Research

Jared A. Jaworski
Editor

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ADVANCES IN SOCIOLOGY RESEARCH

VOLUME 28

ADVANCES IN SOCIOLOGY RESEARCH

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ADVANCES IN SOCIOLOGY RESEARCH

VOLUME 28

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PREFACE

The opening chapter of Advances in Sociology Research. Volume 28 focuses on the tension that runs throughout the history of humanist philosophy and science from the Renaissance to the present.

A practical guide to the new interprofessional leader is examined in the following chapter. Approaches and techniques are offered for effectively fostering interprofessional teams.

Next, the key modern issues of museum communication, either between a visitor and an object, or between a visitor and a museum professional, are demonstrated.

The authors go on to draw upon a general model of indirect leadership and a summary of two empirical studies. The results indicate that the containing function sensegiving contributes to a favorable organizational result.

The authors also highlight the impact of social media platforms and how they have changed the dynamics of Indian society, particularly focusing on recent protests, online suicides, pornography, hacking and infidelity

The penultimate chapter documents the history of social work in Andalusia through its academic and professional development.

A short overview of the historical phases in the Danish Welfare State development, including historical compromises between workers and

farmers, as well as the Keynesian expansion of the Danish welfare states, is provided in the final chapter.

Chapter 1 - The chapter will focus on a tension that runs throughout the history of humanist philosophy and science from the Renaissance to the present. The author will focus on the three periods: the Renaissance, the critical humanism of the Enlightenment and Marx, and contemporary secular scientific humanism. The author will examine a contradiction that runs throughout this history, between conceptions of universal values that are abstracted from a single culture and imposed on others, and conceptions of universal values that grow up out of a more basic set of capacities for self-creation and self-determination. The later set are properly understood as life-values, and are the only possible basis for a non-exclusionary, non-oppressive humanism capable of comprehending cultural difference without collapsing into uncritical relativism.

Chapter 2 - Across the United States, communities are struggling to meet the basic needs of young people and their families, as well as providing pathways for upward economic and social mobility. Schools are overwhelmed by increasing student needs related to transience, poverty, and social and emotional vulnerability among others. Community-based agencies are similarly overwhelmed by clients who are simultaneously experiencing economic instability, food and housing insecurity as well as mental health/substance abuse issues. Consequently, burnout and turnover in these organizations are commonplace as professionals are burdened with a range of issues for which they and their organizations are ill equipped to address.

Complex social problems now dominate the field of practice for those in the “helping” professions (e.g., education, social work, public health, health and mental health and others). These problems are characterized by their high degree of uncertainty and complexity. The components of these problems are not arranged linearly, rather they are arranged within circular and interconnected feedback mechanisms.

These complex problems transcend conventional understandings held by any one profession and therefore the solutions to them transcend the boundaries of any one agency or organization. They necessitate working

together across professional boundaries in innovative and collaborative ways. However, new collaborative interprofessional teams call for skilled leadership capable of facilitating, fostering and guiding these budding endeavors.

This chapter provides a practical guide to the new interprofessional leader. Approaches and techniques are offered to effectively foster interprofessional teams. Included among these: building trust and rapport; attending to the emotional labor inherent to this type of work; unbinding the confines of siloed professional views on social problems; unfreezing mental models; developing a shared vision for collective work; and fostering a team that continuously learns.

The concluding discussion focuses on the policy barriers that complicate or prohibit collaborative approaches to solving social problems. Among these barriers are siloed funding streams and accountability-based funding and regulatory mechanisms. Recommendations are offered for needed leadership to advocate for policy changes that will incentivize this work. This begins with transforming the issue-specific focus of current policy discussions to ones that are population- or community-specific. Shifting the vantage point of the "problem" can facilitate a shift in mindset among policymakers that is needed to reorient programs, funding policies and regulation.

Chapter 3 - The past reflected in museum objects is aestheticized and endowed with modern attributes due to the new forms of museum items' perception and interpretation. It becomes important to study the practice of perception of new digital images by the museum audience, as mass culture and Internet replication of artworks blur the boundaries between an original work and its electronic copy. The communication between the museum object/exhibit and the visitor is changing significantly; the role of a museum curator creating historical and cultural context at the museum exposition is also changing. The visitor becomes a consumer of scientific and spiritual knowledge, which becomes a museum product or a museum service. This essay considers the key modern issues of museum communication, either communication between a visitor and an object, or between a visitor and a museum professional (curator, museum educator,

guide, volunteer exhibition mediator, etc.). These issues are: participatory culture in museums, digital replication of items, museum interactivity and mediation. The intention to give to the public the possibility of free and aesthetically uncontrolled interpretation of art is reflected finally in sophisticated curatorial projects which main aim is symbiosis or dialog of classical and contemporary art in the museum context.

Chapter 4 - The containing ability in leadership contexts concerns the leader's capacity to perceive, appraise (sensemaking) and contain stimuli from higher hierarchical levels before they are further transmitted (sensegiving) down the hierarchy. The containing function includes a transformation of the message from the higher level so it becomes meaningful to subordinates, without distorting the message. The reverse also applies. Leaders must be able to receive and contain stimuli from subordinates and pass them on upwards in a constructive way.

The chapter draws on a general model of indirect leadership and summarizes two empirical studies. The first was questionnaire-based, where data was collected in 2017 among captains and majors/naval lieutenant-commanders at the Swedish Defence University and the Norwegian Defence University. Responses were obtained from 113 officers (67% response rate). The main result was that the containing function sensegiving, in itself as well as combined with general leadership behavior, contributed to a favorable organizational result, including both perceived effectiveness and work satisfaction. The containing function sensemaking contributed to a lower degree.

The aim of the second study was to get a deeper understanding of the intrapsychic aspects of the containing function in leadership, and how they interact with the behavioral aspects. Interviews were conducted in 2018 with 15 mid-level Swedish military officers. The study resulted in an identification of several details related to the containing function in leadership. Examples include the importance of self-discipline to resist impulses to act immediately, and of creating time for analysis of the situation and for preparing arguments related to one's receivers. The study also shows that leaders' handling of the containing function is strongly related to their general leadership. This concerns individual-related aspects,

such as the leader's self-confidence and experience, as well as relationship-related aspects, such as the building of relationships upwards and downwards characterized by trust.

A practical conclusion is that mid-level leaders' capacity to handle the containing function can contribute to a coherent organization in the favorable case, and to gaps between higher management and the lower levels in the unfavorable case. The authors suggest that the containing function can be developed through personal reflection and practice.

Chapter 5 - Today we are driving towards the world that is more technology driven. Our every manual activity has been replaced by technological equipment, be that making tea, washing clothes, talking or travelling, we all have become technologically dependent. We are more socially connected technically and are much aware in comparison to earlier generations. Not only this, we are more heard for our rights and opinions and are participant in the building of government, campaigns, business or communities.

Where at one place, all this is termed to be part of technological advancement; it is somewhere hindering the social fabric of our society. From socialistic approach, people have become more individualistic like machines. From human being a social animal to individual mass, we are surrounded by people who are fighting 24*7 for their existence and self importance through social platforms. And one medium that has ignited this whole thought is social media that has proved as boon or bane.

We might be growing technically but we are losing the grip on social norms and ethics along with moral values of individuals that form the society. Another irony of this Google generation is that we hear and preach more of moral values and social ethics than actually practicing it. The recent protest, online suicides, pornography, hacking, infidelity are some evils that are gripping our society. Hence, the chapter highlights the impact of social media platforms and how it has changed the dynamics of Indian society.

Chapter 6 - This chapter documents and gives value to the history of social work in Andalusia through its academic and professional development. Since 1932 when the first School of Social Workers was

opened, several factors have conditioned these studies: First of all, social work constitutes a feminized activity of low professional prestige; secondly, prior to becoming part of the university, social work schools were associated with those who promoted it, such as the Catholic Church, and the organization *Female Section of Spanish Falange* (women's wing of the Party)*;* last but not least, lacking historical research on these issues hides relevant contributions of social work not only to Spanish Democracy (1978 onwards) but also to the welfare state system. In fact, social assistance has allowed women to get out of the "domestic realm" to reach public spaces, thus accumulating knowledge and experiences that further contributed to personal female empowerment, and to the advancement of certain disadvantaged groups. *The School of Social Studies for Women*, founded in Barcelona in 1932, trained a small number of bourgeois female students for the so-called Social Assistance. Students of the Andalusian Schools of Málaga (1959), Sevilla (1960), Huelva (1966), and Granada (1962) usually came from the middle and working classes.

The authors shall introduce Social Service in Spain to "make known this profession of social worker, both in terms of principles, and methods, that constitute its contents, and applicability to work carried out in various fields of action" (Vázquez 1971, 56). The expansion of Social Assistance Schools gained pace by the Francoist *Economic and Social Development Plan* (1964-1967), which hinted "the urgency of training four thousand social workers for development purposes." Since 1981, already as part of the college curricula, social workers have challenged its identity as a feminine and feminized professional activity, and contributed to the Public Social Welfare System, since an important number of professionals were employed there. The discipline of social work was established then, and have since been transformed into a profession committed to principles of equality, dignity, and freedom.

Chapter 7 - This chapter will first provide a short overview of the main content in the historical phases in the Danish Welfare State development, including historical compromises (and reasons therefore) between workers and farmers, as well as the Keynesian expansion of the Danish welfare states in the golden time of the growth of welfare states from 1960 to 1973.

How the oil-crisis and the rise of monetary economic theory influenced also the Danish welfare state will then be discussed, this as there was at the same time both expansion in some areas and retrenchment in others. Still, despite influence from liberal thinking, also in Denmark, in the mid-nineties again a Keynesian inspired expansion of the economy reduced the high level of unemployment. From the early part of this century and 10 years ahead, a liberal government changed part of the welfare state towards more marketization, choice among providers, and partly privatization, at least by encouraging the inclusion of private providers. This will be linked to the debate on deserving/non-deserving that seems to be on the rise in the wake of more populist stance also in relation to European and international migration. Finally, the article will sum up whether the historical driven emphasis on issues such as equality and full employment is still prevailing in Denmark or whether the third way between state and market still have a chance in a universal welfare state as the Danish.

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Chapter 1

THE CONTRADICTIONS OF HUMANISM: LIFE-VALUES AND THE GROUNDS OF HUMAN DIVERSITY

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ABSTRACT

The chapter will focus on a tension that runs throughout the history of humanist philosophy and science from the Renaissance to the present. I will focus on the three periods: the Renaissance, the critical humanism of the Enlightenment and Marx, and contemporary secular scientific humanism. I will examine a contradiction that runs throughout this history, between conceptions of universal values that are abstracted from a single culture and imposed on others, and conceptions of universal values that grow up out of a more basic set of capacities for self-creation and self-determination. The later set are properly understood as life-values, and are the only possible basis for a non-exclusionary, non-oppressive humanism capable of comprehending cultural difference without collapsing into uncritical relativism.

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Humanism, in the most general terms, seeks to derive the regulative values of good lives and societies from universal properties of human nature. The problem that humanists committed to defending universal values face is that there have been (and are) many inconsistent accounts of human nature, and thus many inconsistent accounts of the values and ideals that ought to regulate life, activity, relationships, and social institutions. Tony Davies notes in his concise and incisive history that humanism is not a "singular, stable entity," and its meaning is tied inescapably to the linguistic and cultural authority … of those who use it." (Davies, 2008, p. 6). This problem is exacerbated by the fact that human history is marked by great differences of power between different societies. These differences have often been exploited for purposes of domination and then mobilised as justifications for it. From the tutelary chauvinism of missions to 'civilise barbarians,' to outright physical and cultural genocide, theories of human nature have grounded sets of values *said* to be universal, but at the same time they have used them to justify the destruction of *other* humans ways of life. At best, it would seem, "humanism" is a hopelessly vague term that cannot designate a consistent and complete set of universal values. At worst, it is transparent justification for crimes against those human beings who have failed to "measure up" to the particular standards that the invaders imposed as universal.

Without disagreeing with this criticism or denying the diverse uses of the term (and thus the value sets to which it refers), my aim here is to defend the possibility of a coherently universal humanism that can discover fundamental life-values within the objective interests and needs that underlie the diversity of human ways of life. (on life-values see McMurtry, 2011, p. 203; Noonan, 2012, pp. 110-112). If I succeed, this interpretation of humanism should furnish non-dogmatic and non-ethnocentric principles of social criticism that can expose the different ways these values can be blocked or denied in different socio-cultural space-times. In order to make that case I will make two distinctions. The first is logical and concerns the difference between abstract and concrete universality. Abstract universality is the form of universality familiar to us from the classical tradition, the shared property that is used to define different individual things as

members of the same set or kind: human beings as "rational animals," for example. (see Aristotle, 1941, pp. 804-805, 1038[b]-1039[a]). Concrete universality, on the other hand, derives from the work of Hegel, and in particular his understanding of the philosophical Idea as "an Object which embraces all characteristics in its unity." (Hegel, 1972, p. 374). The universal in this sense is not an idea of oneness abstracted from its many instantiations, but the realization of a defining identity in diverse ways that develop historically. One can still use concrete universals to construct different sets of things, but diversity of expression is comprehended within the development of the defining category. Hence, in the crucial case of the idea of "Human," an abstract definition like "rational animals" is insufficient so long as it does not capture the diversity of ways in which this rationality can be *realized*, that is, made objective in actual forms of living. The defining identity is the power of expressing rationality through imagining, planning, and building human societies and its concrete reality is the real diversity of the societies thus built. Although Hegel himself operates with a Eurocentric philosophy of history, and the logical terms "abstract," "concrete," and "universal" derive from Western philosophical traditions, the implications of concrete universality are, I will argue, anti-Eurocentric (indeed, anti-any exclusionary centrism).

The second distinction is political, but its coherence presupposes the distinction between abstract and concrete universals. This distinction is between forms of humanism that identity universal values with the values of *one* civilization, and forms of humanism that see different human cultures as different ways of being human. In the first case, a single set of values is abstracted from one society and made normative for all. Where that set is not found in just the same way as it is found in the society that takes itself as normative, the non-conforming societies are dismissed as backward, or even inhuman. In the second case, where the defining idea of humanity is its capacity for building societies out of the givenness of nature, different ways of expressing this universal capacity are acknowledged, and invidious distinctions between these different ways are not necessary. Typically, the first type of humanist philosophy associates truly human values with elite culture and looks to elites to civilize the

uncivilised. The second sees higher level values and intellectual systems like philosophy and sciences as developments out of more fundamental forms of material activity and relationship, stress the connection between philosophical and scientific thought and the survival and development of human beings, and is willing to learn from and stand in solidarity with subaltern groups in their struggle against domestic and foreign elites.

Hence, we can use these two distinctions to think critically about the history of humanism in a new way. The issue to be decided is not which tradition is more or less humanist—sets of ideas which fall on either side of the division are equally humanist. The issue, rather, is to defend the concretely universalist tradition as the only one which is *adequate* to the expressed history of human being in all of its cultural complexity. If that can be shown, then it can avoid the charges, (justly laid, in my view) against abstractly universalist humanisms as at best ethnocentric and chauvinist and at worst colonialist and racist. As we will see, the concrete and abstract approaches to the problem of universal values continually bifurcates on answers to five related problems: 1) the source of the values, 2) who is competent to understand them, 3) how needs and capacities are to be ranked, 4) who has the authority to make fundamental social changes, and 5) the space-time of the enjoyment of life. Ethnocentric and elite humanisms believe that the source of universal human values is to be found in one superior cultural tradition; that only an educated elite is competent to understand those values in their full complexity because they have access to perfect (or nearly perfect) knowledge of ideals and natural laws; that intellectual needs and capacities are to be ranked over bodily needs and pleasures; that change needs to be expertly managed from above; and that full enjoyment must await a perfected future shaped according to the ideals it alone fully understands. On the other side, concrete universalists find the origin of universal human values in the capacity to create culture out of the givenness of nature. That is, they focus on our power of self-determination, not in any one way of expressing it. They further insist that every human being is in principle capable of understanding universal values, learning to see how the same values are

realized differently in different cultures, and locate the good life in the here and now of sensuous and intellectual enjoyment of the present moment.

While I cannot do justice to the full history of humanism, I will adopt a historical approach to its reinterpretation. I will focus on three exemplary moments: Renaissance humanism, the humanist values that underlie the Enlightenment conception of historical progress and Marx's critique of capitalism, and contemporary secular scientific humanism. Rather than treat these as integral unities, I want to show how the bifurcation noted above cleaves these purported unities in two. The problematic associations of "humanism" with domination and destruction of non-Western cultures and subaltern groups is, I claim, a function of the abstract understanding of universal values, and not universal values as such. Where these are interpreted concretely (in response to the political self-assertion of non-Western cultures and subaltern groups and not as an act of *noblesse oblige*) humanism not only stands in solidarity but becomes an expression of the struggles of oppressed groups to be human in their own way. In their struggles they reveal the underlying needs that must be satisfied as the universal conditions of living freely in difference. The satisfaction of needs enables the expression of intellectual, practical-creative, and relational life-capacities in accordance with individual choice and value for others. (see McMurtry, 2013, p. 151). As we will see, this openness to diversity does not dissolve into uncritical cultural relativism but produces immanent standards of social criticism adapted to the specific histories of different socio-cultural space-times.

RENAISSANCE HUMANISM

Today, the standard interpretation of Renaissance humanism sees it as the origin of liberal ideals of individual cultivation and self-expression. In fact, that interpretation anachronistic. As Davies notes, "for their Victorian enthusiasts, the early humanists were adventurers … fearless in their explorations of the intellectual world. … Most of the early humanists, by contrast, saw their real task not as the discovery of the future but as the

recovery of the past." (Davies, 2008, 68). They saw themselves as recovering the ideals of the classical world, and thus holding up a mirror to their contemporaries to show them how far they had fallen behind, but also how high it was possible for human beings to ascend. The major philosophical schools of the day were neo-Platonic and Aristotelian, and both—although in different ways-- affirmed the superior value of the intellect over the needs and pleasures of the body. While they advanced what they regarded as universal ideals of human knowledge and beauty, they tended to denigrate the ways of life of most human beings in the process. The affirmation of that earthy alternative culture and its more democratic values was excluded from the philosophical task, but represented in the work of key artists, such as Breughel and Rabelais. In this section I will contrast the classical values revived by Renaissance philosophers (represented here by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola) with the depictions of everyday life in Breughel as a first illustration of the competing tendencies at work in the humanist tradition.

In his "Oration on the Dignity of Man," Mirandola claims that all the great philosophical and cultural traditions (Greek, Persian, Jewish, Islamic) affirm the same ultimate truths, but express them in culturally distinct terms. On one level, his toleration and understanding of human freedom is an early instance of the inclusive humanism centred on the capacities for self-creation and self-determination. However, the truths that these traditions affirm are values that only a few select humans can ever fully realize. Hence, his work also contains the seeds of the exclusive and elitist humanism that I want to criticize. The work is important precisely because it contains both possibilities and sets them in the sharpest (but unnoticed) opposition.

He begins from an extraordinary re-telling of the creation myth from the Hebrew Bible. In Mirandola's version, God creates the natures of every species except human beings by modelling them on fixed archetypes. When God gets to human beings there are no archetypes left. God solves the problem by fashioning human beings without any fixed nature, defined instead by the power to create themselves according to their own ideas. Our nature is thus not to have a nature, but the power to create whatever

nature we want for ourselves. “The nature of all other beings is limited and constrained within the bounds of laws prescribed by us. Thou, constrained by no limits, in accordance with thy own free will, shalt make for thyself the limits of your nature. (Mirandola, 1948, p. 225). “Made in the image” of God means, for Mirandola, that humans are self-determining, constrained only by our own choices.

He believes that this truth is understood across the major religious and philosophical traditions of which he was familiar. In fact, his syncretism follows from his understanding of human self-determination. If people exist in different locations, somewhat isolated from each other, or at different times, then the very power of shaping ourselves and our world is going to introduce differences into the socially realized forms that capacity takes. Human differences thus confirm his reading of the creation story: all human beings are defined by the power to actively shape their lives, so it should come as no surprise that they differ in the details that they create. Underlying the details is the human capacity to transform nature and ourselves. All cultures are equally human expressions of this power. With regard to the content of culture, religion, and philosophy, Pico’s position agrees with Marx’s aphorism from the *Theses on Feuerbach*, that “the essence of human beings is no abstraction inherent in each individual.” (Marx, 1976, p. 616) It is the power to create our social conditions of life.

That is not the road the Pico ultimately follows. While he does not rank cultures and religious traditions chauvinistically, he does impose a rigid hierarchy on forms of individual life within those cultures. Here the influence of Platonism makes itself felt most strongly in the fixed ranking of a life of the mind reason over a life that seeks only bodily pleasures. Despite the fact that he maintained that human nature contains the natures of all different creatures, and that God provided no instructions on how to live it, when it comes to evaluating individual lives, it turns out that there is a good way and a bad way to live. Pico follows Plato in arguing that when we compare the life of the mind to the life of bodily pleasures, the first emulates the divine and should be chosen, while the later debases us, and should be avoided. “Whatever seeds each man cultivates will grow to maturity. … If they be sensitive, he will be a brute. If rational, he will grow

into a human being." (Mirandola, 1948, p. 225) Not all ways of life turn out to be fully human. Even though human nature contains the seeds of every possible way of life, there is one that ought to be chosen above all: the emulation of the divine principle encoded in the rational soul.

Pico's creation myth understood human beings as creatures of the earth capable of choosing and creating their own forms of life. It would seem to follow that the good would be the concrete exercise of this freedom in ways that are satisfying here and now, on earth (after all, God could have made us angels who live in heaven, but instead created the earth as our home). Mirandola does not follow this thread forward to an embrace of creative labour and the enjoyment of sensuous pleasures, but instead turns back from the most radical implications of this path to the invidious value hierarchies of ancient Greece. The best of us—the truly human-- must "disdain earthly things." (Mirandola, 1948, p. 227) The philosopher should be our guide, because he is "a heavenly being, and not of this earth." (Mirandola, 1948, p. 226) He strives with "holy ambition" to become one with divine truths, even though such a life demands that he alienate himself from nature, society, and other people. (Mirandola, 1948, p. p. 229).

The Oration is thus a contradictory unity of the two opposed tendencies of humanist philosophy. While he ultimately endorses a singular abstract set of universal values, divine in origin, known only to an elite, and realizable only in the future, in heaven, against which the pleasures of merley earthly life are shameful (rooted in the "foot of the soul" which rests on matter, and is "the tinder of lust"), it also contains the potential for a more inclusive, and politically dangerous, for elites, conception of the essential human value of self-determination. (Mirandola, 1948, p. 229). If we think of reason as embodied intelligence and not a divine element in human nature, and use it to understand what is good and bad for each and all here and now, people *could* conclude that the best life is the one that allows them to satisfy their needs and enjoy their capacities here and now, and that elite interests, wealth, and power stand in the way of that enjoyment. We get some indication of what embodied intelligence and the good of the pleasure of need satisfaction in the some of the art and literature of the Renaissance.

If Mirandola rejects the "foot of the soul" because it stands on earth, those artists who took as their subject the life of ordinary people treat it as the root of human being. The example I will explore is Pieter Breughel the Elder's magnificent "The Wedding Dance." (1566)[1] It is true that Breughel was not concerned with the democratic political implications of his portrayal of embodied life, (we will explore those in the next section). Nevertheless, the painting affirms the goods of earth-bound, labouring people *enjoying* the basic pleasures of eating, drinking, laughing and loving, and thus (if only implicitly) contests the need for expert governance from above. Breughel counters elite moralism which would condemn the body's pleasures as shameful and animalistic, but also suggests a different way of understanding intelligence: not as a divine element lodged in the human soul, but a capacity for abstraction and creativity which develops out of the need to procure and produce the means of life.

In the painting a peasant community has gathered to celebrate a wedding. The rotund, smiling peasants dance, flirt, eat, drink, and laugh together. The people are not ideally beautiful, tomorrow they will have to return to their fields, but this reality does not destroy their happiness. Today, the fruits of their labour serve a festive purpose, and they focus on the here and now of having fun, as a community and as distinct individuals. The dancers form couples, but they also form collective patterns. Life is experienced and enjoyed (or not) by distinct individuals, but those same individual lives depend on collective labour on nature. The community has worked together to produce the food and wine that they now consume in celebration of the marriage. No doubt, the wine will light "the tinder of lust" but without that tinder, there would be no future community (in 1566, without reproductive sex, there would have been no future generations). But not just reproduction is in the air. The well-stuffed cod-pieces of the male dancers remind us that sex is about pleasurable human connection and not just reproduction. The women do not appear intimidated or harassed. There is no moral authority judging from on high. The picture celebrates the enjoyment of sensuous particularity. It does not

[1] The painting can be viewed at: https://www.pieterbruegel.net/object/the-wedding-dance (accessed, March 17th, 2019).

judge it wrong or inferior to contemplation of universal truths. While he was commenting on Rabelais and not Breughel, Bakhtin's explanation of the role of the body as the basis of life-enjoyment speaks directly to the scene portrayed in "The Wedding Dance." Discussing the great lists of mundane things that Rabelais constructs in *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, he notes how it is their social function of pleasing that elevates them beyond mere things for use, and how the pleasures of the body lie at the root of this social function. "Things are listed and re-evaluated in the dimension of laughter, which has conquered fear and all gloomy seriousness. This is why the material, lower bodily stratum is needed, for it … liberates objects from … false seriousness … and fear." (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 376). The body quite literally brings things down to what they really are: material elements that are combined and recombined by human beings, whose basic function is to serve life, *but in serving life*, become enjoyable, fun. As Davies reminds us, "human" shares the same Latin root as the word for earth: "humus." "Both "humble" and "human" derive from the Latin "humus," "earth" or "ground," from which all roots start. Hence, "homo" earth-being, and *humanus*, earthy, human." (Davies, 2008, p. 126). The enjoyment of sensuous particularity in the here and now is thus not "animalistic" in any pejorative sense, but deeply, essentially human.

Two further comments are necessary. The first, in counterpoint to my interpretation above, cautions that the picture is a snap shot of the dance at a moment where people are still somewhat in control. Critics would be correct to note that where there is wine, women, and men there is the potential for drunken insults, brawls, harassment, and rape. They would also be right to note the heteronormativity of the relationships portrayed here. Moralists and defenders of the superiority of the intellect object to the pleasures of the body precisely because they are incapable of recognising any limits. If people devote themselves to nothing but drink and the satisfactions of the flesh, they will ruin themselves and violate others, since the body does not judge but only consumes. These cautions and criticisms are well-taken, and one must avoid an overly romantic understanding, not only of peasant life (the particular subject of the painting), but *ungoverned* sensuous enjoyment of the satisfaction of basic bodily needs.

No painting or work of literature can solve the complex political and social problems posed by these objections. We can make a start to solving them by thinking a bit beyond the surface. First, were the peasants (men and women) incapable of self-government, they would not be alive at all. They cannot drink and dance every day away, because they are the ones that must do all the work. The Lord is not there to superintend their work; they are the ones who have to get up in the morning, plant, tend, and reap; the women have to turn the grain into bread, sew the clothes, raise the children. Beyond those basic life-processes, craftspeople had to make the musical instruments (which takes both skill and at least implicit understanding of complex scientific principles) and the musicians had to learn to play. In order to do all of this work they did not consult divine archetypes but learned from experience. Thus, at a deeper level (which Breughel probably did not intend) the painting is a snapshot of a *self-organizing* community enjoying the fruits of nature and collective labour. To be sure, there would be fault lines of conflict in the community, but if they really are capable of self-organization, they are (in principle) capable of recognizing and changing the structures and forces that cause the conflicts. The relationships depicted are heteronormative, but the women are not portrayed in an obviously submissive posture, but seem strong, self-directed, and equal participants in the flirting and dancing. They all may walk on earth on the "foot of the soul," but they have heads too, and they use them to think, discipline their pleasures, and produce what they need to live and enjoy life. There is no doubt more tension, complexity, contradiction, and hierarchy (especially between men and women) in the real lives of sixteenth century peasant communities. Still, the painting is an illustration of an alternative to the elitist and exclusionary understanding of intelligence, enjoyment, and human capacity than the one Mirandola presented, but it is not the complete picture. However, it does provide a vivid starting point for the construction of the richer and more self-consciously political understanding of emancipatory humanism to be painted in the next two sections.

HUMANISM, EUROCENTRISM AND SOCIAL CRITIQUE: THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND MARX

The first self-consciously *political* use of a universal conception of human being occurs in The Enlightenment. Periodizing The Enlightenment is a complex historical problem which I cannot get into here. (see Israel, 2001). I will focus exclusively on the use of the concept of "humanity" to criticize colonialism and the slave trade, focussing in particular on the work of Condorcet and the Abbé Raynal. As we will see, there is an analogous tension to the one we discovered in Mirandola in the previous section. Hidden within the seemingly unproblematic universal truth that all human beings, regardless of color, have shared needs and interests which ground equally legitimate claims to liberty, human rights, and freedom is an inescapable Eurocentrism whose particularity even the most radical critics of colonial violence could not see. Marx, while a radical critic of the liberal-capitalism that the *philosophes* helped make possible, takes up the idea that universal needs and interests form the material foundation for struggles for universal human emancipation, but his emancipatory project too bifurcates into a Eurocentric conception of the technological-developmental conditions of socialism and a more concretely universal understanding of socialism as the self-emancipation of working classes struggling in different contexts.

Condorcet's *Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Advances of the Human Mind* is the most systematic expression of Enlightenment "philosophical history." (Stuurman, 2017, p. 289). It charts the history of humanity from tribal hunter-gatherer communities into a techno-scientific future in which all socio-economic and political conflicts will be resolved and our intelligence focussed on making life healthier, longer, and more enjoyable. In order to get there, fundamental conflicts must be overcome: between social classes, between men and women, and between Europeans and the non-European peoples subjected to colonialism. On each count, Condorcet is unambiguously on the side of the historically oppressed. He demands the redress of economic inequality (by reformist means), equality

of the sexes, and, most importantly for our purposes, an end to colonial violence and slavery.

The normative basis of his critique in each of these cases is a universal conception of humanity. Our "humanity" is both that which grounds and that which recognises the moral equality of each member of the human race, regardless of class position, sex, and race. This moral equality has two sides: intelligence (the capacity for self-determination) and needs (whose deprivation causes the same form of harm regardless of particular identity). "The true rights of man," he says, are grounded in the fact that "Man is a sentient being, capable of reasoning and acquiring moral ideas." (Condorcet, 2017, p. 69). Yet, the capacity for moral judgement, evaluation, and self-government has not been equally expressed in all groups and people because social conditions have deprived subaltern groups of the resources and experiences that they need (including especially education) to fully develop their properly human capacities. "Man has needs, and faculties to provide for them: and the output of these faculties is a mass of goods that can satisfy these needs." (Condorcet, 2017, p. 71) If all people have the same fundamental needs, and the deprivation of our needs is harmful because it impedes the development of our human capacities, then it follows that any group that is deprived of that which they need will fail to fully develop their capacities. The paternalist belief that the working class cannot govern, the sexist claim that women are fit only for domestic life, or the racist belief that Africans are naturally servile and subhuman are exposed as ideological justifications for unjust systems of domination as soon as one exposes systematic forms of need-deprivation at the root of the life-conditions of subaltern groups.

The most violent form of domination occurs in Africa and the colonies employing African slave labor. Condorcet is unequivocal: the justification of slavery and domination is a function of a racist construction of Africans as inferior for which there is no supporting evidence. Consequently, the only rational conclusion is that greed drives the need for slave labour, and the crime is excused by appeal to an unsupportable racist ideology. Reason teaches the equality of all human beings and condemns unequivocally slavery and colonial violence in the name of humanity.

> Philosophers of various nations, embracing in their mediations the interests of mankind as a whole, without distinction of country, race, or religion, formed a strongly united battalion against … tyranny. … In Europe they rose up against the crimes with which greed had stained the shores of America, Africa, and Asia. The philosophers of England and France were proud to take the name and fulfill the duties of *friends* of those same Blacks whose stupid oppressors disdained to count them even as *men*. (Condorcet, 2017, p. 77).

The oppressed are all equally human, and thus equally capable of self-determination, wanting only access to those goods and institutions required for the full development of their rational and creative capacities.

If all human beings are rational and have to satisfy the same physical and social needs in order to become *self-determining*, then it would seem to follow that different groups of human beings might develop *different* forms of *equally human* and valuable ways of living. If we judge historically, there is some convergence of human struggles around the value of equality, but people also continue to value their cultural differences. What primarily impedes different groups from satisfying their needs and developing their rational and self-creative capacities are external forces, imposed from above, that reduces subaltern groups to mere tools of the dominant powers. Freeing themselves from these oppressive conditions should open the future towards *different* ways of expressing our *equally human* capacity for self-determination. The same powers will be realised differently, according to the free appropriation of those aspects of tradition and forms of life freely judged valuable by formerly oppressed people, once they are in a position to rationally asses, judge, and create their own conditions of life. However, at the crucial point where self-determination *could* be developed as a concrete universal, Condorcet falls back (as Mirandola did too) on a singular abstraction as the goal towards which all humanity must move. In his case, it is not the classical ideal of a philosophical elite, but European culture, philosophy, and science as the only possible future for free and Enlightened humanity.

> Our hopes for the future of mankind come down to three points: The destruction of inequality between nations, advances of equality within nations, and the real improvement of mankind. Aren't all nations bound

> to some day approach the state of civilization reached by the peoples who are most enlightened, most free, most clear of prejudices, e.g., the French and the anglo-Americans. The chasm that separates separating these peoples from the slavery of countries subjected to kings, the barbarity of African tribes, and the ignorance of savages—musn't it gradually vanish?(Condorcet, 2017, p. 94)

While agreeing that the individual members of all cultures are human, he also concludes that the majority of human cultures have made no contribution to human civilization and should gladly accept the European gift of education. They would willingly follow the path laid out for them by Europe, if only they were shown it in the spirit of peace and improvement. The problem for Condorcet is only the fact that Europe has employed violence in the colonies. Its civilization is superior, but it fails to live up to its own standards when it enslaves members of inferior cultures.

What is absent here (but is implicit in the idea of overcoming inequality between nations) is any sense that other cultures have something of universal value to offer the future development of humanity. The learning is all one way: everyone is human, but members of "backward" peoples, in order to attain full humanity, must abandon their old ways and accept the lessons that European civilization offers them. As Paul Gilroy notes, "the limits of bourgeois humanism" are exposed as soon as we think of what it would have sounded like from the side of the colonised and enslaved. (Gilroy, 1993, p. 44). To be taught and to be slaughtered are different, of course, but the idea that instruction cannot be violent, oppressive, racist, and destructive is exposed as soon as it is thought from the side of a member of a culture deemed to be historically inferior and subjected as a pupil, a mere object of instruction. The wreckage that the history of colonial educational policy leaves behind can be studied in the testimony of victims of Canada's colonial residential school system, which in a sense took Condorcet's advice and educated (rather than exterminated) the children of indigenous nations. The result was not the cultural elevation of those children, but profound physical and psychological harm that lasts to this day. (see, Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015).

Condorcet acknowledges the humanity of colonised peoples, but then argues that they are doubly imprisoned: by the violence of colonial avarice, and their own backward cultures. He sees their agency as a project that can only be realized in the future. Once they have been enlightened, they can govern themselves, but for the moment, they should willingly undertake a period of tutelage lead by enlightened Europeans. He cannot see that as humans they already are agents, and their agency means that they must liberate themselves. This other lesson, taught by experience and not philosophers, was understood by colonised people, who regularly rebelled and fought back and *proved* that they were human by refusing to submit to domination. In the case of the French colony of San Domingo, this resistance ended up in the first systematic victory of formerly enslaved people over their oppressors. It was led by the ex-slave Toussaint L'Ouverture. (see James, 1963). This was a revolt against "bourgeois humanism," i.e., the humanism that sees humanity realised and fulfilled in European institutions, but not against the humanism of self-determination. If we focus on the agency of the oppressed in struggle against European civilization, we discover a more profound and concretely universal basis of humanity: the capacity for self-determination which all oppressed groups draw upon when they finally have had enough of being subordinate to a violently imposed version of human life and struggle to build their own.

As I have noted, concretely universal human values grow up out of the soil of the culture-building capacity of human beings (which is itself a function of the general power for self-determination). That means that the agency of all people must be acknowledged at the start, as the distinctive power of human individuals which, when united in a political movement, becomes the power of self-determination. Agency is not something in the future, a gift of one-sided enlightenment, but latent in the bio-social nature of humans as thinking, communicating, imagining, acting, interacting, and creating beings. Condorcet acknowledged this truth, but then pulled back from it. Only one European critic draws the consistent political inference from the agency and self-determining power of the oppressed. In a remarkable work, the Abbé Raynal warned slave traders to either reform

the slave economy or face a mass revolt of the slaves (which would in fact occur about a decade after he wrote the words).

> If, then, nations of Europe, interest alone can exert its influence over you, listen to me once more. Your slaves stand in no need of either of your generosity or your counsels, in order to break the chains of your sacrilegious yoke of their oppression … [there is] an impending storm and the negroes only want a chief, sufficiently courageous, to lead them to vengeance and slaughter. Where is this great man to be found, whom nature, perhaps, owes to the honour of the human species? Where is this new Spartacus?" (Raynal, 1775, pp. 43-44).

Unlike Condorcet, Raynal does not argue that Europeans have a lesson to teach the enslaved, but rather that the enslaved have a lesson to teach human beings. The lesson is just that they, the supposedly inferior, are human beings, and therefore fully capable of liberating and governing themselves. The way beyond the limitations of "bourgeois humanism" thus starts by recognizing the agency, the self-determining capacity, of the oppressed.

One would assume that this lesson would be consistently taught by Marx, the most systematic critic of bourgeois society and its humanist values. It is taught, but not consistently. Marx too falls victim to confusion between abstract universalization of one developmental pathway (that of Europe) and openness to the concrete diversity of ways of life that might be created once the external constraints of exploitation and domination gave been overcome. On the one hand, Marx starts from the idea of human beings as self-determining subjects who collectively create their conditions of life through work on the given natural environment. In his early work, he calls this power our "species-being," a Feuerbachian term that names the distinctive property that distinguishes one species from another. "The productive life is the life of the species. It is life-engendering life. The whole character of a species … is contained in the character of its life-activity; and free, conscious activity is man's species character." (Marx, 1975, p. 276). Later, he will drop the Feuerbachian terminology, but not the essential idea that human beings create their own social conditions of life by working on the natural world. "The first premise of all human

history is, of course, the existence of living individuals. Thus the first fact to be established is the physical organization of these individuals and their consequent relation to the rest of nature." (Marx, 1976, p. 37). Both are ways of expressing the humanist idea that universal values are anchored in the fundamental needs that connect human beings to the natural world and each other. Unless we work together, we cannot survive. That does not mean that this deep universal value is explicitly reflected in each particular society, but it does provide the materialist basis for a critique of any society in which the particular class interests of ruling groups is allowed to exploit the life-value of co-operative social labour fore exclusive benefit.

Human societies do not simply reproduce, they develop. Starting from the same needs, but in different natural contexts, human beings *differentiate* themselves from material nature and other human groups. "Men can be distinguished from animals by consciousness, … or anything else you like. They themselves begin to distinguish themselves from animals as soon as they begin to produce their means of subsistence … As individuals express their life, so they are." (Marx, 1976, p. 37). Thus Marx is rejecting all forms of "bourgeois humanism" that would reduce the "essence" of man to "an abstraction inherent in each individual." (Marx, 1976b, p. 616). However, *contra* Althusser, he is not rejecting the humanist belief that we are linked together by universal interests, which are the ground of universal values, which form the ethical basis of the critique of capitalism and the socialist alternative. (see Althusser, 1977, pp. 83-84).

If we think of his understanding of human society and culture as active "life-processes," and active life-processes as practices through which human beings distinguish themselves from nature and each other, then cultural difference is not, in general, a mystery, nor are its symbolic contents proof of superiority or inferiority, as Condorcet ultimately took them to be. Rather, different symbolic expressions (art, religion, philosophy, etc.) are different ways in which differently situated groups of human beings reflect their life-processes in consciousness. This reflection and symbolic expression are all equally human, and there are no grounds for invidious hierarchies *if* we focus on the underlying creative and self-differentiating function of life-serving co-operative labor. If we keep the

focus there, then the universal problem posed by any society is: do those who do the life-serving labour control its organization, direction, and products, and are those products primarily valued for their contribution to life, need-satisfaction, and the free development of life-capacities, or is social life controlled by a ruling class that exploits labour for its own advantage? What Marx finds is that in all societies where exploitation is the dominant social structure, different justifications for the particular form of exploitation will be generated. The solution is not to identify one culture (Europe) as enlightened and for subaltern groups to follow its lead. Rather, the way forward is for exploited people of all different societies to organize and free themselves from both the structures of rule and the ideologies of inferiority that justify those structures: "The emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves," (Marx, 1967). Beneath the differences that distinguish cultures and histories is a common core of exploitation and deprivation:

> "The economical subjection of the man of labour to the monopoliser of the means of labour, that is the sources of life, lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence. The economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means … [because] the emancipation of labour is neither a local, nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries." (Marx, 1867)

As we can see, although Marx begins from universal truths about the necessary connection between human beings and the natural world, and sees emancipation as the result of the struggle of subaltern peoples themselves, rather than an elite that adopts the teachings of a supposedly superior culture, he cannot fully break free of the Enlightenment idea that some nations are more advanced than others. His focus is not so much on culture and education as it is on technology and productive capacity, but it has the same deleterious impact on the concrete universality of his understanding of the humanist values implicit in the struggle for socialism.

We can see these deleterious implications most clearly if we examine his writings on the colonies and think his perspective from the position of colonised people. While Marx insists that the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself, in different moments he also suggests, like Condorcet, (and with the same lack of awareness of the contradiction,) that non-European peoples need to subject themselves to European tutelage in order to become free. He assumed that this was the case not because he regarded them as inferior, but because he assumed that capitalism was an inevitable stage of human history. Its social, political, economic, cultural, and scientific conditions were incompatible with pre-modern, traditional cultures, which would inevitably be destroyed once they came into contact with it. Writing about India, he (in)famously argued,

> "the bourgeois period of history has to create the material basis of the new world … universal intercourse … and a scientific domination of natural agencies. Bourgeois industry and commerce create these material conditions of a new world the same way as geological revolutions have created the surface of the earth. When a great social revolution shall have mastered the results of the bourgeois epoch … and subjected them to the common control of the most advanced peoples, then only will human progress cease to resemble that hideous pagan idol, who would not drink nectar but from the skulls of the slain." (Marx, 1972, p. 87).

In this picture, the character of socialism is essentially determined by the nature of capitalism, and not the collective agency of exploited peoples. If socialism presupposes capitalism as its material basis, and if capitalism inevitably destroys the structures of traditional society, imposing "bourgeois" individual cultures and techno-scientific forms of understanding as mandatory and exclusive of other ways of knowing and living, then the "less advanced" peoples are not agents of their own emancipation, but must follow the lead of the advanced societies, and let their traditional forms of life go under.

What happens when we look at this side of Marx's argument from the perspective of colonised people? When we listen to their voices, what becomes clear is that they recognize the danger that capitalism and

colonialism pose to their traditions, but that protecting their traditional ways is an essential part of the fight-back against colonialism. While Marx did not support colonialism *per se*, his "normative developmentalism" ignores the *human* value of non-capitalist social forms. (Coulthard, 2014, p. 9) As the Dene theorist and activist Glenn Sean Coulthard argues, when one "makes the conceptual shift from the capital relation to the colonial relation … it becomes difficult to justify in antiquated developmental terms … the assimilation of non-capitalist, non-Western Indigenous modes of life based on the racist assumption that this assimilation will somehow magically redeem itself by bringing the fruits of capitalist modernity." (Coulthard, 2014, p. 11). Instead, if European peoples would have looked at the life-ways of indigenous people as they were, and not according to a presupposed historical schema of "backward" and "advanced," they could have seen in them forms of reciprocity between nature and human society and mutualistic interconnection between individual members of society that prefigured and enacted alternatives to capitalism's exploitative and alienating systems. The alternative embodied in indigenous life ways should not be dismissed as mere "primitive communism," but embraced as a living example from which others can learn.

The point is: socialist principles of distribution according to need and the collective basis of individual freedom do not, in themselves, presuppose one and only one (Eurocentric) set of material conditions or social institutions. They are compatible with multiple forms of realization. Marx himself, towards the end of his life, was coming around to this way of seeing the future.[2] In a letter to a Petersburgh newspaper, he insisted that he did not believe that historical materialism discovered the secret to an abstractly universal history that could be recounted without attention to actual details and differences. "My critic," he writes, "transforms my historical sketch of the development of capitalism in Western Europe into a historical-philosophical theory of universal development pre-determined by fate for all nations." (Marx, 1979, p. 321.) If it is true that Marx ultimately does not view the developmental pathway of Western Europe as

[2] Kevin Anderson makes the most detailed case for this change of Marx's thinking regarding non-Western societies. (See Anderson, 2016).

normative from all societies, then there should be multiple ways of realizing the universal human values that guide socialism, including some that do not require indigenous peoples to allow their traditional life-ways to be sacrificed at the altar of capitalist modernity. Those values really focus on resource use and democratic control over all social conditions, not cultural forms, belief systems, or ontologies. It does not matter whether one believes that the world was created by a Great Spirit or the Big Bang. When it comes to organizing our societies, that which really matters is ensuring that nature is not destroyed in the process of using its resources to satisfy our needs and creating the social conditions for self-expression and life-enjoyment. Every culture can learn from every other culture if all drop the abstraction that they and they alone are the only true expression of humanity.

In the case of colonised peoples, affirming their culture in the face of colonial domination is not only an act of self-affirmation, but a lesson in humanity for the colonisers too. Fanon argued that the struggle against colonialism would create the conditions for a "new humanism." (Fanon, 1961, p.) Instead of the conflation between humanity" and "European liberalism," the values that would govern the new humanism would be truly universal because shaped in part by the voices of newly freed people able finally to speak fully in their own voice. The following words were spoken by a Dene elder in front of a Canadian government commission, but his arguments perfectly illustrate Fanon's point:

> Do you really expect us to give up our life and lands so that those few people who are richest … can maintain their power and privilege? *That is not our way.* I strongly believe that we do have something to offer your nation, however, something other than our minerals. For thousands of years we have lived with the land, we have taken care of the land, and the land has taken care of us. We did not believe our society had to grow and expand and conquer over other areas in order to fulfill our destiny as Indian people. (Coulthard, 2014, p. 63).

The elder is arguing that different cultures express the human capacity for self-determination differently, and that a culture does not have to be expansionary and scientific in order to be self-determining. The fight

against colonialism is not a rear-guard action from his perspective, but a fight for the future, from which other cultures can learn. He thus affirms, without using the words, the concretely universal understanding of humanity that I am defending.

SECULAR HUMANISM

The emancipatory struggles of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries did not go as hoped. Where socialist revolutions occurred, they succeeded in removing old ruling classes, but could not consolidate their social victory in the more democratic socio-economic systems that Marx had hoped for, much less create the material conditions for "the free development of each." (Marx, 1986, p. 54). In the West, revolutionary movements never gained serious traction, and the goals of socialism were carried forward by parliamentary labor parties which did institute important reforms, but at the cost of compromising with the ruling class. Since the 1970s', the cost of these compromises has become clear: all the gains made by workers' parties have proved vulnerable to the ruling class reaction that goes under the name "neo-liberalism." (Harvey, 2005). The problems of revolutionary socialism created problems for the universal humanist values that underlay its radical enlightenment and Marxist conception. Beginning in the 1960's, new social movements (radical feminism, Black and Red Power, movements for gay, lesbian, and trans rights, environmentalism, and disability rights) seized the political initiative from the Marxist left, raising serious criticisms about humanistic universalism along the way. From the perspective of these historically oppressed groups, the old values of humanism were complicit in their domination and could play no role in their liberation. As Davies argues, the twentieth century reaction against humanism denounced it "as an ideological smokescreen for the oppressive mystifications of modern society and culture, [and] the marginalisation and oppression of the multitudes of human beings in whose name it pretends to speak." (Davies, 2008, p. 5). Yet humanism persists.

Today, humanism typically takes the form of secular scientific humanism, and looks to natural science for insight about how natural selection has shaped human nature, especially neural structure and functioning. Secular scientific humanism has three main targets each of which is familiar from Enlightenment universalism. It posits a universal human nature as the foundation for universal values, it criticizes religious obscurantanism, and believes in the potential for the indefinite perfectability of the human species. While secular scientific humanism does yield some important insights into the material foundations of human values, it repeats the essential problem of Enlightenment humanism, in that it uncritically equates the values of one form of human life (liberal-democratic capitalism) with universal human values while failing to see the deep contradictions of this form of life. At the same time, it over-extends the competence of natural science to understand the social and meaningful dimension of human values. The solution is not to abandon science (just as the solution to the problem of abstract universal values is not to abandon universality altogether), but to explore ways to subordinate the pursuit and use of scientific knowledge to a historically informed, concrete understanding of human values as the glue of meaningful human relationships which are capable of multiple forms of realization.

For contemporary secular scientific humanists, the main political enemy is religious obscurantanism. In their struggle against irrationalism they carry on perhaps the dominant political theme of the radical enlightenment: religion as a realm of shadows, illusions, prejudices, manipulation, and violence towards unbelievers. The trail to freedom is blazed by science alone. Science is objective, falsifiable, self-ramifying, non-dogmatic, and allied with the rights of free inquiry, free speech, and free association. These arguments have been popularised by "the new atheists" (Richard Dawkins, Daniel Dennett, Christopher Hitchins, and Sam Harris). Summing up their conclusions, Harris argues that

> introspection offers no clue that our experience of the world around us and of ourselves within it, depends upon voltage changes and chemical interactions taking place in our heads. And yet a century and a half of brain science declares it to be so. … With respect to our current scientific

> understanding of the mind, the major religions remain wedded to doctrines that are growing less plausible by the day. While the ultimate relationship between consciousness and matter has not been settled, any naïve conception of a soul can now be jettisoned on account of the mind's obvious dependency on the brain. (Harris, 2010, p. 159).

There are no rational-empirical grounds to dispute those one hundred and fifty years of research, or the ontological conclusions that Harris and the other New Atheists draw from them. Nor are their any grounds outside of natural science (in philosophy or religion) that form a serious basis from which to mount a defence of ontological dualism or support belief in an other-world superbeing who created the universe by command. As far as the understanding of the natural history of matter, energy, life, and humanity are concerned, natural science has proven uniquely competent to make demonstrable (provable beyond any reasonable doubt) progress in understanding the pathways by which superhot plasma formed basic physical elements and how those elements have interacted and evolved to produce life.

The problem with the New Atheists (and secular scientific humanism in general) is not ontological, but political. While they claim to base their normative insights on objective science (evolutionary theory and neuroscience), they also at the same time use those objective scientific theories to support as uniquely, humanly valuable one particular set of social and political institutions: those of liberal democratic capitalism. While not typically associated with the New Atheists, the work of Steve Pinker has extended their basic argument into a defence of liberal-democratic capitalism as not only superior, *per accidens*, to other social institutions, but as in fact the necessary social expression of the "better angels of our nature." "For all the flaws of human nature," he writes, "it contains the seeds of its own improvement, so long as it comes up with norms and institutions which channel parochial interests into universal benefits. Among those norms are free speech, nonviolence, cooperation, cosmopolitanism, … human rights … and amongst the institutions are science, education, media, democratic government, international organizations, and markets. Not coincidentally, these were the major

brainchildren of The Enlightenment." (Pinker. 2018. P. 28). Pinker essentially tries to give the stamp of scientific approval to Adam Smith's invisible hand (channelling parochial interests into universal benefits) and Condorcet's philosophical history of humanity. While he concludes that religion and ideology stem from the worst sides of ourselves, he fails to note that both Smith's and Condorcet's vision of progress and universal benefit from self-interested action presupposed a Providential God. Pinker's attempt to justify liberal democratic institutions by appeal to objective scientific analysis radically over-extends the competence of natural science.

Like Harris, he reduces self-determining action to behaviour, and behaviour to brain states: "the things we experience are patterns of activity in the evolved brain … It seems to me that a small number of quirks in our cognitive and emotional make up give rise to a substantial proportion of avoidable human misery." (Pinker, 2011, p. 570). What he ignores is the most decisive element: brains do not just react to stimuli; they interpret material situations. Meaning is part of the material world that brains experience and judge, but is not itself reducible to politically neutral "data." If meaning is irreducible to data, then so too is political argument about values irreducible to data. One particular set of values cannot be dispassionately proven to be superior to another. If values were determined in the same naturalistic way as the weight of an electron, everyone would have the same values. That we do not does not prove that there are no universal values, but that we must work to understand the universal beneath different interpretations. Moreover, we also must *communicate and argue* with one another to find ways in which those different interpretations can be reconciled. Appeal to brain states cannot substitute for philosophical-political dialogue.

Pinker believes that progress in history amounts to non-scientific cultures giving way to scientific cultures. That might be progressive on one axis of human life (understanding the natural world), but it ignores the broader sweep of social and political history. Taking a properly historical view, liberal-democratic-capitalist institutions have not risen to global prominence because they are rooted in those better aspects of our nature,

but because they have been imposed by militarily stronger powers in ways that serve their interests (through processes like colonisation, for example). It is true, as Pinker argues, that liberal values

> elevated the flourishing and suffering of individual minds over the color, class, or nationality of the bodies that housed them. Then and now, the concept of individual rights is not a plateau, but an escalator. If a sentient being's right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness may not be compromised because of the color of its skin, then why may it be compromised by other irrelevant traits? … Dull habituation or brute force may prevent people in certain times from following the line of argument to each of its logical conclusions, but in an open society its momentum is unstoppable. (Pinker, 2011, p. 381).

What is not true is that these liberal values recognized all human beings as individuals with interests that needed to be respected. Power over other societies, rooted in a drive for dominance, resources, control over labour, and markets, reduced most individuals: women, racially subaltern people, workers, to mere tools without intrinsic moral value. The violence of colonialism, the slave trade, inter-imperialist warfare are explained away as the products of ideology or lingering irrationalism and not—as they demonstrably are—as central to the consolidation of liberal-democratic-capitalist society as the abstract universality of human rights and dignity. (Pinker, 2011, p. 343, for critique, see Aronson, 2013, p. 261).

The problem that Pinker, and secular scientific humanism in general run into, is that they in effect use science to essentially *sanctify* Eurocentric, liberal-democratic capitalist institutions and values. I say "sanctify" in relation to Pinker because by claiming to have discovered an objective, scientific explanation of these institutions, he in essence shields them from the fundamental criticism that they are inadequate expressions of universal human interests and values. Others go much further in this direction, to quite literally identify techno-scientific development as a theodicy. The paradigm example is Ray Kurzweil. Kurzweil follows Condorcet, who concluded his *Sketch* with the promise of unlimited improvement of the human species. Although he did not understand genetics, he anticipated the contemporary "transhumanist" movement in

his belief that improvements in medical science would indefinitely expand our life-capacities and extend our life-span. (Condorcet, 2017, p. 109). For Kurzweil, human history proves not only that science can progress indefinitely, but more, that the entire history of the universe has been tending towards the point where human intelligence creates intelligent machines which evolve beyond all the limitations of embodied, dependent and interdependent humanity. Humanism means giving oneself over completely to this tendency. "To me, being human means being part of a civilization that seeks to extend its boundaries. We are already going beyond our biology by rapidly gaining the tools to re-program and augment it." (Kurzweil, 2005, p. 373) Hence, the mission of human beings is to transcend the limitations imposed upon us by what I have called elsewhere the "frames of finitude" that imprison us in time and space, making us dependent on nature and interdependent with each other. (Noonan, 2018, p. 4)

The only way that humanity can fulfill its destiny is to literally shed our skins for a virtualised future in which all distinction between conception, execution, and experience are overcome. The technological transcendence of embodiment is as close to an apotheosis as is scientifically credible:

> Evolution moves towards greater complexity, greater elegance, greater knowledge, greater intelligence, greater beauty, greater creativity, greater levels of subtle attributes such as love. In every monotheistic tradition God is likewise described as all these qualities, only without any limitation… Of course, even the accelerating growth of evolution never achieves an infinite level, but, as it explodes exponentially it certainly moves rapidly … towards this conception of God. (Kurzweil, p. 389).

Whatever human happiness one might feel in the moment is unbearably limited if compared with the possibility of omnipotence and omniscience. If our goal is happiness, then we must not rest but instead work feverishly to expedite the divine perfection and become one with it.

While Kurzweil takes this argument to be scientifically credible, in reality it is the most abstruse philosophical speculation. Indeed, with this claim we come full circle: back to the neo-Platonic philosophy of the

Renaissance from which we began. Kurzweil's theogony is really neo-Platonic emanationism in reverse. Instead of the goodness of God cascading from on high down through all the creatures of the earth, which the philosopher alone can understand and reconstruct, God's perfection emerges from below and over time, its realization a function of increasing technological control over human nature and the world, and the universal destiny of all people.

But if the goal of earthly life is to transcend it, whether in mind, as in Mirandola, or through virtualization technologies, as in Kurzweil, how can any happiness ever be found in the present moment. If I *believe* that ten years after I die practical immortality might be attained, how can I enjoy the limited time allotted to me. And if in ten years practical immortality is still ten years off, then that generation of condemned people will likewise feel cheated. The scenario can be repeated indefinitely into the future. The problem here is that the good is not conceived as contentment with what the given moment has to offer, but with what more (purportedly) the future will offer. The humanism of perfection in the image of an abstract ideal ruins the present moment with the promise of something better in the future. The temporality of the "non yet" not only undermines the ability to be content with enough, but it has also underwritten attacks on those cultures and people who have practiced contentment as inferior, backward, subhuman. (Chakrabarty, quoted in Stuurman, 2017, p. 562). After all, if "human" means what Kurzweil thinks it means—endless struggle to overcome *any* limitation-- then those groups who (as the Dene elder put it), did not think that the greatness of their culture depended upon expanding it beyond their traditional lands, must be less than human.

The point is not to reject or dismiss the institutions of science out of hand (as some anti-humanists are tempted to do, at least at the level of theory), but rather to see that they are contradictory. The same contradiction that compromises the coherence of Condorcet's critique of colonialism returns to compromise arguments like Pinker's. He ends up abstracting liberal democratic capitalist values from the history of violent conquest with which they were imposed and positing them as the scientifically sanctioned way forward for all humanity. Whether the

institutions are valuable or not, genuinely human values, as I have argued, have to be discovered by people themselves acting as agents. In the matter of universal values, no group of humans is ever *exclusively* the pupils of another group. The problem for a concrete humanism is thus—as it was in the Enlightenment-- that the majority of the manifold diversity of human social and cultural forms end up presented as having made no positive contribution to the development of universal human values. This result is highly implausible, if one considers the empirical truth that indigenous ways of life have lasted far longer than liberal-democratic capitalism, and have not generated the environmental destruction, the scope of global violence, or the internal oppositional forces that liberal democratic capitalist institutions have generated.

If the point is not to dismiss secular scientific humanism out of hand, the point is also not to romanticize indigenous cultures or to argue that their less technologically mediated relationship with the earth should become a model for a return to basics across the whole globe. Scientific understanding, technological development, and recognizing that we have obligations to the natural world, each other, and future generations are not impossible to synthesise. Indigenous cultures are not static museum pieces or devoid of knowledge and technology. Once we learn to see the more integral and reciprocal relationship between human communities and the earth that define indigenous cultures around the world as the expression of deep *and universal* knowledge, we can re-position natural science as growing up out of these older forms of embedded and embodied understanding. Natural science then does not point out the one true way towards the good life (as Harris and Pinker assume) but is a subordinate part of social life which helps us make decisions and accomplish goals decided democratically and justified by reference to ethical purposes not reducible to voltage changes in the brain. A picture of what this relationship between science and society might look like is found in the work of Vandana Shiva.

Shiva is a critic of the effects that the *imposition* of Western technologies has had on traditional Indian culture and agriculture. Yet, she is not a critic of scientific knowledge or technology as such. She shows,

first of all, that the traditional agricultural methods derided as too unproductive to sustain a large population are in fact demonstrably superior to the industrial agriculture and Genetically Modified Organisms forced on Indian farmers by Western corporations and successive Indian governments pursuing normative developmentalist policies. They are superior not by accident, but because they are rooted in scientific knowledge of local soil conditions, seasonal patterns, and crop rotation, and utilise indigenous technologies of hybridization, natural fertilisers, and minimally invasive implements. (Shiva, 2012, pp. 148-191). She thus demonstrates, with clear, quantified evidence, that the claims of industrialised agriculture have been less productive, more ecologically destructive, and socially catastrophic for Indian peasants and small farmers. Moreover, she finds embedded in their long-evolved forms of knowledge and practice an alternative to the (irrational) value of capitalist science: endless growth of output, consumption, and happiness. Happiness does not follow from endless growth: endless growth ensures unhappiness because, as we saw in the case of Kurzweil, if the expectation is that more is better and there will be more tomorrow, today will seem an unbearable wait rather than a fulfilled moment.

The counter-logic to endless growth is "Enoughness." "Enoughness has become vital to the experience of a freedom that is inclusive of all beings and all people. Enoughness is the basis of earth democracy and earth citizenship. Enoughness creates conditions of peace, both peace with nature and peace between people. Enoughness is based on caring for the earth and society." (Shiva, 2012, p. 262). While self-consciously eco-feminist and eco-centric, this doctrine is also deeply humanist: it recovers the original meaning of human as "earth-being," i.e., as a creature of nature whose intellectual and creative powers can only transcend the limits of the local environment if their products do not destroy it. It discovers the sameness at the root of difference (universal dependence and inter-dependence), and posits need-satisfaction as the material basis of health, fulfillment, and therefore pleasure and happiness.

In conclusion, the argument is not that humanism is philosophical and not scientific, focussed on the present and not the future, or concerned with

the experiential and not the ideal. In truth, humanism embraces both sets of values. The tension to which they give rise has been noted by anti-humanists, but they make the mistake of using the contradictions immanent to the humanist tradition to discredit universal values altogether. However, without universal values, it is impossible to find a basis to criticize the histories of violence and domination that anti-humanists rightly decry. What is progress other than discovering and institutionalising values that protect human beings from violent domination, ensure that their needs are satisfied, and that they are able to discover for themselves the ways in which they will contribute to the health and happiness of their worlds? These life-values, rooted in the shared interests encoded in our bio-social nature, have been the object of struggle across cultures and around the world. Their satisfaction underlies any good form of life, and their deprivation causes different forms of oppression. While anchored in human bio-social nature, they do not reduce us to our bodies in the abstract or mandate any one particular form of social life or culture. They open the field of human possibility up and out towards multiple forms of realizability, all of which are grounded in democratic control over the resources we need and the institutions that organize this control and the uses to which they are put. Free diversity of symbolic expression depends upon this fundamental problem being solved. Good ideas about how to solve it come from different traditions.

The key to the future of a concrete humanism is thus solving the problem of how each society can understand and overcome the intrinsic barriers to complete and comprehensive need-satisfaction for each and every member. Need-satisfaction is the natural and social condition of the free expression of each person's imaginative, creative, and caring capacities in ways which are individually meaningful, socially valuable, and ecologically sustainable. This is a universal goal that different people and cultures can realise differently, and it is one in the pursuit of which different groups can learn from each other. One goal, many pathways, many forms of realization.

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Chapter 2

LEADING COLLABORATIVE INTERPROFESSIONAL TEAMS TO SOLVE COMPLEX SOCIAL PROBLEMS FOR YOUTH AND FAMILIES

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ABSTRACT

Across the United States, communities are struggling to meet the basic needs of young people and their families, as well as providing pathways for upward economic and social mobility. Schools are overwhelmed by increasing student needs related to transience, poverty, and social and emotional vulnerability among others. Community-based agencies are similarly overwhelmed by clients who are simultaneously experiencing economic instability, food and housing insecurity as well as mental health/substance abuse issues. Consequently, burnout and turnover in these organizations are commonplace as professionals are

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burdened with a range of issues for which they and their organizations are ill equipped to address.

Complex social problems now dominate the field of practice for those in the "helping" professions (e.g., education, social work, public health, health and mental health and others). These problems are characterized by their high degree of uncertainty and complexity. The components of these problems are not arranged linearly, rather they are arranged within circular and interconnected feedback mechanisms.

These complex problems transcend conventional understandings held by any one profession and therefore the solutions to them transcend the boundaries of any one agency or organization. They necessitate working together across professional boundaries in innovative and collaborative ways. However, new collaborative interprofessional teams call for skilled leadership capable of facilitating, fostering and guiding these budding endeavors.

This chapter provides a practical guide to the new interprofessional leader. Approaches and techniques are offered to effectively foster interprofessional teams. Included among these: building trust and rapport; attending to the emotional labor inherent to this type of work; unbinding the confines of siloed professional views on social problems; unfreezing mental models; developing a shared vision for collective work; and fostering a team that continuously learns.

The concluding discussion focuses on the policy barriers that complicate or prohibit collaborative approaches to solving social problems. Among these barriers are siloed funding streams and accountability-based funding and regulatory mechanisms. Recommendations are offered for needed leadership to advocate for policy changes that will incentivize this work. This begins with transforming the issue-specific focus of current policy discussions to ones that are population- or community-specific. Shifting the vantage point of the "problem" can facilitate a shift in mindset among policymakers that is needed to reorient programs, funding policies and regulation.

Keywords: interprofessional leadership, collaboration, cross-disciplinary teams

CASE STUDY

The Gilmores are a family of five including Sarah (age 10), her older brother Sam (age 13), and infant brother, Josh (age 6 months). Her stepfather, Rob (age 35), and her mother, Sue (age 31), live with their

three kids in their two-bedroom apartment. This is the family's second apartment this year after being evicted for getting behind on rent. The family was temporarily homeless and ended up living with Rob's elderly aunt who had a spare bedroom in her house. With the help of a local housing assistance program, they moved into their new apartment two months ago, which meant Sarah and Sam had to switch schools twice this school year.

When they lost their apartment, Rob also lost his job. The family has no car and must rely on bus transportation. Living with his aunt meant Rob had to travel farther with two bus transfers to get to work. Rob was late to work twice due to bus delays and had to miss work another day when Josh got sick. Fortunately, the family qualifies for daycare assistance, but the daycare cannot take Josh when he has a fever. Rob's aunt is the only family who does not work, but she has debilitating health problems meaning she is not able to babysit.

Rob managed to secure some part-time painting work, and he was connected to a job training program offered three nights per week. He attends with the hopes that these new skills will mean access to a better job. He left high school in 12th grade for a manufacturing job, but that plant closed five years ago. When he lost that job, Rob developed a problem with alcohol so now attends support group meetings four days a week (recently adding another meeting).

Sue works as a nurse's aide. She was forced to leave work for almost six months due to complications with her pregnancy, which is how the family got behind on rent. She lost that job due to her absence, but she found another aide position after recovering from Josh's birth. After Rob lost his job, Sue picked up hours waiting tables in the early morning to help supplement the budget. Fortunately, the family receives food stamps, and supplemental food assistance as a result of Josh's birth, though this requires Sue to go to the county to meet with a caseworker once a month.

Sarah, who normally did well in school, began struggling academically and socially when the family had to move. She now works with the school social worker on a weekly basis, who connected her with several after school programs. These help Sarah tremendously, but they do

not offer transportation home. In addition, Sarah has asthma that requires regular medical care to properly manage. Since moving into their new apartment her symptoms seem to have worsened, which is concerning Sue. Rob and Sue tradeoff organizing their schedule to get Sarah to the doctor when needed, though sometimes they must cancel appointments because they are both scheduled to work, and they cannot afford to lose wages or their jobs.

Older brother Sam has taken responsibility for traveling from the middle school to the location of the after-school program so that both he and Sarah can return home on the city bus. Sam's teachers are also worried about him. His grades are poor, but Sam is often anxious and has difficulty concentrating. He is worried they may lose their apartment again. He found out he can get working papers on his 14th birthday. He is thinking a part-time job might help with a little extra money.

Sam's social worker continues to contact Rob and Sue though they have not yet been able to connect. She wants them to come to the school for a meeting to discuss Sam's situation with the recommendation that he go to the county mental health agency for services. She is not able to provide these services in school because her time is split between the middle and high school. She also wants to provide them with a phone number for another program intended for youth at-risk of dropping out of school. Neither his parents nor his social worker knows that Sam recently tried marijuana that he got from someone at school. He also tried some pills a peer took from their grandparent's medicine cabinet. He liked both, finding they made him feel a bit calmer.

INTRODUCTION

The case study above is not intended to represent an extreme example of a struggling family, rather it is representative of a reality for millions of families in communities across the United States, recognizable to those living it as well as the multiple professionals involved in their lives. Many communities are struggling to meet the basic needs of young people and

their families, as well as to provide pathways for upward economic and social mobility. Organizations with the professional responsibility for serving youth and families, including schools and community-based agencies, are especially taxed as the current service delivery infrastructure is outmoded for the co-occurring and systemic issues such as those exemplified in the case example above. Services designed to assist them also present complications as the family regularly juggles competing demands amidst social and economic insecurity. It is for these types of complex and interlocking problems that new approaches to professional practice are needed with new leadership to bring them about.

CO-OCCURRING ISSUES IMPACTING YOUTH AND FAMILIES

Complex social problems now dominate the field of practice for those in the "helping" professions (e.g., education, social work, public health, health and mental health and others). These problems are characterized by their high degree of uncertainty and complexity. The endemic complexity of the case study of the Gilmore family is clear, though the uncertainty becomes more apparent when one considers there are millions of families in similar situations.

The underpinnings of the challenges encountered by the Gilmores are largely systemic and interconnected, therefore addressing these challenges will require systemically positioned solutions. Schools are overwhelmed by an increase in the number of students experiencing the effects of poverty, transience, and social and emotional vulnerabilities among others. Similarly, community-based agencies are also overwhelmed by families who are simultaneously experiencing economic instability, food and housing insecurity as well as mental health and substance abuse issues.

Disparities in the educational achievement also persist alongside other challenge-related outcomes. Many young people – particularly those impacted by poverty, and racial and ethnic marginalization – begin kindergarten less prepared than their peers (Reardon and Portilla, 2016).

Differences in academic achievement continue through schooling as racial, ethnic and socioeconomic differences continue to influence the acquisition of basic skills such as reading and writing (Wolter, 2016). By the end of high school, a disproportionate percentage of racially and ethnically diverse young people do not earn a diploma (Dupéré, Leventhal, Dion, Crosnoe, Archambault and Janosz, 2015).

In 2013, the percentage of young people attending K-12 public schools from low-income backgrounds (free and reduced-price lunch eligible), much like the Gilmore family, tipped over 50% (Suitts, 2016). In 21 states, young people from low-income backgrounds comprise a majority of the public-school students, and in 19 states they comprise 40 - 49% of public-school students (Suitts, 2016). Young people are also increasingly mobile as they change schools for a variety of reasons. Some moves occur due to changes in parental employment, though, such as in the case of the Gilmore family, young people from low-income backgrounds might be particularly vulnerable as frequent moves can be indicative of housing insecurity (e.g., eviction) or because families are in search of better housing, neighborhoods and schooling (Rumberger, 2015).

The most vulnerable families may experience several episodes of homelessness. In a survey of fifth graders and their families in three cities in the U.S., 7% of parents reported that their family had experienced homelessness, and among Black children and those with the lowest income, the rate increased to 11% (Coker, et al., 2009). Additionally, children who experienced homelessness were more like than their peers to experience emotional, behavioral or developmental problems (Coker, et al., 2009). Changes in housing also often results in changes in schooling, just as the Gilmore children experienced in the case study. According to Rumberger (2015), nationally about 42% of elementary students make one school change and 24% make two or more changes. This type and rate of mobility presents challenges for educators as youth also experience disruptions in their learning and relationships with educators and peers (Rumberger, 2015).

In addition to experiencing housing insecurity, a survey from 2016 found that 27% of households with children aged 18 and under, and with

incomes at 130% of the federal poverty level, had low food security and 14% were considered had very low food security (Coleman-Jensen, Nord, Andrews and Carlson, 2016). For single parent households headed by a female, 30% had low food security and 17% had very low security. When headed by a male, the rates were 31% and 9% respectively (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2016).

Complicating the impact of poverty and its correlates is the fact that one in every four to five young people meet the criteria for a lifetime mental health issue (Merikangas et al., 2010). According to Merikangas and colleagues (2010), these issues result in significant impairment and distress with 11.2% of young people experiencing a mood disorder, 8.3% an anxiety disorder, and 9.6% behavioral disorder (2010). Youth from impoverished backgrounds are especially vulnerable due to exposure to environmental risk factors such as stress, violence and other forms of trauma (Dashiff, DiMicco, Myers and Sheppard, 2010; Yoshikawa, Aber and Beardslee, 2012). Many young people are experiencing the same types of issues (or more severe) as those described as occurring in the life of Sam Gilmore in the case study.

Mental health and substance abuse are also serious community-wide issues significantly impacting families. Notably, the recent opioid epidemic is challenging communities to respond to the consequences of addiction with rate of opioid misuse estimated to range between 21% to 29% among those using opioid prescription drugs (Vowles, McEntee and Julnes, 2015). The effects of substance abuse can destabilize families by undermining the ability of parents with an addiction to provide and care for their families. There is growing evidence that the opioid epidemic is resulting in youth being put into custodial care, particularly with aging grandparents (Scheckler, 2018) who often have their own medical and economic insecurity.

These challenges are profound. Consequently, burnout and turnover in service organizations and professions are commonplace and well established (Shim, 2010; Kim, 2011). Professionals are increasingly burdened with issues for which they and their organizations are ill equipped to address on their own. These challenges, and the struggle to

address them, can contribute to emotional exhaustion and burnout, and in severe cases the stress and trauma experienced by families and youth manifest in secondary or vicarious traumatization of professionals (Borntrager et al., 2012; Newell and MacNeil, 2010). This reality requires organizations to work together in innovative ways that draw on interprofessional collaboration in order to harness the expertise and resources of many. However, successful collaboration requires leaders who are skilled at crossing boundaries to facilitate, foster and guide these budding endeavors.

DIAGNOSING THE PROBLEM

Complex problems are also referred to as "wicked" problems. Discussion of wicked problems first emerged in the 1970s in response to social and economic issues that were increasingly unpredictable without clear or known solutions (Alford and Head, 2017). A wicked problem has a low amount of certainty, a high amount of complexity and transcends conventional understandings of how to address the problem (Conklin, 2006; Beinecke, 2009). The components of these problems are typically not arranged separately or linearly, rather they are arranged within interconnected and circular feedback mechanisms embedded within webs of other interconnected feedback mechanisms (Hovmand, 2014). These problems are therefore dynamic, meaning that components are interrelated and react with each so that changes in one component produces changes in another component (Hovmand, 2014). These characteristics mean that not only is the nature of potential solutions or interventions not well known, but even the nature of the problem itself is unclear (Beinecke, 2009).

This contrasts with approaches that treat wicked problems as though they were technical, or what Alford and Head (2017) refers to as taking an "engineering approach" (Beinecke, 2009). Unlike wicked problems, technical or "tame" problems can be complicated, but there is a far greater degree of certainty about what the problem is and how to address it

(Conklin, 2006; Beinecke, 2009). Prevailing and dominate solutions often exist and are known to adequately address the technical (Beinecke, 2009).

Finally, problems that fall between technical and wicked problems are those that are adaptative (Beinecke, 2009). With an adaptive problem the degree of certainty falls in the middle. The nature of the problem can be known (unlike wicked), though the solutions or interventions are usually unknown and highly complex (Beinecke, 2009).

Technical or Tame	**Adaptative**	**Wicked**
Certainty → High Complexity → Low	Certainty→ Medium Complexity → High	Certainty → Low Complexity → High

As exemplified in the case study, and what is known of current social challenges, adaptative and wicked social problems are often intertwined with barriers such as institutionalized racism, sexism and classism, which when combined with the ethic diversification of communities and the widening of economic and social inequalities, manifests into geographically concentrated pockets of economic hardship, social isolation and social exclusion (Lawson and Van Veen, 2016). Decades after the War on Poverty of the 1960s, the isolated, service-driven approach to creating social and economic upward mobility is faltering. Years of treating and retreating the same problems with solutions designed for technical problems – those that can be framed, categorized and dealt with by a single professional – have yielded few positive, systemic outcomes for populations that are socially isolated and excluded. The growing "wickedness" of social problems, along with a better understanding of the dynamics underpinning them, points to the diminishing capacity for any single profession or discipline to effectively address the problems that dominate our communities today (Lawson and Van Veen, 2016).

The view that social problems are technical rather than wicked has resulted in the overwhelming use of isolated impact efforts rather than collaborative or collective impact efforts. Organizations that are disconnected from one another, competing for resources, and working independently toward a range of different goals results in a narrow and

isolated effects (Hanleybrown, Kania and Kramer, 2013; Kania and Kramer, 2011). However, a new paradigm is emerging that views social problems and solutions within the context of a broader system that involves the interaction of many different types of organizations and professionals by extension (Hanleybrown, Kania and Kramer, 2013; Kania and Kramer, 2011).

INTERPROFESSIONAL COLLABORATION FOR COLLECTIVE IMPACT

Adaptive and wicked problems transcend conventional understandings held by any one profession, and therefore the solutions to them transcend the boundaries of any one agency or organization. They necessitate working together in innovative and collaborative ways toward the same goals, by coordinating their actions and evaluating results by the same measures (Hanleybrown, Kania and Kramer, 2013). Collectively, the professionals working in education and human services face the same seemingly insurmountable set of interlocking social problems impacting youth and families yet continue to work in siloed isolation. Addressing the enormity of complex challenges that define wicked and adaptive problems, requires collaboration among professional and organizations not accustomed to working together.

Collaboration is an often-used term that is typically applied without precision, although, literature on collaboration has moved to better identify and define different types of collaboration. It is possible for collaboration to occur in informal ways between professionals working within an organization or across organizations. This can involve a variety of practices and activities such as communicating and cooperating when professionals may each be working with a family or young person on different issues or concerns. Although, collaboration can be formalized even becoming partnerships when organizations arrange agreements to work with each other.

Kania and Kramer (2011) developed a typology of five types of collaboratives. The first, funder collaboratives, involves funders pooling their resources together to support shared goals to address a specific issue (Kania and Kramer, 2011). The second, public-private partnerships, involves agreements between the government and the private sector organizations for the provision of services (Kania and Kramer, 2011). These are increasingly in use, especially as governments look for ways to reduce costs. The third, multi-stakeholder initiatives, brings together those from different sectors who volunteer in support of a single issue (Kania and Kramer, 2011). The fourth, social sector networks, is formal or informal networks of professionals who come together for ad hoc collaboration (Kania and Kramer, 2011).

This chapter focuses on leadership of the last type identified by Kania and Kramer. Collective impact initiative brings together a group of professionals from different organizations in different sectors under a common agenda to work toward solving a shared social issue (Kania and Kramer, 2011). This type of collective impact is the most complex and formalized as it involves careful coordination of activities across interprofessional teams, which offers some of the greatest potential for addressing the social issues identified thus far, though it is also the most difficult to bring to fruition.

Successful collective impact initiatives are characterized by four general practices according to D'Amour, Ferrada-Videla, San Martin Rodriguez and Beaulieu (2005). These include:

- *Sharing* among professionals/organizations regarding the nature of problems/solutions, approaches and decision-making authority.
- *Partnership* among two or more organizations that is authentic and constructive.
- *Interdependence* among organizations so that each organization needs the others in order to complete the shared mission and goals.
- *Power* is equally distributed and shared across all the organizations involved in the collaborative.

Overview of the Phases to Collective Impact

Hanleybrown, Kania and Kramer (2013) identify three phases in the development of collaboration for collective impact: to initiate change; to organize for impact; and to sustain action.

Phase I

Initiating change requires identifying champions who are committed to the endeavor and are willing (and able) to see it through. This involves forming cross-sector groups, utilizing data to map the underpinnings and dynamics of the problem, and making a case for the need for collaboration to solve the problem(s) at hand. Also involved is the need to engage other stakeholders and the community. As noted by Claiborne and Lawson, the beginning phase of collaboration is dominated by communicating (interprofessional groups engaging in dialogue), connecting (establishment of connections between organizations and individuals), and cooperating (individuals cross the boundaries that have kept them separated in order to engage with each other and respond to each other's requests [Claiborne and Lawson, 2005]).

Phase II

As collaboratives move into the second phase the amount of activity increases. This phase involves creation of an infrastructure, establishment of common goals and measures, and the continuation of community engagement. In this phase of the collaboration, participants begin to engage in more sophisticated practices. Participants will consult (voluntarily exchanging information and seeking informal counsel), coordinate (align efforts and activities), co-locate (bring together participants in the same location), build the community (integrate so that individuals/organizations

are interdependent), and contract (agreements that formalize interdependence [Claiborne and Lawson, 2005]).

Development of a common agenda, which is a shared vision for change that includes a joint understanding of the problem and its solution, is vital and identified as factor in determining the success of a collaborative (Hanleybrown, Kania and Kramer, 2013). Similarly, establishing a shared measurement system is another factor in successful collaboration (Kramer, Parkhurst and Vaidyanathan, 2009). A comprehensive set of shared measurements for evaluating success across all participant individuals and organizations, using a common language, facilitates interdependence of participants one another. Emerging technology, such as comparative performance systems, enable participants to report on the same measures using the same definitions and methodologies, which can be used to collect data across the field (Kramer, Parkhurst and Vaidyanathan, 2009). More complex adaptive learning systems allow multiple organizations that are working on different aspects of a single problem to track collective progress, create comparative performance measures and coordinate their efforts (Kramer, Parkhurst and Vaidyanathan, 2009).

Interdependence is also facilitated through the engagement of mutually reinforcing activities meaning that, while not all participants are doing the same thing, each participant is reliant on the work of the others in order to successfully complete their own (Kania and Kramer, 2011). In order to facilitate and coordinate the ongoing activities of the collaborative, the presence of a backbone support organization is important for successful collaboration (Kania and Kramer, 2011; Claiborne and Lawson, 2005).

A backbone organization – sometimes referred to as an intermediary – is a separate organization with a staff skilled at how to orchestrate the various activities, while not overshadowing the work done by the collaborative (Turner, Merchant, Kania and Martin, 2012a; 2012b; 2012c; 2012d). An empirical analysis of the impact of the structure of four mental health networks across the United States on service participant outcomes found that "centralized integration and direct, nonfragmented external control", like that of a backbone organization, was positively associated with successful outcomes for individuals with mental illnesses (Provan et

al., 1995). In this study these types of core agencies, or organizations, provided the necessary function of coordinating the activities of many different organizations in order to positively influence the outcomes for service recipients.

Phase III

The final phase is to sustain the action and impact that was initiated and developed in the first two phases. Sustaining action requires continued alignment to the common agenda, and evaluation along common measures. The backbone organization must continue to play a vital role of providing leadership to keep participants engaged in the collaborative, while also allowing the collective work of the participants to be the focus (Hanleybrown, Kania and Kramer, 2013). It is the challenge of providing centralized leadership without imposing predetermined goals or activities, which should be born from the collaborative process between the participants.

The need for collective impact initiatives to address major social problems such as educational and health disparities and unemployment among others is evident, but how to move toward collective impact is less straightforward. Implicit throughout the phases of building collective impact initiatives is the need for skilled leadership that can set the stage for what is often complicated work that many professionals have not endeavored to do previously. While professional programs excel at teaching discipline-specific knowledge and skills, as well as provide the socialization for those of the same professional to interact, few provide opportunities to learn how to work interdisciplinary.

Additionally, the structure of service systems further exacerbates this as many in the helping professions work in discipline-specific organizations with singular missions. The reality is that those embarking in collective action will be doing it for the first time and therefore lacking expertise and skills to so. All this makes leadership even more imperative. The essential question then becomes can leaders initiate, build and sustain

interprofessional collaborative teams that can make collective impact possible?

LEADERSHIP FOR COLLABORATIVE INTERPROFESSIONAL TEAMS

Leaders must be capable of facilitating, fostering and guiding these budding endeavors. A successful interprofessional leader will: (1) establish a collaborative environment; (2) reimagine the social problem in unbounded ways; (3) develop a shared vision for collective work; and (4) sustain collaborative teams.

Establish a Collaborative Environment

It is highly unlikely and nearly impossible for organizations and professionals coming together for the purpose of collective impact to succeed without first establishing a collaborative environment (Lawson, 2009). The challenges for the interprofessional leader are formidable. Professionals coming together often have had few or sometimes even negative experiences working across professional and organizational boundaries.

Negativity, which breeds mistrust, is more likely in the current accountability-based policy environment. First, organizations are often competing for the same limited financial resources. Market-based competition among even non-profit and governmental entities establishes strong disincentives to collaborate when external organizations are viewed as competitors. Second, many professionals, who are struggling to manage the complexity of social problems in isolation, deflect blame by placing it in other parts of the system among other groups of professionals. This strategy is imperative for professionals fearing consequences in the era of neoliberal performance management. The mindset of needing "to cover"

oneself can come at the expensive of trusting others, even within the same organization, let alone those that are external.

To further complicate this situation, the interprofessional nature means that professionals are coming with their own discipline-specific orientations and language systems. Consequently, professionals will have different perspectives and understandings about the nature of the problems at hand. Further, communicating about those differences are then complicated as each uses its own highly specialized and technical language.

The parable of the blind people and the elephant comes to mind (Hovmand, 2014). As the parable goes, each blind person is focused on a different part of the elephant. The person with the tusk describes an elephant as sharp and pointy like a spear (Hovmand, 2014). Another with an ear may describe an elephant as flat and thin like a fan. And so on with each different part of the elephant (Hovmand, 2014). Each is not completely wrong though if asked to describe an elephant and how it functions, each is missing the totality of the elephant (Hovmand, 2014). Such is the nature of much of the professional practice in the current service environment. It is not the consequence of an intentional refusal to work together, rather the function of many acting blindly without structure to bring them together to collectively understand the function of the elephant. Initial efforts to do so often bring discomfort. After all, it can be far less overwhelming to view a part of the elephant than to begin to appreciate the full elephant. This is particularly true when one considers situations like the Gilmore family face in the case study.

Additionally, this work is usually coming above and beyond the typical workload and responsibilities for many professionals. Though engaging in this work may deliver long-term benefits not only for the populations and communities served, but also for the professionals doing the work who may feel more empowered and agentic in their roles; the short-term is often difficult and time-consuming work. Positive outcomes can take months and years to be realized, meanwhile professionals are being asked to engage in uncertain and complex work. Though tempting to believe one can appeal to the good nature of those in the helping professions, as previously noted,

burnout and secondary traumatization have real consequences. Many professionals are already overwhelmed managing their day-to-day demands. The emotional labor required to enact and participate in a new working paradigm is significant and cannot be ignored by the interprofessional leader.

Building rapport and trust among members is usually the first task for interprofessional leaders and one that is reoccurring. Relationships should never be taken for granted and there is no endpoint to building them. Rather, it is an ongoing process that parallels the work of the team. Trust work can begin by co-constructing team norms and processes for how to work together (Lawson, 2009). Lawson (2009) offers suggested norms that facilitate a healthy team culture, including communicating in strengths-based and action-oriented ways as well as using language that is understandable and accessible to everyone (e.g., avoid the use of acronyms or references to specialized technical terms). Although, each team is going to vary in its desired norms and approaches to working together, the intention is for team norms to be organically derived and co-constructed collectively across all members. This act not only brings clarity in expectations about how to act and treat others, the process of creating these norms together is the first step toward relational building.

The role of the interprofessional leader is not to dictate norms, rather, it is to facilitate a process where each team member has equal opportunity to participate in the co-construction of the culture and constructs for collaborative engagement. Interprofessional leaders may start by engaging members in a conversation about teamwork and their experiences in the past with similar working relationships. It can be constructive to generate ideas around two types of experiences – when teamwork has gone wrong and when it has gone right. Given that appropriate structure and skilled leadership often lacks in teamwork, most can easily share negative experiences. If it is difficult to generate conversation around good teams, consider thinking about aspects of teams that have been successful or productive. Encourage the team to brainstorm the ideal team and use that to inform a conversation about what the norms of this team should be.

The interprofessional leader must also attend to the emotional labor that comes with participation in collaborative work, which can be challenging and nuanced. Due to their personal and professional orientations, some may come to the team attuned to how things like emotional burnout and secondary traumatization may impact them and their work (Borntrager et al., 2012). Some may have supports in place at their home organization to address the effects, which has been shown to buffer the emotional strain that can come in working with demanding populations (Grandey, Foo, Groth, and Goodwin, 2012). It is likely many do not. It can often be productive to introduce these topics to the team. The more professionally skilled and experientially savvy members can be drawn on as supports for the rest. The experience of this author has been that many professionals find it extremely validating to have these discussions as they have often been struggling alone believing feelings of emotional overwhelm are unique to them. Providing a level of basic awareness can be a powerful first step. Depending on the receptivity of the team, incorporating a regular practice involving check-ins with members at the start of each meeting can be supportive. This could be as simple as holding space for those to speak up about the triumphs and challenges since the last team meeting, or a formalized approach where each may reflect more intentionally with a partner or in written form.

Finally, a related but separate activity that can facilitate a collaborative environment is to provide professionals with the opportunity and encourage them to reflect on their own positionalities. These can and should include professional orientation but may also include other identities held by members such as race/ethnicity, gender, culture and others, which shape and influence their perspectives. This may be incorporated into initial conversations as team members introduce each other, though providing reoccurring opportunities to constantly reflect on their standpoint can be helpful to short circuit the entrenchment that can occur when team members take sides on issues and talk past one another. Continually reflecting on one's standpoints and listening to others, can bring about a more thoughtful and deeper way of understanding oneself and those one works with.

The opportunities suggested here serve two benefits. First, they offer opportunities for concrete learning and reflection on the part team members. This learning develops tangible skills that support collaboration and begin shifting from siloed mindsets with narrow views of practice to ones conducive to expansive ways of thinking and doing. The second benefit comes from the team co-learning together. Professional training programs provide few opportunities to think and learn with those from other disciplines. This process is intended to build relationships and construct a team culture and rapport.

Reimage the Social Problem in Unbounded Ways

As the team develops, the interprofessional leader must offer opportunities for members to reimage problems in unbounded ways, which sets the stage considering new and innovative solutions. This begins with identifying and loosening the mental models that all professionals hold in order to perform their jobs. Mental models are necessity to daily life in that they help understand and make sense of a complicated world (Hovmand, 2014; Senge, 1999). They are used in professional settings, but also in day-to-day life to help make mundane decisions about commuting to work or preparing dinner. For example, commuting to work requires a basic idea about how long it takes and variables that could lengthen or shorten that time. At their core, models enable planning and decision making Constructed by implicit beliefs and assumptions about how things work (Hovmand, 2014), models are shaped by lived experiences as well as from formal learning and training.

Given this, professionals are socialized into discipline-specific mental models used to diagnose and address problems. Having and using models is neither inherently positive nor negative. In fact, as described, models are necessary to simplify in order to navigate through complexity. The danger of mental models comes when they either become stuck and unchanging, especially in light of evidence that might suggest these models are flawed (Hovmand, 2014). Models can also become problematic when

professionals bring them to bear on problems for which the model is not adequately designed to address. This can be an easy trap for professionals who have their pet models based on current disciplinary knowledge. The absence of a better model, and with the pressure to act and do most in the helping professions face, models designed for technical problems are regularly applied to what is often wicked. It is as the saying from Abraham Maslow goes, "if all you have is a hammer, everything is a nail."

All members will come to the team experience with their own mental models based on personal values and experiences, as well as those formed in their discipline-specific training and practice. The goal is to unearth them and bring to light what is often left unacknowledged and unspoken. There is no single or easy path to surfacing implicit assumptions. Sometimes they are so ingrained it is difficult to detect them even with careful consideration; however, the basic approach is to begin articulating how one understands something to work and communicating it to others.

The power of interprofessional teams is the opportunity to bring together those with diverse mental models. In this environment, professionals share their own understandings, as well as hear from others. The hearing from others serves as a contrast to one's own understandings. It serves as a reminder that what is often taken as fact may actually be based more in belief and opinion. However, the interprofessional leader may want to consider how convening a more diverse set of stakeholders will further enhance this professional learning experience. For example, beyond having diverse professionals in the room, it can be important to include those from the neighborhood/community who are impacted by pressing social issues (e.g., families, youth). These stakeholders bring with them the benefit of their lived experience, which can insert reality into conversations with professionals who may have mental models based more in disciplinary understandings than how something operates in a complicated social environment. For example, going back to the case study, it is highly likely families like the Gilmores have a better understanding of the dynamics of their life than the professionals who interact with them (and only in portions of their life). It is quite possible

the source of social adversity is quite different than how professional may imagine it to be based on their narrower perspectives.

A useful approach is to begin exploring the social issues that brought the team together. In this author's experience, it is useful to first encourage professionals to think on their own initially. Ask them to commit this thinking to paper. Diving into team discussion first runs the risk that professionals will automatically norm their responses to each other. The idea of "groupthink" a bigger risk as different or dissenting voices are less likely to be heard. In team settings, there can be a tendency for members to automatically search for consensus rather than taking the time to explore the nuances of how their thinking differs only to have these conflicts in thinking surface later. Committing it to paper forces each to more clearly articulate for each other (as well as themselves) what and how they think.

It can be helpful for individuals to use visuals to map their models, which not only serves as a method to self-clarify thought processes, but also as a tool for presenting those thought processes to the rest of the team. Simple diagrams may chart a sequence of events or components that explain how one understands a problem to occur. Sometimes formal mapping tools like casual loop diagrams (Angelstam et al., 2013; Hovmand, 2014) can be generative. Though these diagrams can be complex when paired with technical knowledge used in formal modeling, the basic idea of causal loop diagram can facilitate productive discussion. The purpose is to use it to get team members thinking individually and communicating to each other.

In casual loop diagrams, components of an issue are identified and arranged in a way (using arrows) that explains how they operate and interact with each other (Hovmand, 2014; Hjorth and Bagheri, 2006). The assumption is that components of each problem do not interact in a linear way, such as A → B → C, rather causal chains are assumed to be the structure beyond the issue where components interact dynamically, so A may impact B, which impacts C and that feeds back into A (Pender and Bagheri, 2006). The models can be simple loops or a set of loops that each interact with each other. In this author's experience, when professionals are offered a few basics of how causal loop diagrams can be used and how to

draw them, they find the exercise stimulating and thought provoking. Many accessible tools exist to learn more about these diagrams and how to use them in simple ways that unlock complex ideas and thinking. For more information, see the works cited here as well as web-based resources including the Systems Thinker (http://www.systemsthinker.com) and the Social System Design Lab at the Brown School at Washington University in St. Louis (https://socialsystemdesignlab.wustl.edu/).

Whether informal sketches or causal loop diagrams are used, the process of asking individuals to reflect on their own understanding of a problem and presenting their models to others is often a productive beginning. From there, working in pairs or smaller sub-teams to combine models into a joint model of the problem assists with softening the rigid and narrow perspectives brought by each individual alone. These joint models can then be presented by each pair or small team to the larger team. The interprofessional leader can facilitate a conversation around the similarities and differences, and strengths and limitations of each model.

At this point, it can be useful to encourage the team to reflect on what questions these models raise that need answering and what might be missing across these models. For example, what other information/data or stakeholders may need to be represented in this discussion. As additional information is gathered and more stakeholders are invited, the cycle of combining and refining the model is pursued until the team has a single model inclusive of all perspectives. Again, this can be achieved with causal loop diagramming, though any combination of writing and visual tools can be used so long as they are understandable and accessible to the team.

Develop Shared Vision for Collective Work

At this point in its development, the interprofessional team has honed sophisticated abilities to work together thanks to the guidance and facilitation of the leader. Initial efforts to build trust and relationships is ongoing and strengthening as the team experienced some initial success in orientating themselves in how they want to work together and engaging in

co-learning exercises where they developed an appreciation about each other and themselves. The suggested process described above for identifying and loosening mental models often provides a hook that gets many excited about the potential for learning and subsequent action that can occur among this team. Members are now well positioned to think critically about what their shared vision or joint understanding of their purpose will be including their goals, objectives and activities (Senge, 1999).

There can be considerable enthusiasm at this point with members thinking ambitiously about what they want to accomplish as a team and how they can achieve the desired objective. The downside of outsized ambition is the potential to easily overwhelm the time and capabilities of the team. Charting an unrealistic vision can lead to failure as the team is not yet positioned to achieve what it may wish to do, which results in loss of the effort up to this point. In this situation, it is often necessary for the interprofessional leader to help remind the team to balance resources with desires. Identifying an initial focus that is modest can help the team achieve initial successes in a smaller timeframe that helps facilitate greater team buy-in as well as potentially attract more resources. It also gives the team practice with constructing activities in ways that foster interdependence among the members, which for most will be a new experience.

From the problems identified, the team may wish to engage in conversation, facilitated by leadership, about what issues might be priorities and where they may enter the complicated system that they spent weeks (possibly months) mapping. The interprofessional leader may want to ask the team if there is more information, they would need in order to decide how to enter this problem and what should be their guiding vision. For example, asking, is it possible that any stakeholders have been left out at this point? Does the team want to encounter a more systematic way of gathering data, particularly from the community, such as a survey or possibly key informant interviews with others knowledgeable who have not yet been involved in the endeavor? Ultimately, any potential data collection combined with a similar process of individual and collective

reflection can help move the team toward a shared vision for their purpose and approach. Again, providing members with the opportunity for both individual and team discussion provides for a more intentional and thoughtful process that will better surface minority opinions.

Sustain Collaborative Interprofessional Teams

The activities undertaken by the interprofessional leader as described above are cyclical. The team will continually need to learn in order to revisit, revise and develop deeper understandings of issues to address. The scope and depth of their work will likely expand as small successes can establish the foundation for more ambitious community-wide change. The two goals for the interprofessional leader to effectively sustain collaborative interprofessional teams are to: (1) foster a team that can learn; and (2) prepare the team for the turbulence that will come with change (e.g., members leave, new members join, community needs shift, crisis).

The literature on learning organizations emphasized that to become a learning team, professionals require the time, resources, incentives and supportive supervisory structures that provide an environment in which collaborative practice is actively encouraged (Lawson, 2009). The suggestions for the interprofessional leader discussed so far are intended to provide many of those supports. The image of Senge's learning organization comes to mind. In learning organizations professionals:

> *…continually expand their capacity to create the results they truly desire, where new and expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured, where collective aspiration is set free, and where people are continually learning how to learn together* (Senge, 1999, p. 3).

According to Senge (1999), there are five conditions for a learning organization. First, personal and organizational learning must become intertwined so that each individual's personal vision, as well as the current reality in the organization, is clearly identified in order to promote a

creative tension or what Senge identifies as "personal mastery." Second, as an organization there must be constant reflection on developing an awareness of the perceptions that shape the organization's view of the world or an established practice of challenging "mental models." Third, individuals in the organization must share a mutual purpose or "shared vision" for where the organization will go. Fourth, dialogue and discussion among individuals is essential. "Team learning" can be harnessed so that the collective energy and talents within the organization are fully realized. Finally, the organization must adopt "systems thinking" in order to better understand the interdependency of the problems faced by the organization and the nature of the problems as circular and dynamic. This challenge dominates limited and linear thinking.

Each of these five conditions has underpinned the approach taken thus far to leading the interprofessional team. By positioning the team to do initial learning, the interprofessional leader supported the team by facilitating the scaffolding needed to learn. The ability to learn through shared processes also enables the team to weather the changing and shifting landscape they will inevitably encounter. Now that that the members have experience with cycles of inquiring and learning with an emphasis on unbounded and systematic ways of thinking, it can be useful to revisit the norms and approaches initially established by the team. The interprofessional leader can periodically encourage the team to revisit the processes and consider the ways in which these norms continue to work (or not) and how they might be adapted. It is possible the norms initially set will need to be revised so that the team can institutionalize the systems thinking they are acquiring in their work together.

LEADERSHIP FOR POLICY CHANGE

Though the focus of this chapter has been on how to lead the work of an interprofessional team from within the team, many more factors outside the functioning of the team impact its ability carry out its work. The reality is that many policy barriers exist which can undermine, complicate or even

prohibit collaborative approaches to solving social problems. Here the interprofessional leader may also wish to engage in additional advocacy leadership to shift the policy environment within their community so that it better supports this work.

Policy Barriers to Interprofessional Collaboration

Aside from willing participating organizations, those who champion the work and skilled leadership, Hanleybrown, Kania and Kramer (2013) also point to the need for adequate financial resources. Unfortunately, much of the funding mechanisms at the federal and state levels tend to reinforce the separation of organizations and services. For example, in the case of youth and families, there are dedicated funding streams for education, health and mental health care, child welfare and others. Funding is then attached to unique regularly mechanisms and accountability outcomes.

The reality for many organizations and professionals in them is that while they may support and be encouraged by innovative collective impact approaches, they also need to keep the doors open of their organization. Not surprisingly, organizations and professionals are responsive to the incentives created in policy. Developing trust and interrelated mutuality is more challenging when each organization's existence is truly dependent on separated and siloed funding streams. Funding from private foundations (or even government funded grants) could be one answer in terms of offering the type of flexible startup funding necessary to finance these endeavors, though it still remains difficult when the core funding for the operation of the organizations involved remains separated. These startup funds may offer nothing more than an opportunity to finance a lot of meetings, but with few tangible outcomes because the policy incentives persist in reinforcing the silos.

Another challenge is the current accountability-based funding and regulatory mechanisms (e.g., new public management) where outcome metrics are often tied to punitive or corrective measures. This makes it

exceedingly difficult for organizations at the local level to innovate beyond what is demanded of federal or state level policy makers. Again, like funding, if an organization is not meeting the mark in terms of mandated outcomes, it can expect anything ranging from funding losses to interventions like corrective action plans intended to put them on the path to achieving state desired outcome measures. Additionally, the infrastructure of the current service delivery system is challenged. Given that each organization is accountable to separate regulatory bodies with separate outcome measures, the data systems and other infrastructure supporting the work done by the organizations remains separate, though their integration can support shared goals and objectives. It is difficult to easily share and track information across different organization, particularly those from different sectors. Again, undermining the effort to attempt to be a team that learns by investing and tracking common goals and objectives.

Policy Advocacy

Interprofessional leaders could also consider the ways in which they can play a role in advocating for policy change. To frame these advocacy efforts, the interprofessional leader can draw on the growing complexity of social problems. As noted by Lawson (2009), forces within the policy environment, including the recognition that social problems are increasingly "co-occurring and interlocking," as well as the shift toward greater accountability for outcomes, also encourages movement toward collective impact collaboration. These policy forces can be thought as developing the "urgency for change," which provides the motivation to encourage innovative partnerships and collaborations (Hanleybrown, Kania and Kramer, 2013). This can assist with providing policy makers with compelling reasons as to why reconsidering how to approach social issues is imperative.

A few recommendations could be considered by the interprofessional leader. First, transforming the issue-specific focus of current policy

discussions to ones that are population- or community-specific. Shifting the vantage point of the "problem" can facilitate a shift in mindset among policy makers that is needed to reorient programs, funding policies and regulation. Rather than thinking of young people or families in terms of the various problems associated with youth – effective education, adequate health and mental health care, welfare protection, etc. – taking the strengths-based perspective of framing policy discussions around promoting healthy youth development and families could be a way to unite many different types of issues and the requisite organizations/ professionals. The interprofessional leader could serve a key role in bringing together separate advocacy campaigns (all a youth focus) around a common agenda for the purpose of also infusing that into the organization of federal and state funding and regulatory mechanisms. Ultimately, interprofessional leaders can push to have public funding streamlined around populations (youth and families) rather than professional domains (e.g., education, health/mental health, child welfare, etc.) as is the current arrangement.

Second, another funding approach would to advocate for the coordination of public funds and private charitable or foundation funds in order to multiply the per dollar impact, which can provide the initial funding necessary for fledgling collaborations and partnerships. Third, congruent with the streamlining of public funding (and coordinating different types of funding streams) creating (at the federal and state level) streamlined reporting and accountability measures is key. Investments in technology that allow for the use of common measures, tracking of common data and collective evaluation would support the work of interprofessional teams. Finally, dismantling regulatory restrictions to promote organizations moving to even more sophisticated types of collaboration as the team matures (e.g., co-locating services or organizations together) could be ideal. Yet, capital investments for these types of activities can be prohibitive, in addition to regulations that can complicate multi-use of certain types of facilities like schools or child serving organizations.

CONCLUSION

This chapter provides a practical guide for the new interprofessional leader. Approaches and techniques are offered to effectively foster cross-disciplinary and interprofessional teams. Included among these: building trust and rapport; attending to the emotional labor inherent to this type of work; unbinding the confines of siloed professional views on social problems; developing a shared vision for collective work; and fostering ongoing learning within the team. However, collaborative teams function best when they are responsive to the unique needs and context of each community and set of organizations and professionals. Though these practices offer inspiration and guidance, they do not replace the knowledge local interprofessional leaders have about their community and team. Embrace these approaches as a starting point and to the extent that they move the team forward and adapting them when they limit success. Ultimately, as an interprofessional leader, identify the inherent strengths in the team and draw on them. Emphasize trust, rapport and relationships as they are the lifeblood for collaboration and must be preserved. This means honoring the perspectives of those involved and focusing on building consensus slowly over time, so it is inclusive and democratic, even if that makes for slow processes. It is likely to be more effective and sustainable.

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Chapter 3

THE MUSEUM COMMUNICATION: BETWEEN AN OBJECT AND A VISITOR

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ABSTRACT

The past reflected in museum objects is aestheticized and endowed with modern attributes due to the new forms of museum items' perception and interpretation. It becomes important to study the practice of perception of new digital images by the museum audience, as mass culture and Internet replication of artworks blur the boundaries between an original work and its electronic copy. The communication between the museum object/exhibit and the visitor is changing significantly; the role of a museum curator creating historical and cultural context at the museum exposition is also changing. The visitor becomes a consumer of scientific and spiritual knowledge, which becomes a museum product or a museum service. This essay considers the key modern issues of museum communication, either communication between a visitor and an object, or between a visitor and a museum professional (curator, museum educator,

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guide, volunteer exhibition mediator, etc.). These issues are: participatory culture in museums, digital replication of items, museum interactivity and mediation. The intention to give to the public the possibility of free and aesthetically uncontrolled interpretation of art is reflected finally in sophisticated curatorial projects which main aim is symbiosis or dialog of classical and contemporary art in the museum context.

Keywords: museum, participatory culture, contemporary art, curating, curatorial projects, exhibition, aesthetics, interpretation, tradition

INTRODUCTION

Culture arises on the basis of an image. In the museum model of cognition a visible image of human existence reaches unprecedented actualization as the world of things. The modern society is changing priorities in the activities of museum as a cultural institution. It requires full openness of all funds and archives (there are open storages, virtual catalogues of collections, digitization of archival documents and library collections). The emphasis on the openness and the accessibility of memory institutions is gradually replacing the essential values of their activities: storage and protection. But what becomes mass and accessible, is then devalued and might become a consumer product for everyone, for a certain average visitor, without a personality and the past. The introduction of digital visual technologies, the use of augmented reality changes the perception of an original museum object by the visitors, replacing it with various reproductions and virtual images. A new museum visual culture in the age of "museum boom" creates a new type of image – secondary, always available digitally, opened to all kinds of professional or profane interpretation. Therefore, one of the main research tasks in the framework of museum communication and museum education today involves the study of the new phenomena of "visual thinking," "interactivity," "mediation," "media reception." In the recent decades, museology has been actively conducting research within the framework of the concept of "participatory culture." Its main idea is to build fundamentally new forms

of relations with the museum audience using strategies of involving communities in direct participation in the museum activities. A visitor can independently actuate the "glossary," which gives simple explanations of words and concepts reflected in exhibition items, can use informative audiovisual programs, logical or didactic games. It is probably necessary to study not only the positive results of participatory culture, but also the emerging risks and transformations of the quality of museum communication. Other important aspects of museum communication, besides participatory culture, are digital replication of museum objects, interactivity in museum, the issue of curatorial conceptions, demonstrating contemporary art in the dialog with old masters' works. The relevant exhibition projects give visitors an opportunity of broader interpretation and less restricted communication with art objects, both traditional and contemporary. The modern existence and understanding of an exhibit in the museum educational, exhibition and storage activities is demonstrated in this essay on the examples of museums in Moscow and St. Petersburg: the State Hermitage Museum, the State Russian Museum, the Peterhof Museum-reserve, the Tretyakov gallery, the A.S. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts.

PARTICIPATORY CULTURE IN MUSEUMS

The communication approach remains one of the top issues in the modern museology. In Russia, it became widespread in the 1980s, but still there is a discussion among experts about the content of this concept. N. Samarina suggests the following definition: "Museum communication is the process of communication between the museum audience and cultural heritage, accumulating the experience of material activity, spiritual research and traditional culture, as of an individual and of the mankind in general" (Samarina 2103). A. Smirnov believes that the modern museum communicative theory is "self-contained," i.e., does not refer to experience gained in other areas of socio-cultural activities and cultural policy, and it does not seek active scientific interaction with these areas (Smirnov 2016).

The emergence of modern phenomenon of participatory practice in museums is contrary to this opinion, as the study of this practice involves aspects of social media, local communities psychology, mediation methods, etc. Participatory culture is one of the most quickly developing communicative strategies in museums today. The theory of museum participatory culture, associated with a new type of relationship between the museum and the audience, is considered in the works of E. Giaccardi, N. Simon, H. Jenkins, and others (Giaccardi 2012; Simon 2010; Jenkins 2009).

The main aim of museum participatory culture is to create methods of collective memories and experiences' construction in connection to museum heritage in the local community. In the same time, the modern media, as well as web sites of cultural institutions, are insistently promoting a different image of museum as a leisure center. For example, the website of the Tretyakov Gallery has a section "Visitors," which gives sufficient information about addresses, travel plans, ticket prices, benefits, tickets online, photography, tours (individual and group), audio guide, mobile tools, museum shops, restaurants and cafes, lost and found, etc. At the same time, the site has very little information about museum collections and their history, there is no complete data about the museum departments and workers, and there is only one list of scientific and popular publications about the museum since the late 1990s.

Still more effective than digital image of the museum are interactivity programs and exhibitions, allowing visitors to have more complex and vivid impression about museum objects. Among such projects is an exhibition at the Saint Petersburg Museum of Bread entitled *Bread in the Culture of the Eastern Slavs* in 2018. The method of the exhibition construction was thematic, using different materials on the culture of the Slavs. The type of research and curatorial approach can be called "encyclopedic," because its intention was to visually present a huge research material from mythology to folklore, from the ritual to the elements of traditions of everyday culture of the ancient Slavs. The knowledge of the true museum object at the exhibition could be received with the help of an interactive screen. Besides, the real experience could be

gained by the visitor using a real Russian ancient stove, a layout of a mill, bakeware in one of the museum halls. There were also players in the form of pipes, where one can press the button and let the sounds of Russian village songs pour from it. It obviously supplemented ethnographic knowledge, which information potential in this case was not hidden from the visitor, as usually happens when there is only scant information on the label.

The researchers believe that "The concept of museum is changing, it is becoming wider than just interaction and transfer of cultural or historical content of collections to the audience. The communication system is infinitely more complex, every voice matters and there is no need for unanimity" (Kopeljanskaja 2015). For example, one of the methods of participatory culture offers visitors to find in museum expositions so called "social objects" – objects that stimulate the exchange of the visitors' views and establishing new contacts.

An example of effective participatory practice in museum is a long-lasting activity of the School Centre of the Hermitage. School children not only attend art lessons or draw the museum's exhibits, but take part in theatrical performances, quests, thematic exhibitions in the museum. Sometimes children's drawings depicting museum items hang on the walls of the Hermitage near their real prototypes. Not only children of St. Petersburg, who attend the Centre, but their parents, some of whom also studied there in the childhood, take part in the Centre's activities and form a very special local community closely connected with the Hermitage.

Among special museum projects, which are aimed at studying the relations between museums and the local community, is an interdisciplinary project "Integration of Russian Museums in the Regional Socio-cultural Space," currently implemented by the Russian Institute of Cultural Studies in Moscow and the Institute of History of the Siberian branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Novosibirsk. The researchers support their reasoning by a number of factors, including the fact that "In the museum of post-industrial society, the visitor is not a passive contemplator, but an active participant in the communication

process, and even the form of obtaining information can be determined by the visitor" (Kaulen 2012).

If information about each original exhibit on the museum web site or on the label is minimal, the rich thematic collections of the museum and their scientific value remain "hidden" from the visitor. The examples given in this chapter are a reflection of only a small part of contradictions that arise today in the field of museum communication and significantly affect the perception of the museum object by the visitor. To participate in the museum activities for a visitor means not only to have a possibility to touch or move objects, but to have access to all sorts of digital or practical tools to obtain and exchange information about museum objects.

MUSEUM INTERACTIVITY AND ART MEDIATION VS DIGITAL MUSEUM

Modern electronic and information technologies have been actively used in Russian museums, archives and libraries since the early 1990s. The leader in this area is the State Hermitage Museum, which has been using digital technologies in interaction with the visitors for several decades. The State Russian Museum held a special Round table "Digitization of Cultural Heritage" in 2017, where various issues of digitization of cultural heritage objects were considered. Digital technologies allow museums to exhibit works of art outside their walls, in cases when the transfer of objects is difficult or impossible. Digital scanning and modern high-tech methods of large-format printing (primarily photo printing) make it quite easy to obtain almost full-format copies of exhibits, including those that were previously kept in storages and known only to specialists. In the same time, the level of scientific information in online catalogues of museum collections is lower than in printed catalogues. The openness of professional interpretations is replaced by a free hypothetical dialog of the user with a computer image. The passionate desire of a mass visitor to get satisfaction from the availability of museum funds online is a priority in comparison with the availability of new reliable historical and cultural

information about items (Marty 2007; Parry 2013). The perception of a digital image of a museum object is radically different from the perception of an object in reality, due to different psychological, social, sensual, mental factors (Bearman 2004). In addition, the perception of museum items in reality makes our individual experience unique and invaluable.

Computer replication suggests all ways of random interpretation in the mind of a digital collection viewer. On the contrary, interactive programs and art mediation in museums are closely connected with real museum exposition and real items. They enable visitors to receive, though sometimes in a ludic form, true and competent information about objects, as well as about their connection with global evolution of art, history and culture. The culture of participation in museums requires development of various interactive programs, which provoke the audience to participate actively in the real museum space (Black 2012; Adams 2004; Witcomb 2006). For example, in the State Museum-reserve Tsarskoye Selo works an interactive program "As the old fairy tale says..." based on the fairy tale of P. Bazhov. The participants, mainly children use a special touch table to make a virtual journey to Ural, where are fields of jasper, by which some rooms of the museum are decorated. After the tour, the children are invited to assemble a mosaic from this semiprecious stone. The program also provides a meeting with the Mistress of the copper mountain, who leads a tour in the museum and helps to create a stone flower, as in the fairy tale. In addition, a popular practice is the creation of a children's game guide, which suggests an interactive multimedia tour with tasks, answers to which are virtual keys, and the tips are among the museum exhibits.

In the museum Alexandrovskaya Sloboda in the city Alexandrov of Vladimir district interactive programs give the visitors the possibility to feel how people lived under Ivan the Terrible. There are different multimedia programs, for example, an interactive map on which one can see how the tsar increased the territory of the Russian State. To ensure that the visitor is not bored, the museum created a project of immersive theater. In the dining room the visitors are invited to sit at the table, enjoy kvass and rye bread, baked according to a medieval recipe and discuss the procedure of receiving ambassadors by the tsar. Notwithstanding of the

popularity of such practice, it is not always possible to justify the desire of museums to create interactive programs, as they demonstrate the lack of genuine historical knowledge, replacing it with a kind of an artistic act. Today, there are fully interactive museums, most often the research museums, in which there are no genuine objects of history and culture, in fact, they do not perform the function of museum storage. The exposition of these museums consists of either copies of, or of interactive panels that show the basic information about the museum. However, this type of museum is becoming more attractive to visitors, as it involves them in direct interaction, contrasting itself with archaic forms of classical museum with exhibits "behind the glass." From the concept of interactive museum it is not far to the idea of "museum without objects."

An example of successful implementation of interactive museum in Russia is the Jewish Museum and Tolerance Center, which was opened in Moscow in 2012. The museum information is extensively presented through multimedia technologies and interactive elements, including audiovisual exhibits, a circular 4D cinema screen, holograms, touch panels and many other technologies that allow visitors to immerse themselves in the history of the Jewish people.

Interactive practices and art mediation in the sphere of contemporary art raise a significant question of aesthetic evaluation of postmodern artworks: the question of distinguishing art from non-art and the rationale for the criteria for this distinction or the lack of it (Bishop 2014; Danto 2003; Scott 2012). In connection with the issue of aesthetic judgement, the museum space for contemporary art exhibitions has acquired great importance. The "protected space" of a museum involves not only the hypothetical protection of curators and artists from unflattering criticism, but also the direct protection of works in a well-equipped and secured space, where artifacts are forbidden to touch, move, spoil, too loudly discussed. Even radical artistic practices of actionism, performance and happening were initially carried out in the protected space of museums and galleries. But the need for interactivity and art mediation (which includes criticism and judging objects) violates these principles of protection. The role of art mediator here is to control the random opinions and activities of

the visitors, to explain artworks professionally, to give the viewers the basic knowledge of the art present. The characteristics of the curator and the viewer as the author and addressee allow to reveal the mechanisms of the educational role of the curatorial project in such areas as museum pedagogy or art mediation (De Backer 2014; Leinhardt 2003). The pedagogical role of art mediation is referred to in the issues on critical reception and interpretation of art and the curators' communicative role (Mckay 2007; O'Neill 2010; Cunliffe 1990; Rice2002). During *Manifesta 10*, the practice of art mediation, based on the principle of active dialogue between a mediator and a viewer at the exhibition, had been effectively applied in the State Hermitage museum.

THE DIALOG BETWEEN CONTEMPORARY ART AND CLASSICAL ART IN MUSEUM CURATORIAL PROJECTS

Participatory culture in museum demonstrates its belonging to the Barthensian tradition of the "end of the author," which shifts the burden of museum projects' implementation and interpretation to the public. To take part in a project for a viewer means to appropriate some key features of its authorship. Curatorial and exposition projects appear in this situation as analogues to the "open work" of Umberto Eco, which allows all sorts of reception and interpretation. In the last two decades, museum exhibition curators often suggest controversial counterpart or symbiosis of classical and contemporary art in a single exhibition project (Piotrovsky 2017). Such projects enable visitors to experience absolutely new impressions of the old masters, as well as of contemporary artworks.

Among the abovementioned projects are exhibitions of Francis Bacon and Jan Fabre at the Hermitage made by analogy with exhibitions of these artists in Vienna and Paris and representing contemporary art in the context of the art of old masters. In 2014-2015, the State Hermitage Museum presented in the General Staff building the project *Francis Bacon and the Legacy of the Past*, prepared jointly with the Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts of the *University of East Anglia* and curated by Thierry Morel and

Elisabeth Renne. The exhibition was not the first in which the works of Francis Bacon (1909-1992) were presented in the context of tradition. Earlier, in 2003-2004, at the Kunsthistorisches Museum of Vienna, and later at the Foundation Beyeler, the exhibition *Francis Bacon and the Tradition of Art* had been organized by the Beyeler Foundation and curated by Barbara Steffen.

For the Hermitage exhibition *Francis Bacon and the Legacy of the Past* the Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts gave thirteen paintings of Francis Bacon, originating from the private collection of Lisa and Robert Sainsbury. In addition, there were works of the artist and the old masters' canvases from the Tate Gallery in London, Art Gallery and Museum in Aberdeen, Yale Center for British Art in New Haven, USA, the Gallery Hugh Lane in Dublin and private collections. For example, continuing the series of images, which were the source of borrowings in the paintings of Francis Bacon, was exhibited *The Portrait of Pope Innocent X* by Diego Velazquez. The exhibition was complemented by works from the collection of the State Hermitage also represented as a source of quotations and allusions in the works of Francis Bacon: artworks of Ancient Egypt, Ancient Greece, Renaissance, paintings of Velazquez, Rembrandt, Matisse. The pose of *The Crouching Boy* by Michelangelo from the collection of the Hermitage repeated the pose of its paraphrase in the Bacon's painting *Two Figures in a Room* (1959) from the collection of the Sainsbury Centre. The painting depicts a lapidary figure resembling *The Crouching Boy*, which partially covers the other underlying body resembling the figure of *The Day* or *The Night* made by Michelangelo, as well as *The Crouching Boy*, for the Medici Chapel in Florence. The Hermitage provided for the exhibition the 16th century terracotta copies of these sculptures, for full compliance of the sources of borrowing,

Earlier, in 2004, the exhibition *Francis Bacon and the Tradition of Art* in Vienna presented about 40 works by Francis Bacon in comparison with the same number of works by artists who were the sources of inspiration for Bacon – the author of famous pictorial interpretations of paintings by prominent representatives of art from Renaissance to modernism: Titian,

Velázquez, Rembrandt, Francisco Goya, J.-A.-D. Ingres, Edgar Degas, Vincent Van Gogh, Pablo Picasso, Chaim Soutine (Seipel 2003).

The exhibition project by the guest curator Barbara Steffen has offered the audience several interesting parallels of the old masters' works and Bacon. For example, the exhibition visitors had the opportunity to compare the painting *Oedipus and the Sphinx* (1826) by Ingres with its replica by Bacon (1983), where an oddly-looking shaven-headed athlete with a bandaged leg gazes at a primitively shaped statue of the Sphinx.

The exhibitions of Francis Bacon's works in the context of traditional art detected qualities of palimpsest inherent to the creative manner of the artist. The palimpsest-like text on the surface of the old, erased one – this is the quintessence of Bacon's art. Exhibitions of his works in the classical museum context are a perfect illustration of this approach to the interpretation of tradition. Bacon's intention was not to shock the viewers, but, as C. Nunes argues, to connect his work thematically with the work of the old masters by means of his original artistic language (Nunes 2012).

Comparative series of images gathered for the exhibitions perfectly illustrate Bacon's interpretation of deep qualities of European painting traditions and their implementation in contemporary art, albeit in a more latent, implicit form. The parody and the hard irony of Bacon's images give the possibility to see deep symbolism of iconographic borrowing. The features of imitation, stylization and "replacement of objects" can be considered as derivatives of the postmodern loss of certainty, but main iconographic accents are still present, and curatorial projects allow to determine them, even intuitively, on the basis of visual comparison between the images of Bacon and the corresponding images of the old masters.

The aforementioned projects prove that in the museum practice repetitions of large exhibition projects, even if sometimes they are paraphrases of similar exhibitions, can be original and creative. The history of culture, in general, proves that sometimes, paraphrases can be more successful than the originals.

In 2004-2005, the original interpretation of tradition in the project dedicated to contemporary art, was demonstrated at the exhibition *Robert*

Mapplethorpe and the Classical Tradition. Photographs and Mannerist Prints curated by Germano Celant and Arkady Ippolitov at the State Hermitage museum. The exhibition presented the work of one of the famous photographers of the 20th century Robert Mapplethorpe from the collection of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation and prints of Dutch Mannerists from the collection of the State Hermitage. The neoclassical engravings of the 16th century, where the curators of the exhibition found formal principles similar to those of Mapplethorpe, gave the opportunity to create a specific context to demonstrate Mapplethorpe's works. The idea of the exhibition was revealed through a few basic themes: "The analogy with Mannerism," "The analogy with Antiquity," "Flowers," "The Creation." But complicated symbolic-allegorical connections were not limited to these topics: of primary importance were three symbolic images: the past, the theme of death and the theme of creation. The curators, playing with the idea of similarity of poses and gestures in the photographs of Mapplethorpe and engravings from the Hermitage collection, demonstrated the analogy between understanding of basic myths of Western art by the Dutch Mannerists and Robert Mapplethorpe, whose models – ordinary Americans became in this context the heroes of quasi-antique myth. The theme of the past and the general idea of the exhibition demonstrated a link with tradition, which helped the visitor to connect traditional museum items with contemporary paradigm. The boundaries of modernity and tradition here disguise the process of "eternal return," which takes place in the museum context. The exhibition at the Hermitage followed the curatorial project by Germano Celant at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York in 2004 (Celant 2004).

Among the projects that creatively develop significant ideas of European culture is an exhibition *The Imaginary Museum*, the title of which appealed to a well-known idea of A. Malraux. The exhibition was held at the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow in 2012 and curated by Irina A. Antonova. In this project, the museum reinterpreted one of the most significant Western cultural concepts. The exhibition demonstrated the possibility of approximation to the ideal museum in the context of A. Malraux's reasoning and the realization of such a museum with original

authentic artifacts. During the time of the exhibition the Pushkin Museum added to its exposition lacking, according to the curator Irina Antonova, works from various museums and private collections, including the Louvre, the Pompidou Centre, the Tate Gallery, the Royal Academy in London, the State Hermitage museum, and others. Works from these collections were placed in the museum halls, according to their time, place of origin and style.

Among them were works by artists, that have never been in the collection of the Pushkin museum, i.e., works of Hieronymus Bosch, Frans Hals, El Greco, Gustav Klimt, René Magritte, Jackson Pollock and others. The exhibition demonstrated 46 artworks from 27 public and private collections and museums. They complemented the permanent exposition of the Pushkin museum, giving the public the opportunity to appreciate the museum's collection in the context of global art heritage. This intention was consistent with the desire of the founder of the museum Ivan V. Tsvetaev, who had ordered full size copies of famous classical statues to enable the museum's audience, without leaving Moscow, to get an idea of significant works, such as *David* by Michelangelo.

Of course, the exhibition project in the Pushkin museum was just one of possible incarnations of the "imaginary museum" of Malraux and reflected theoretical views of the Pushkin museum curators in their intention to create a "perfect museum" for the audience.

The popularity of this project is evidenced by the fact that in 2016, the Pushkin museum organized a similar exhibition entitled *Voices of the Imaginary Museum of Andre Malraux*, curated again by Irina Antonova. The exhibition's title is a combination of the title of Malraux's *The Voices of Silence* and the concept of the "imaginary museum," which Malraux revealed in this text.

In 2016, the exhibition of Jan Fabre *Knight of Despair / Warrior of Beauty* at the Hermitage demonstrated again an intention to connect contemporary and traditional art in one project. Curated by Dmitry Ozerkov, the large-scale exhibition was located in the the Winter Palace, the New Hermitage and the General Staff building. The dialog of old masters of Flemish and Dutch schools of painting, as well as the items of

the Knight hall or Apollo hall with Fabre's bizarre artworks made of bugs' shells or dead stuffed animals appeared to be quite unexpected and provocative for the general public. Nevertheless, the project provoked the viewers to reconsider and rediscover traditional artworks in the new context, as well as experience a new turn of the old romantic "aesthetics of ugliness" in the art of Fabre. Earlier, in 2008, the exhibition at the Louvre entitled *Jan Fabre at the Louvre: The Angel of Metamorphosis* demonstrated the similar symbiosis of classical and contemporary art.

In the abovementioned projects, the unexpected context in which the visitors see traditional museum objects forms absolutely unique impressions and experiences of the audience. The experiences can be ambivalent: shocking, enlightening (provoking to gain more information about classical art), positive or negative. In 2015, at the exhibition *Antony Gormley. Upright. Antique and contemporary sculpture* in the halls of Ancient Greek and Roman art at the Hermitage the visitors tried to imitate poses of sculptural figures (both contemporary and classical), though they have never done it here before the Gormley exhibition. These mini-performances and selfie-making, though looking quite banal, helped the public to rediscover the bodily qualities of art, which had been so important for ancient Greek and Roman sculptors.

CONCLUSION

The development of new information technologies has expanded the concept of museum communication, which can be understood as a model of relations in the wider digital field of cultural communication. The abundance of scientific articles and monographs on the problems of modern museum communication considers it in the context of educational museum activities, interactivity, social and mass media and the issue of availability of museum space for different groups of visitors (Hooper-Greenhill 1999; Hooper-Greenhill 2000; Drotner 2014; Sapanzha 2009; Jeong 2006; Gilmore 2002). The same tasks are reflected in the sociological research in the museum context, which today is more about

the level of modern consumer preferences and comfortable conditions for the visitor (Doering 1999; Camarero 2008; Goulding 1999; Camarero 2009). In general, these studies are focused on the analysis of museum intention to motivate the visitor in the process of museum items' cognition, where he or she is an actor in the museum activities or a consumer of museum intellectual products (Wood 2016; Booth 1998). The visitor becomes the center of "cultural policy" not only of the State bodies, but also of memory institutions. The communication model of cultural and educational activities of museums indirectly suggests that there are different levels of interaction between the visitor and the museum collections. Preferable for researchers are those models that are focused primarily on the museum viewer and his/her interaction with the museum space and museum technologies (Bitgood 2016; Falk 2016). It should be noted that there is a transition from the concept of "visitor" to a wider – "audience," including "digital cultural audience." The primary role of the audience (instead of the "museum specialist") in the museum communication process leads to the following situation: features and forms of interaction between the museum employee and the visitor remain generally unexplored today. Of course, it can be argued that all methods of presentation of museum collections and educational programs are created by museum specialists in various fields. But the visitor, independently getting acquainted with the interpretation of a museum object at an exhibition or exposition, does not have an opportunity or a wish to know the professionals' opinion. The communication approach to museum activities emphasizes the research of the audience's intellectual needs, as there are difficulties in the visitors' perception of museum objects or exhibitions' conceptions. For example, the visitors of *Manifesta 10* in the Hermitage often noted in the museum guest book that they would be willing to attend similar exhibitions, but the curatorial conception of the present one had been unclear to them and the content of this contemporary art project was unattractive and sometimes even disgusting. The same should be said about the public reception of complicated curatorial conceptions of exhibitions considered in this essay and dedicated to the work of Francis Bacon, Robert Mapplethorpe, Jan Fabre and Andre

Malraux' idea of imaginary museum. As demonstrated the visitors' opinions in museum guest books, the content of these projects remained understandable only to professionals: art historians, museum workers, students of the relevant humanitarian programs. The modern level of school or university education, the growing influence of information and visual technologies has changed the sphere of interests and priorities of the audience, which caused the problem of adaptation to museum information for the mass visitor and required the search for new forms of communication. If earlier the task of the main forms of work with the audience (excursions, lectures, workshops, etc.) was to educate visitors, to provide them with new knowledge, in a situation where excursions have become a product on the market, their main aim is to meet the expectations of the visitors from the new "product," the use of PR technologies and advertising strategies to attract the audience. Interactive exhibits, open and digitized collections, leisure programs, virtual technologies are perceived by the majority of museum audience as entertainment products that do not require reflection and cognitive efforts. The concept of museum culture has changed dramatically, the need to understand museum has transformed into museum consumption, and a visit to the museum is not different from a visit to a cinema, club, supermarket or entertainment center. The museum should be, first of all, comfortable (shop, cafe, wi-fi, computer class, recreation areas, easiness of getting museum services) and interesting, or rather curious. Such a decrease in the cognitive aspirations of the audience cannot be justified by social, economic or any other priorities. The museum is able and should develop the visitor's sense of pleasure from the process of cognition and reflection, it should demonstrate the difficulties and the impact of scientific knowledge. Therefore, when preparing excursion routes and other educational museum programs, it is necessary to take into account not only the visitor's visual perception of exhibits, but also the level of his/her heuristic abilities. In any case, it is positive to focus on an original museum item, on the development of a slow and detailed acquaintance with the museum objects and the exposition complex. Notwithstanding the difficulties in perception, the experience of museum exhibition projects combining contemporary and classical art to

provoke a visitor to think about their complicated connection and influence is very effective in this regard. Such curatorial projects give visitors the possibility of free and broad interpretation of contemporary artworks and a traditional content of museum collections. To prepare the visitor to comprehend curatorial ideas and museum collections – special texts, visual materials, tests can be placed on museum websites, but they need to be "solved" or explained only at the real exposition. This is especially important for schoolchildren and students whose heuristic abilities are at a high level. Thus, the communicative and educational role of museum is an important quality for developing specific ability of identification and selection of historical and cultural information by the visitor. At the first stage, it is necessary to professionally correct and expand the visitor's knowledge about museum objects, their historical, cultural and symbolic meaning in the modern context.

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Chapter 4

MID-LEVEL LEADERS' CONTAINING ABILITY: A KEY TO ORGANIZATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS

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ABSTRACT

The containing ability in leadership contexts concerns the leader's capacity to perceive, appraise (sensemaking) and contain stimuli from higher hierarchical levels before they are further transmitted (sensegiving) down the hierarchy. The containing function includes a transformation of the message from the higher level so it becomes meaningful to subordinates, without distorting the message. The reverse

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also applies. Leaders must be able to receive and contain stimuli from subordinates and pass them on upwards in a constructive way.

The chapter draws on a general model of indirect leadership and summarizes two empirical studies. The first was questionnaire-based, where data was collected in 2017 among captains and majors/naval lieutenant-commanders at the Swedish Defence University and the Norwegian Defence University. Responses were obtained from 113 officers (67% response rate). The main result was that the containing function sensegiving, in itself as well as combined with general leadership behavior, contributed to a favorable organizational result, including both perceived effectiveness and work satisfaction. The containing function sensemaking contributed to a lower degree.

The aim of the second study was to get a deeper understanding of the intrapsychic aspects of the containing function in leadership, and how they interact with the behavioral aspects. Interviews were conducted in 2018 with 15 mid-level Swedish military officers. The study resulted in an identification of several details related to the containing function in leadership. Examples include the importance of self-discipline to resist impulses to act immediately, and of creating time for analysis of the situation and for preparing arguments related to one's receivers. The study also shows that leaders' handling of the containing function is strongly related to their general leadership. This concerns individual-related aspects, such as the leader's self-confidence and experience, as well as relationship-related aspects, such as the building of relationships upwards and downwards characterized by trust.

A practical conclusion is that mid-level leaders' capacity to handle the containing function can contribute to a coherent organization in the favorable case, and to gaps between higher management and the lower levels in the unfavorable case. We suggest that the containing function can be developed through personal reflection and practice.

Keywords: mid-level leaders, leadership, sensemaking, containing ability, sensegiving, organizational effectiveness

INTRODUCTION

In a leadership context, containing ability is about being able as a leader to perceive, interpret and harbor signals from a higher level before they are passed on downwards in the hierarchy. The harboring includes transforming the message from the higher level in such a way that it

becomes meaningful for employees at lower levels, without the message being corrupted. The reverse also applies. Leaders must be able to receive and harbor signals "from the floor" and pass them on upwards to higher leaders in a constructive manner (Larsson, Lundin & Zander, 2018).

This chapter is about the containing function of leadership, viewed specifically from a mid-level leader perspective. We summarize two empirical studies and point out a number of lessons these have contributed to. However, we begin by presenting a theoretical model of indirect leadership. This is about the leadership that leaders at high and middle organizational levels exercise when they lead via subordinate leaders. This model forms a theoretical framework for the subsequent review of the containing function of leadership.

A Model of Indirect Leadership

In Figure 1, we present the model for indirect leadership (Larsson, Lundin, & Zander, 2018) as further developed from the qualitative interview study carried out by Larsson et al., (2005).

The model shows that indirect leadership may be understood as a process beginning with leaders at higher organizational levels forming ideas and mental models about what should be done (visions and goals), as well as how to get it done (implementation). The following influence process takes place simultaneously along two tracks. The first is more action-oriented, and is referred to as "link." This is usually made up of a single individual or a small group of directly subordinate leaders. The link transmits messages to the lower organizational levels. The second track is more image-oriented, and is referred to as "good example." Leaders higher up have an influence on lower organizational levels by being good, or less good, examples. Both forms of influence are exposed to a filter in between each hierarchical level. This means that information is sorted or distorted. In favorable cases, subordinates will trust the link and their superiors. These represent necessary conditions in terms of active involvement and participation. In unfavorable cases, this trust is lacking. This creates a

breeding ground for redefinitions of messages, and may result in penalties and rewards becoming necessary in order to ensure obedience.

Initial Remarks on Leaders' Containing Ability

Related to the model of indirect leadership (Figure 1), leadership along the hierarchical chain can be as follows in a flow diagram format: "(1) high-level leader reflects on what he or she appraises should be done, (2) high-level leader acts, (3) mid-level leaders perceive high-level leader's action and image, (4) mid-level leaders reflect on what they appraise should be done, (5) mid-level leaders act, (6) employees at lower level perceive their mid-level leader's action and the images of both mid-level leaders and high-level leaders, (7) employees reflect on what they appraise should be done, and (8) employees act" (Larsson, 2010, p. 34). The diagram is of course a simplification, but still shows that we have come quite far from the classic management teaching that "managers think, and subordinates do" (for more detail, see Larsson, 2010).

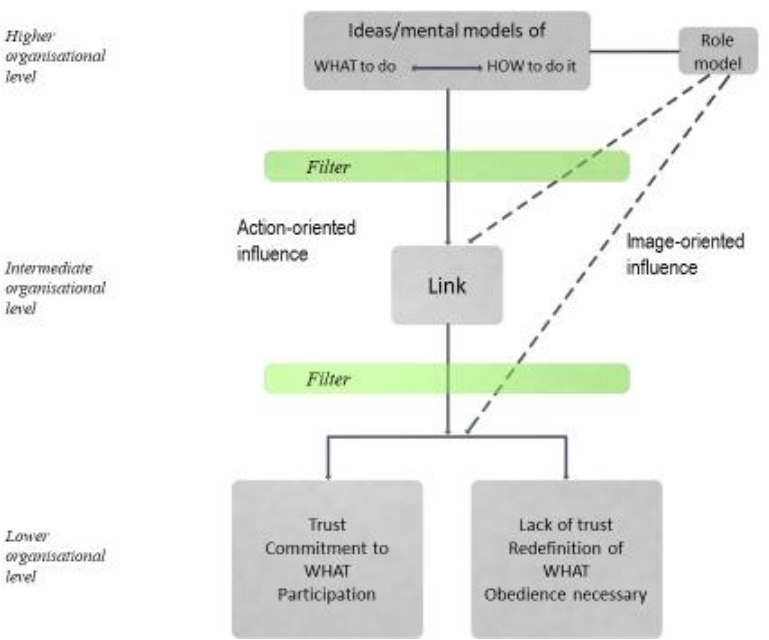

Figure 1. Model of indirect leadership (adapted from Larsson et al., 2005).

In terms of the flow diagram, the containing ability is about steps 3–5. Within leadership and decision-making theory, the leader's ability to create meaning (sensemaking) is often emphasized as important (Boyd, 1987). This includes being able to absorb and process complex information, understand the context in a wise way and make good decisions. For mid-level leaders, this corresponds to steps 3 and 4 in the flow diagram. To then be able to transform the information without corrupting the content into a form that suits the recipients means that giving meaning (sensegiving) becomes an important leadership ability (step 5 in the flow diagram).

Earlier research shows that high-level leaders often feel greater identification with the organization and its goals than employees at lower levels. This outcome at high level was confirmed in a study of Swedish generals and colonels (Alvinius, Johansson & Larsson, 2017). On the other hand, low-level employees often feel a stronger identification and loyalty towards their colleagues than high-level leaders do. This means that when a high-level leader emphasizes the importance for the organization of a particular goal, the primary reaction of the employee may be thoughts about what this goal would mean for the friendship and the own role in the peer group, rather than how the organization would be served by this goal (Larsson, 2010).

The containing ability of mid-level leaders can be of great importance here. If they can explain and justify (sensegiving) the value of the goal the high-level leader is highlighting, the probability increases that lower-level employees also achieve a higher degree of organizational identification. Conversely, if the mid-level leaders are poor at this, they can contribute to organizational splintering between the leadership and the operational units. The quality of mid-level leaders' ability to handle the containing function of leadership can thereby have a big influence on the employees' work satisfaction and propensity to stay within the organization.

Aims of Two Empirical Studies

During 2017, an initial questionnaire study of the containing ability of military mid-level leaders was conducted (Larsson et al., 2017). The *purpose* of this questionnaire study was to: (1) study the containing

function of military mid-level leaders in form of their ability to make sense of messages from a higher hierarchical level, and give sense to employees at a lower hierarchical level, and (2) illuminate the links these abilities have to organizational results.

However, a weakness of the questionnaire study was that it did not penetrate in sufficient detail to the core of the harboring itself (step 4), that is to say what leaders do when they reflect on what they appraise should be done, and how they think about the transformation of the message, so that it becomes more sense giving to the recipients. This process takes places "inside the head" of the leader, and was not reachable with the behavior-focused questions included in the questionnaire. More in-depth research into these reflection processes requires in-depth interviews, which were used in a follow-up qualitative interview study. Previous research into the mid-level leader role based on an indirect leadership perspective (Larsson et al., 2005, 2007; Yammarino, 1994) is also poor in relation to the containing function. Against the background of the above-mentioned lack of research, the *purpose* of the qualitative study was to gain deeper understanding of the intrapsychic aspects of the containing function of leadership among mid-level leaders, and how they interact with the behavioral aspects. The intention was to investigate both successful and unsuccessful handling of the containing function, in terms of passing on messages both upwards and downwards in the hierarchy.

The following summarizes first the method and results of the questionnaire study, then the method and results of the qualitative interview study. Finally, the conclusions of both studies are reported.

THE CONTAINING FUNCTION OF LEADERSHIP – A QUESTIONNAIRE STUDY

The group investigated in the questionnaire study consisted of 37 Norwegian majors, 35 Swedish majors and 41 Swedish captains, a total of 113 officers. The data collection took place in 2017, while they were participating in education courses at the defence universities of each

country. Nine participants were women, 50 persons were 40 years old or younger, and 63 were older than 40 years.

The Questionnaire

In addition to background data, the questionnaire included questions intended to measure the containing function of mid-level leaders, their general leadership and the organizational result.

The *containing function sensemaking* was mapped using the following six questions, derived from a previous interview study (Berglund et al., 2016) and Larsson's et al., (2007) questionnaire "Indirect leadership":

"I discussed the organization's goal with my superiors."
"I checked with my superiors to ensure I did the right things."
"I discussed value issues with my superior."
"I set aside time to talk to my superior."
"I was good at understanding what messages from the management meant for the operation."
"I was good at controlling my emotions when I received unpleasant messages from my superiors."

The *containing function sensegiving* was mapped using the following 13 questions, derived from a previous interview study (Berglund et al., 2016) and Larsson's et al., (2007) questionnaire "Indirect leadership":

"I discussed the organization's goal with my subordinates."
"I tried to make sure all my subordinates understood our task."
"First I sowed ideas and let my subordinates have time to think about them before I implemented them."
"I was consistent in what I did and said."
"I discussed value issues with my subordinates."
"I was straight and clear in my communication."
"I created room for discussion."
"I checked with my subordinates to make sure they understood my intention."
"I took care to say the same thing to everyone."
"I was good at passing on the management's message to my subordinates in a constructive way."

"I was good at noticing whether my message to my subordinates was distorted by them."

"I was good at controlling my emotions when I had to pass on unpleasant messages to my subordinates."

General leadership was mapped using the following eight questions, taken from Larsson's (2006) form "Developmental leadership" and Larsson's et al., (2007) form "Indirect leadership." This variable is hereafter called "Developmental leadership," as the questions reflect this model (Larsson et al., 2003):

"I accepted my responsibility, even against the odds."

"I accepted responsibility for ensuring that tasks started were completed."

"I worked hard to be a good example for our organization."

"I supported my superior, in both success and failure."

"I supported my subordinates, in both success and failure."

"I used ideas from my subordinates and emphasized that they came from them."

"I encouraged personal commitment."

"I encouraged a positive spirit."

Organizational result was mapped using the following four questions, taken from Larsson's (2006) form "Developmental leadership":

"I made sure our organisation contributed to the whole."

"I contributed to work satisfaction in the team."

"I contributed noticeably to increasing the effectiveness of others."

"I contributed to the organization having a good reputation externally."

The *response scale* varied from 1 (rarely/not at all) to 9 (often/greatly) for all individual questions. *Summary scores* were formed within each of the four areas by adding the raw values of the questions included in the area, and then dividing this sum with the number of questions within the area. In this way, four summarizing area scores were obtained, which could each vary from 1 to 9.

Results

The three predictor variables *sensemaking, sensegiving* and *developmental leadership* were fed into a regression analysis step-by-step, with *organizational result* as the outcome variable.

Table 1 shows that moderately high R^2 values/adjusted R^2 were obtained. Step 1 consisted of the two containing function variables being introduced in the regression equation, and this step produced a statistically significant contribution to explaining the variance in the outcome variable. In step 2 (the final model), the variable *developmental leadership* was introduced. Its addition of explained variance was statistically significant. In the final model, the table shows that two of the individual variables produce a significant contribution, namely the containing function *sensegiving* and *developmental leadership.*

Table 1. Regression analysis of relationships between the predictors containing function sensemaking and containing function sensegiving and developmental leadership and the outcome organizational result (n = 113)

Outcome variable	Step 1			Final model		
Organizational result						
Predictor variables	Beta	*F*	*p*	Beta	*F*	*p*
Containing function sensemaking	-0.02	0.04	0.836	-0.10	1.68	0.198
Containing function sensegiving	0.60	20.57	0.000	0.41	10.33	0.002
Developmental leadership				0.50	18.75	0.000
R^2/*Adjusted* R^2	0.26/0.24			0.39/0.37		
F change in R^2	16.20 $p < 0.001$			18.75 $p = 0.001$		

Mediation analysis (Hayes, 2013) can be seen as a more sophisticated form of regression analysis. The idea applied to the variables in question is that the two containing function variables can be assumed to both have a direct effect on the outcome variable (*organizational result*), and also that this effect is mediated through the general leadership (*developmental leadership*). The mediation analysis showed that the containing function *sensegiving* had a significant total effect and a significant direct effect on

the outcome variable, and also a significant mediated (indirect) effect together with *developmental leadership*. The analysis with the containing function *sensemaking* showed a significant total effect, but on the other hand neither a direct or mediated (indirect) relationship with the outcome variable.

THE CONTAINING FUNCTION OF LEADERSHIP – AN INTERVIEW STUDY

The study group consisted of 15 Swedish officers studying at the Swedish Defence University. The respondents were nine captains, four majors and two lieutenant colonels. One of the respondents was a woman. The age span of the respondents was 34–48 years (average age was 42 years).

Interviews

The respondents were interviewed individually, and the interviews were recorded. First, they were asked to describe their most recent leadership position as some form of mid-level leader, how long they had held this position and how many subordinates they were responsible for. Thereafter, they discussed four difficult situations they had been placed in, as follows: (1) Successful situation, harboring message to subordinates, (2) Less successful situation, harboring message to subordinates, (3) Successful situation, harboring message to superior, and (4) Less successful situation, harboring message to superior. For each situation, they were then asked the questions below, followed by individually adapted follow-up questions:

> "Describe the situation, the message. In what way was it difficult?
> "Was the message functional or doubtful/dysfunctional? For whom?"
> "Did the message feel morally right or doubtful/wrong?"
> "Was the message meant to be perceived as doubtful or impopular?"

"What did you think?"
"What were your dilemmas?"
"What were your alternatives?"
"What did you do when you worked out how to handle it?"
"What was your internal decision on how to deliver the message?"
"How well did this agree with your loyalty upwards and downwards?"
"What did you do when you passed on the message?"
"How was it received by your subordinates/your superior?"
"How was their trust in you affected?"
"Why do you think you were successful/less successful?"
"Support/no support from above?"
"I handled the whole thing well/less well?"
"Good/less good understanding by the recipient?"

Data Processing

The interviews were transcribed verbatim and analyzed initially according to the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The first analysis step is called "open coding" and entails data being scrutinized line by line to identify the respondents' descriptions of thoughts, feelings and actions related to the interview themes. Based on this, codes were formed which were worded "close to the data," using codes made up of words similar to the words used by the respondents. An example: the statement "I must believe myself in what I do" was coded as "*believe myself*." In the next analytical step, we grouped together codes we interpreted as being related. For example, the code "believe myself" was sorted in as one of several to the category "*harboring*." Finally, the categories were placed into a time-directed sequence from before the difficult situation to after.

Data Presentation

Even though the aim of the study was to "obtain a deeper understanding of the intrapsychic aspects of the containing function in leadership, and how they interact with the behavioral aspects," the answers showed that it was not meaningful to make this strict demarkation. According to our interpretation of the answers, the containing function is impacted by circumstances preceding a given decision making situation, its

expected consequences and any support given during the process. The reporting will therefore start with a presentation of the different types of problem situations that were raised, and thereafter follow the following sequence: before the situation – sensemaking – harboring – sensegiving – after the situation, as well as any support given. The reporting of answers related to the situation before and after the problematic situation, and of answers relating to support, is brief and only brings up aspects the respondents themselves have directly linked to the containing function. In some cases, answer categories are illustrated with quotes. In a few cases, these have been modified slightly to avoid any chance of the respondent being identified. The modifications have not altered the content of the quotes, however.

The analysis of answers also showed that it was not meaningful to divide up the result reporting according to the interview guide's four sections – successful/less successful harboring of messages to subordinates/superior. Similar answers were received in both the successful cases and their opposite in both less successful cases. The reporting is therefore in the format "successful harboring of message," irrespective of whether it is to subordinates or to superiors. In the case of aspects that clearly are only relevant in one direction (usually to subordinates), this is marked in the text.

Results

Type of Problem Situations

Two types of problem situations emerged from the interview answers. One can be designated as *loyalty problems*, and a typical example is when a superior has made a decision that you do not like yourself, and that you know will be impopular when you pass it on to your subordinates. The other type of problem situation we designate as *individual problems.* It may relate to a superior or a subordinate who are perceived as being "difficult," such as poorly motivated persons or "know-alls." An illustrative example:

> "I criticized my superior because on several occasions he had not kept to our agreements. He went against my orders and gave different messages to my subordinates. The superior got mad. He couldn't take criticism from below, he was not receptive to views from a lower level."

It can also include when you yourself are out of mental balance, for example due to traumatic stress after recently losing one or several subordinates.

Before the Situation

The category *before the situation* is made up of three codes. The first of these is *personal self-confidence and experience* as a leader. The principle appears simple – the more you have of both, the better the containing function works, and vice versa. A second code is about *building trusting relationships*, both upwards and downwards, which are useful in conjunction with difficult decisions. The third code we called *working hard in everyday life so that subordinates understand the operation.* The idea put forward was that if subordinates are familiar with the operation in a larger perspective, the implementation of changes will be easier.

Sensemaking

The category *sensemaking* consists of the following three codes. The first code is *being entirely clear about the task yourself.* It might relate to double-checking with your own superior, if needed. The leader's own uncertainty was put forward as a warning sign; things rarely turn out well in these cases when the message is to be passed on. *Having a clear perception of the goal* is another code. This is more about what the own unit is expected to achieve, rather than the goal picture for the organization as a whole. The third code within the sensemaking category is designated *do not underestimate problems*. An illustration:

> "I was a company commander during a foreign mission. We had a positive atmosphere, and the company worked well. For a period, we had a small group with five-six persons from a specialist unit attached to the company. This didn't work out well. I probably made a

> miscalculation of the situation and thought they would fit straight into the mould. Perhaps I didn't really understand that they were used to independence and wanted to continue that way."

Harboring

The category *harboring* is made up from two codes, where one of the codes has two subsidiary codes. The first code is called *believe in yourself* and is about self-confidence to act in the issue in question, to pep yourself before onwards transmission to your superior or subordinates. Being secure in your position was highlighted as important. This is how one of the informants answered:

> "If I as a leader don't believe in what I'm doing, and in the security situation I'm communicating to my subordinates, then I won't be able to explain it to them."

The code *being self-disciplined and taking the time* is about being able to resist you own impulses to focus on the task straight away. A new illustration:

> "When things have gone well, I have taken the time to prepare the argument in order to increase the recipient's understanding. If you take the time to do it properly instead of off-the-cuff, then it turns out much better."

Two different aspects of taking the time emerged. One is about *reflecting and analyzing the problem.* This subsidiary code is close to the category *sensemaking.* It is about visualizing different outcomes and developing proposed solutions, and not just focusing on problem description. It also includes *preparing arguments* for different target groups. One example mentioned was to mentally imagine a superior's critical questions, and prepare answers to these. One informant said that he used to test his own arguments, he tried to "kick holes in them," and if this succeeded, then more effort was needed before the message was passed on.

Sensegiving

The category *sensegiving* is built up from six codes, of which one has two subsidiary codes. The first code is designated *show that you believe in the task yourself.* The arguments are about if you do not believe in the task yourself, but pretend to do so, then this will show, and you risk losing a whole lot of trust. A second code is about *presenting the situation in a fair way*, being careful and objective when passing on the message. A third and closely related code is about *being clear about what the task involves.* This clarity about "what does this mean for me/us" removes uncertainty and rumour-spreading.

A fourth code is designated *same message to all, but adapted to the target group.* The code can be illustrated by the saying "speak as a farmer to farmers, and in Latin to the learned." This is the essence of sensegiving, and it was emphasized as very important that everyone trusts that everyone else is getting the same information, even if it is expressed in different ways. A couple of illustrative examples:

> "I presented the same goal picture both upwards and downwards. Gave the same message to all, as far as this was possible."
>
> "Important to be able to adapt the message according to the recipient. It is trickier at the HQ (Head Quarters, our remark), as the employees have a more mixed background, different perceptions that receive the message differently; civilians, militaries, soldiers, officers, and so on. It is important to know who is the furthest away in the communication chain, and to put in a bit of extra effort for them. It can be made easier by joking to the personnel that you communicate in different ways."

A fifth code is about presenting solution proposals simultaneously with the problem analysis and reporting assessed consequences of different alternative actions. This was emphasized as producing trust, "showing you had things under control."

The sixth and final code is designated *taking time*. Here, two subsidiary codes could be identified. The first is about *creating participation.* This includes clarifying an overall goal picture – "*what*" – and reminding subsidiaries that they need to carry out the "*how*" analysis themselves, as they have the greatest operational knowledge and

experience themselves. The second subsidiary code relates to *balance in loyalty upwards and downwards.* Illustrations mentioned were that it is important to listen, to take the time to let everybody's arguments emerge. It was also emphasized that you need to pass on the reasons for a change, that it is the superiors' will, and that it is important. This subsidiary code also includes having to be clear about your own role, and pass on that "I am there for you."

After the Situation

The category *after the situation* holds five codes. It covers interview answers where the respondents made a clear link between the containing function during the difficult situation, and the situation afterwards. A first code is designated *taking responsibility*. A typical answer within this code is that subsidiaries must be able to trust that you as leader are taking responsibility. It is about following your leadership compass. Taking responsibility can, for example, mean that in a given situation, you say clearly "I think you are wrong, this is my responsibility, I decide and now we are doing it this way."

A second code is designed *accepting.* In some cases you have to accept the situation, even if you yourself wish for another solution. A third code is about lack of time. If there is no time to explain a decision before it is taken, you need to *explain the decision afterwards. Self-critical reflection* is a fourth code. It can be about realizing that perhaps your knowledge was incomplete, or you were too naive and were tricked or "run over."

We designate the fifth code *making mistakes yourself.* The answers are about not stooping to a "blame game," but to admit without prestige that you made an error. This, several respondents thought, builds trust for the future.

Support

The final category *support* consists of three codes. The emphasis of them all is before the situation and during the sensemaking phase, but they

can also arise during sensegiving and afterwards. The first code we designate *up*, and is about getting help from a superior with arguments to test strategies and get a clear mandate. The second code is designated *side.* Here it is emphasized that peers can be a support when it comes to coordinating activities. Several respondents point out, though, that this support resource is often difficult to obtain. The tradition in the military is to go to the immediate superior, not to your peers. It can also be the case that peers are not interested, as they do not have the same problem. The third code is *down.* Here, the value of testing strategies for sensegiving is emphasized, in particular with your own deputy.

SUMMARY

Table 2 shows a summary of the results received in a normative checklist format.

Table 2. Advice to mid-level leaders when they have to pass on difficult decisions/information downwards or upwards in the organization

General advice over time

- Strengthen your own security and experience in your current leadership role.
- Build trusting relationships upwards, sideways and downwards.
- Show developmental and responsible leadership.

Specific advice linked to the containing function of leadership

Sensemaking

- Be entirely clear yourself about the task as a whole.
- Have a clear perception of the goal, what is expected of your part of the organization.
- Do not underestimate problems with groups/individuals who are pulling in another direction.

Harboring

- Pep yourself, believe that you can manage to act on the issue.
- Be self-disciplined about taking the time you need.
  - resist impulses to act straight away.
  - reflect on different options, and their probable outcome.
  - prepare the arguments you plan to use on different target groups.

Sensegiving

- Show that you believe in the task yourself.
- Present the situation in a fair way.
- Be clear about what the task involves for your own subordinates.
- Give the same message to all, but adapted to the target group.
- Present solution proposals simultaneously with your problem analysis and report assessed consequences of different alternative actions.
- Set aside time to create participation and safeguard loyalty upwards and downwards.
- In acute situations, when there is no time – explain decisions afterwards.

CONCLUSION

The most important result from the *questionnaire study* was that the containing function sensegiving, both in itself and together with the mid-level leaders' general (developmental) leadership, had a favorable effect on the organizational result, including both effectiveness and work satisfaction. The containing function sensemaking did display a positive paired relationship with the organizational result (not reported here), but this relationship was weak and disappeared in the multiple regression and mediation analyses.

The study result confirms the importance of the containing function sensegiving. Combined with developmental leadership, it co-varied with higher self-assessed organizational result. On the other hand, the study provided weaker support for the importance of the containing function sensemaking. This is notable, given the great importance this function is often ascribed in decision-making theory (Boyd, 1987). The sensegiving aspect has previously been toned down, due to the great focus on sensemaking. A practical advantage of sensegiving is that it concerns behaviors, what you say and do. In this way, it becomes more communicable, and the 13 sensegiving behaviors our study concerned could form the basis for more in-depth studies, personal reflection and training.

The result of the interview study can be summarized in three overall points. The first is about identification of a number of detailed aspects within the containing function of leadership which have not been found in

previous research (see Larsson et al., 2005, 2007, 2017; Yammarino, 1994). This applies in particular for the intrapsychic aspect harboring. The analysis indicates that this aspect is about a combination of rational thoughts focused on problem-solving directed towards both the issue in question and how sensegiving of a message to the recipient group in question shall be done on the one hand, and handling of emotion that increases self-confidence on the other hand. In more general psychological theory terms, the result can be seen as an illustration of the containing function of leadership being regarded as a specific case of Lazarus' (1991, 1999) thesis about stress management, which includes an interplay between problem-focused and emotion-focused handling. This theoretical link is interesting, because it places this aspect of leadership research into a broader context that opens the door to new theoretical ideas and practical leadership development proposals.

A second overall conclusion is that no clear differences could be identified between either the containing function aimed downwards towards subordinates, or upwards towards superiors. The comparison of successful and less successful handling also showed that they can rather be regarded as being each other's opposites than being about different qualities. This means that the containing function can be understood more unambiguously. If the qualities reported in this study exist, the probability increases that the containing function will generate a successful outcome. If they do not exist, the risk of an unsuccessful outcome increases.

The interview study's third overall result is the clear picture that shows that leaders' handling of the containing function is strongly related to their leadership more generally. This applies to both the individual factor *leader's personal self-confidence and experience*, and also the relational factor *building trusting relationships upwards and downwards.* A tentative conclusion from this is that it is probably not enough for leaders to carry out all aspects of the containing function "by the book." If these are not perceived as naturally integrated aspects of the person's general leadership, the outcome will probably be less successful. This result corresponds to the result achieved from the questionnaire study reported on above, where the combination of good general developmental leadership and good

sensegiving contributed to a perceived improvement in organizational effectiveness (Larsson et al., 2017). The result is also in line with the result obtained in a longitudinal study of the effects of leadership training. If the leader lacks self-confidence in his/her general leadership, then it is not sufficient to do everything correctly according to the "leadership cookbook" (Söderhielm et al., 2018).

Sufficient time is a central theme in the interview answers. It is found in the sensemaking phase, where it is about getting your own clear picture of the situation. It recurs in the harboring phase, in the form of time for reflection and analysis of both the problem and how the message is to be passed on. The theme is found finally in the sensegiving phase, where the focus is on creating room for participation and balance of loyalties. The emphasis on self discipline to not immediately start acting is, for example, a striking contrast to "quick and wrong." The emphasis can perhaps also be explained by the problem situations the informants chose to bring up not being of an acute, operational character. In the latter case, the answer "if there is no time, you'll have to explain the decision afterwards" could represent a functional solution.

The primary benefit of the studies reported is in the detailed documentation that was obtained using a qualitative method. Suggestions for further research concern mainly testing the result obtained on a larger scale in various military and civilian contexts.

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Chapter 5

DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL CHANGE THROUGH SOCIAL MEDIA

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ABSTRACT

Today we are driving towards the world that is more technology driven. Our every manual activity has been replaced by technological equipment, be that making tea, washing clothes, talking or travelling, we all have become technologically dependant. We are more socially connected technically and are much aware in comparison to earlier generations. Not only this, we are more heard for our rights and opinions and are participant in the building of government, campaigns, business or communities.

Where at one place, all this is termed to be part of technological advancement; it is somewhere hindering the social fabric of our society. From socialistic approach, people have become more individualistic like machines. From human being a social animal to individual mass, we are surrounded by people who are fighting 24*7 for their existence and self

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importance through social platforms. And one medium that has ignited this whole thought is social media that has proved as boon or bane.

We might be growing technically but we are losing the grip on social norms and ethics along with moral values of individuals that form the society. Another irony of this Google generation is that we hear and preach more of moral values and social ethics than actually practicing it. The recent protest, online suicides, pornography, hacking, infidelity are some evils that are gripping our society. Hence, the chapter highlights the impact of social media platforms and how it has changed the dynamics of Indian society.

Keywords: Social media, netizens, technology, society, information, ICT, social change, masses, hashtags

> The Personal Computers has improved the world in just about every area you can think of. Amazing developments in communications, collaboration and efficiencies have happening. A new kind of entertainment and social media has emerged. It has provided access to information and the ability to give a voice to people who would never have been heard.
>
> - Bill Gates

INTRODUCTION

We are living in society where the society that has travelled a long way from being authoritarian to libertarian and the reason behind this transformation is the concept of information communication technologies. However primitive or strict a society may be, it always undergo a change. We are all aware, how society has drastically evolved from a pre-industrial to post industrial stage and what has further led to its advancement is the emergence of digitization. The ICT (Information and Communication Technology) has not only given us new modes of communication, but has also changed the way we communicate and address political, social and economic issues.

Therefore, a society can be defined as a group of people with common territory, interaction/ideologies, and cultural. Social groups consist of two or more people who interact and identify with one another. Hence, society

can be diversified in context to the language spoken, geographical area, occupation and later by technology as well.

As the term Indian citizen is used for defining the citizens of India, similarly the emergence of digitalization, the internet world has coined a new terminology to define its population known as 'Netizen.' *Merriam Webster dictionary defines netizens as a person who actively uses the internet with the proper and responsible way.* Therefore, every society has certain peculiar characteristics that distinguish one society from the other and is studied as social change by the sociologist.

SOCIAL CHANGE

According to New World Encyclopaedia(114) "Social change is a general term which refers to changes in the nature of the social institutions, the social behaviour or the social relations of a society, a community of people, or other social structures; any event or action that affects a group of individuals that have shared values or characteristics; acts of advocacy for the cause of changing society in a normative way."

Thus, social change is an ever- present phenomena in every society. *Rawat (2007*) said that any changes that alter the established forms of social relationships and result in transformation of the social structure, is social change. It is a change that is reflected in all aspects of social life, i.e., Family, neighbourhood, play group, work group, religion, economic and political spheres, leisure activities etc.

According to *Pandey (1999)* social change is a continuous process which takes place in each society. In a modern society this change takes place at a faster pace due to many political, economic and cultural factors and also due to the industrial and technological developments. Social Change happens through a specific process which is directed by many factors. Among them communication has been recognized as one of the most important factors.

CHANGING DYNAMICS OF SOCIETY

By studying the dynamics of social change and how it is measured, it becomes easier for us to understand how Social media has changed the fabric of the society. So let's consider some features that characterize social change:

1. New Media Technologies Impacting on Social Interaction Among People

Earlier people believed in more of interpersonal communication, where they used to meet people in person, but the changing technology has resulted into the changed social fabric where not only communication mediums have changed but also the way people communicate. Where the recent growth in technology has resulted in more contraction of geographical boundaries, it has also led to dependency of people on technology.

In a study by McGrath (2012), it emerged that new media technologies have immersed deeply into the household and into the daily routines of individuals. Secondly, it was also found that there is a close correlation between the location of new media technologies within the home and social interaction.

2. Less Time for Family

According to Scott (1997) there has been a decline in "traditional nuclear family households" (p. 591) as people have become "more individualistic" (p. 592) and families are spending "less and less time together" (Turtiainen et al. 2007). From another study, it was found that new media technologies within the home are leading to increased social isolation and a privatization of people's lives within the household McGrath (2012).

3. More Participation of Citizen in Democratic Setup

As social media has emerged as the new tool for reaching out to the masses, therefore it is effectively used as influencing the minds of the masses towards the political agendas and parties. More people are able to voice their opinion about the working of the political parties, hence giving them instant feedback about their performance. Hence, it has emerged as strong tool for silent protestors who showcase their aggression and approvals through social media.

4. Shifted the Balance of Power from the Hands of a Few to the Masses

Earlier in the era of authoritarian model of media, the flow of information was used to be in a few hands that led to better credibility and authenticity of the information. Whereas on one hand, social media has given more power to the common man, but it has lost a track of authentic information shared through social platforms... As the masses are the new content creators, they are one who are marketers of product and brands.

5. Our Sense of Self-Identity Is Changing

Social networking sites contribute to building personal identity. It impact on users' self-esteem either positively or negatively by seeking social feedback from different channels and expecting peer Acceptance (Kim, Kim & Nam, 2010). I was also found that young people with low self-esteem seemed to benefit more from their use of Facebook than those with higher self-esteem.

6. Merging of Geographic Boundaries

Now, we often term ourselves as global citizens residing in a global village where everything is possible and available at just a click. We are no more restricted to a specific geographic boundary and have a power to influence the economic, political and social decision of any country. The online medium has also given the power to the silent protestors that never use to open voice their opinions.

Social Media Platforms

Social media is the collective term that refers to online communications channels dedicated to community-based input, interactive, content-sharing and collaboration. Social media is a new forum that brings people to exchange idea, connect with, relate to, and mobilize for a cause, seek advice, and offer guidance. Social media has removed communication barriers and created a decentralized communication channel and open the door for all to have a voice and participate in a democratic fashion including people in repressive countries.

Platforms for Educating Social Ethics

These days we find every individual or organization emphasizing on social ethics and moral values through various platforms like outdoor events, visual mediums, social media, etc. Undoubtedly, we are thriving in a world, where we have become more technologically dependent and 24*7 connected. Hence, let us have a look at the prevailing social media platforms for spreading the message of social ethics and morals:

a) Blogs:

Blogs can be described as the online word of mouth. According to the Miriam Webster dictionary, a blog is a "Web site that contains online personal reflections, comments, and often hyperlinks, videos, and photographs provided by the writer; (see http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/blog). In addition to this, blogs are also an

effective tool to encourage people to form an opinion and take action. There is no longer any doubt that blogs are influential in the decision-making process of readers. Blogs help people in the following way:

- Meet like minded people – Bloggers are followed by people (called followers), with whom they sometimes share the same views. Followers share the blogs further and hence generate a buzz. Youth ki Awaaz is the mouthpiece of the youth that brings forward all the thoughts that are going on in the minds of young revolutionaries and activists. It is a revolution in itself by bringing to stories, ideas and opinions that you will not hear anywhere else.
- Refine and shape ideas – Bloggers describe and share information about their personal experiences. Some of them may have about million visitors and they maintain strong bonds between each other. Therefore, online word-of-mouth might be very powerful as the internet enables to spread information immediately around the world.
- Change opinions of the masses – People are using this platform to bring about change in the so called crooked political state as well. PoliticalBaaba is one such blog that sees the world of politics in a completely new light due to enlightenment and path breaking views. This blogger spreads the truth like wildfire all over the world without fear and hatred for anyone.
- Reduce stress, anxiety – Blogging is a way of venting out your opinion and emotions and has helped a lot of people in fighting stress and anxiety. The greatest feeling for today's youth is being heard and blogs give them a platform to reach masses.

b) Videos:

According to Forrester Research's Dr. James McQuivey, "a minute of video is worth 1.8 million words. Video technology can be considered as a valuable learning tool today. YouTube is, technically, the second biggest search engine on the net and can also be classed as one of the biggest

social networks. 1 in 5 Twitter users discover videos each day from tweeted links. What's more, two-thirds of Twitter users feel its worth watching videos tweeted by brands. (Source: Hubspot). Young people are so comfortable with making and sharing their own content that boundaries between maker, user, owner and customer become increasingly blurred.

- Shrinking the World – Videos acts as a platform for expression, a home for multiple audiences, a marketplace for media products, a place for debate, a navigable library of information and a source of inspiration, all at once. #IceBucketChallenge – was created to promote awareness about ALS (Amyotrophic Lateral Sclerosis) by dumping a bucketful of ice water on one's head. Its popularity can be gauged by the fact that the ALS Association was able to collect around $115 million in charity. It became international phenomena, giving rise to many other challenges later.
- Changing our Minds – YouTubers are often about the same age as their audience, so it gets easier to impact their mind, by making content that fits their current followers.
- Self Made celebrities – YouTube has been a platform for nobody to become a somebody, just by speaking their mind and sharing information.
- Education tool - A growing body of research has shown significant findings that encourage the integration of video clips in educating and entertaining people. A lot of educational institutions are using Video as a convenient way to long distance classes.

c) Microblogging:

Is a simple and agile form of communication that has taken social media by storm? Unlike blogging, where you are free to write to your heart's content, microblogging allows a person to share short messages instantly. Twitter is one of the largest micro blogging services that we have today. It has made the flow of information relatively fast. All it takes is a few users with a large number of followers to share something and with a

click, and the news spreads like wildfire. India is a culture that thrives on icons. Twitter has given the power to the actors, musicians, athletes and other celebrities, to be in contact with their fans and keep them updated and address any rumors or issues directly, surpassing the media news etc. Twitter, Hashtag (#) was born. Hashtags help in organizing online topics and discussions and by clicking on it you can see the views of other people talking about the same topic

The Prime Minister's Office ***(****@PMOIndia****)*** was the fastest-growing Twitter account in India. Direct tweets to foreign minister Sushma Swaraj has helped a lot of people to return back home to India. Tweets about the grievances to *@IndianRailway* and Railway Minister Piyush Goyal have helped many people in distress.

#MeToo has been a successful campaign recently, where both men and women ended up sharing their experiences and expressing their concerns about sexual assault. *#BringOurGirlsBack* – Started in April, 2014 when 200 schoolgirls were abducted from a school in Nigeria by Boko Haram, an extremist group. The hashtag was used 3 million times within the span of 3 weeks and garnered a lot of international support. *#IceBucketChallenge* – was created to promote awareness about ALS (Amyotrophic Lateral Sclerosis) by dumping a bucketful of ice water on one's head. Its popularity can be gauged by the fact that the ALS Association was able to collect around $115 million in charity.

- *Instant Data gathering:* Twitter works well as a vehicle for news or data gathering because it allows researchers or organizers to crowd source those tasks and create a network that can pull in information faster and cover more ground than a single reporter, or even a team of reporters could. One of the downsides of Twitter is that it is rather jumbled — there's a high ratio of noise to signal.

d) Community Pages:

Although not free from the bias and prejudice inherent in society, social media can connect diverse groups, enable rapid information exchange, and mobilizes like-minded communities.

This connectivity can allow those same groups to challenge traditional structures, identify and call out systemic barriers, and question hierarchies of power. Instagram, for example, allows for the visible representation of individuals who are often unseen, and can amplify voices that may go unheard in traditional settings.

There are many Facebook pages that are run by either NGOs or so called inspirational gurus that Gopal Guar Das, Isha foundation, Positive Thoughts, Speaking Tree etc., that are running for spreading positivity and educating the moral values among people.

e) Websites:

From sports to politics, pin to aeroplane, education to job, meditation to counselling, good deeds with awarding deeds, everything has a webpage and social presence on the internet. We think of the topic today and can immediately access to a number of websites available to search engine. Moreover to increase people's participation, every product, idea or service has their website where people can interact and participate. But what has come as a surprise are the videos, blogs, couplets, mini-tales, infographics, etc. that preach social ethics and moral values.

Tiny Budha, Spiritualism, The anonymous writer, speaking tree, positive thoughts, etc., are some of the websites that contain articles, stories, images, mini tales that educate people about their social responsibilities.

POSITIVE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA

Every technology has certain pros and cons attached to it. Social media is the new terminology for socially advanced society and is responsible for some positive changes. Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Pinterest, Youtube, etc., are some of the SNFs that play a major role in spreading positive changes among netizens. So, some of the positive role played by social media is described below:

1) Social Network:

One of the major outcomes of the emergence of social media is changing dynamics of social communication. People have become more socially connected and are much informed about their surroundings. This has led to people raising their voice against the injustice and gathering for a social cause.

One of the major examples of people gathering through social media was to fight against injustice done against #nirbhayagangrape where throngs of people gathered on the streets to show their support.

Another recent case for support for social cause can be seen in example of #donateforKerela floods where people have donated and supported in big way emotionally and financially. Another example is of #eyedonation, where 100% increase has been seen in eye donors with the help of the campaign.

2) Exchanged Cultures:

Another advantage of social media is the conversion of global into global village that has developed a common culture across globe. People are more receptive about each other culture and are imbibing themselves in it as well. For example, Bhagwat Geeta being introduced in foreign universities is an example of exchanging ideologies.

Various cultural exchange programs, yoga courses, exchange of entertainment business, etc., are all the examples of how we are all emerging on the common platform. Indian artist performing in Hollywood films or Foreigners coming and living in India for years. Like *#IIFA* being organized at international level in various countries celebrating Indian Cinema.

3) Global Village:

Today, we exist in a world where we are not bound by geographical boundaries and enact more like a global village, a village where everything is available at the click of the mouse from any corner of the world.

Resident from any part of the world can get connected to any person anywhere in the world for trade, culture exchange, learning, literature, sports, etc., and can have a global audience. This has become more inevitable with eCommerce brands like *Flipkart, Amazon, eBay, etc*.

4) Information Flow:

We have often heard people saying that the current generation is more informative as compared to the earlier generation, thanks to the Google era, where every information is available at the click of the mouse. Anything happening in any corner of the world is immediately served to us through live television, radio or internet, thanks to the era of media convergence which has squeezed the time and geographical boundaries.

Another plus to the information dissemination is the emergence of Citizen Journalism that has now become a weapon in the hands of the common man. There are many websites like *hindustantimestimes, Deccanherald, instafeed, dainikbhaskar,* etc., that invite citizens to share their ideas and stories with them through blogs, app's, etc., that are very active in imparting the information to the people.

5) Platform for Small Scale Business:

Initially the economic power used to be in a few hands and the small business class was even nonexistent to them, but now even small business houses have their social presence and the power to its success lies in the hands of the masses. There are many *#startup*s like *#mudcoolers, #swagy #paytm* and many such brand names that initially started off as a small idea have converted into huge business platforms.

6) Building Communities:

As social media has led to the creation of a common platform for netizens, people with similar interest in any part of the world have built up communities for exchange learning and growth. Where it is business community like *a #fashionclique or editors community* like *#editorguild* or community for book readers like *#booklovers*, people are progressing in the area of their interest and connecting with like minded people.

Hence, a community building is a beneficial tool if it is helping people support and move towards progress by holding each other hand.

NEGATIVE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA

Every coin has a two side, if some technology has pros, it is bound to have some cons too. Where at one place the ICT's has led to shrinking of the globe, it has also created disparities among information have and have not's. Some of the points are discussed below:

1) Practice What Is Being Preached:

Social media are slowly killing real activism and replacing it with 'Slacktivism'. While social media activism brings an increased awareness about societal issues, questions remain as to whether this awareness is translating into real change.

It is a very human, when people are given options that absolve them from responsibility to act. A study by the University of British Columbia's Sauder School of Business (2013) found that when people are presented with the option of 'liking' a social cause, they support this with actually committing time and money to a charitable cause. On the other hand, when people are allowed to show support in private, they are more likely to show meaningful support in terms of making a financial contribution.

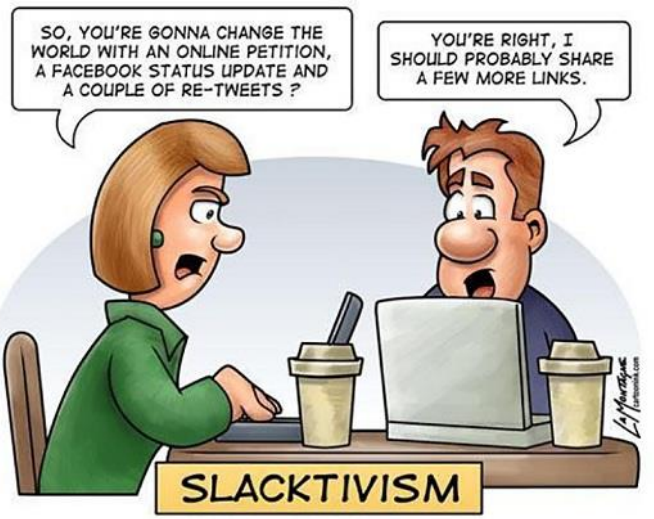

Figure 1.Caricature on Slacktivism (Source: Google.)

2) Individualistic Approach:

One of the major drawbacks of social media is that people have become more individualistic in approach. The happiness index of Indians has been dwindling due to various social evils that have been the result of individualism. People seem to be more technological dependant and are spending more time alone than social gatherings. An apt example of this is the latest video streaming platforms(VSP) and online gaming that keeps them occupied individually, which is also responsible for creating psychological disorders among youth.

3) Identity Crises:

Identity is something that distinguishes us from other, be that individual or nation. Today, we are facing identity crises between living a digital life and real life. Digitally, we are pretending something that is very different from what we are in actual life to be part of social race. Where at one place we are being placed on a common platform, on the other side, we are uprooting our cultural identity and forgetting our roots.

4) Cyber Bullying:

Social media has also led us to compare our life with others than appreciating what we actually have. The excessive posting on social media has led to cyber bullying and trolls by individuals who maintain a difference of opinions towards others perception. Be that a common man or celebrity, people are being trolled for their dressing, language, statements, ideas, thoughts, etc.

Using social media can make a person more vulnerable to predators and cyber bullying. In this age, "Cyber bullying is quite common, can occur to any young person online, and can cause profound psychosocial outcomes, including depression, anxiety, severe isolation, and tragic suicide declared American Academy of Paediatrics.

5) Lack of Privacy:

In present times, due to technical connectivity, we are being traced and monitored 24*7 that has endangered our personal information, privacy and security. We are witnessing cyber crimes like financial fraud, leaking personal details, body shaming and viral videos, etc. That has hindered the social ambience of the living of the human beings.

In a recent controversy of data leakage by Facebook and Google, companies are planning various steps for protecting the privacy of the individuals.

6) Addiction:

One thing that has enhanced drastically is the time spends on these smart gadgets. No wonder technological advancement is mandatory for the infrastructural growth of the country, but our too much involvement with it is leading to addiction. In a recent research study, it was also found that people check their phone once in every 12 minutes which is leading them to rehabilitation centers to get rid of the addiction.

7) Fraud:

Social media don't restrict the amount of personal information shared on it that has led to many fraud cases. Whether it is financial fraud or personal information leaked, your security becomes a major cause of concern being due to information existing on social platforms. Information control is very difficult when the source of that information is unknown and this gap leads to emergence of hackers that are growing in numbers.

8) Infidelity Issues in Relationships:

Society is made up of people and relationships are the fabric that binds it together. In this competitive time, people are working hard to meet their both ends with very less time left for family members. What has aggravated this problem is the existence of distractions available through smart technology that has occupied the family time too. With everything being provided in aesthetic, humorous and cliché manner, whether it is romance, accident, murder, disrespect, brutality, etc. insensitivity of people has increased.

People are committing suicides online, making videos of accidents happening rather than saving, going viral about porn videos, breaking trust, insulting relations, etc. This is not what progressive and peaceful society should be like.

CONCLUSION

Hence, it can be concluded that but human made the technology for their use, but not to be used by the technology. The internet has always been a boon to our society that has upgraded our social and individual status, but we should never let that overpower our basic structure of the society. The above discussion showed that no wonder, social media has transformed our ideologies and made us more knowledgeable and well

informed, but it has also shaken the fabric of our society with context to human values and morals.

It is high time, people should transform from individual to more socialistic approach and they should commence practicing things than preaching morals. Introspection is required to understand the limit for the use of technology and how it is affecting and weakening the fabric of our society with context to relationship, dependability, honesty and sensitivity towards human value.

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Chapter 6

SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION IN ANDALUSIA (SOUTHERN SPAIN): GRANADA AS A CASE STUDY

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ABSTRACT

This chapter documents and gives value to the history of social work in Andalusia through its academic and professional development. Since 1932 when the first School of Social Workers was opened, several factors have conditioned these studies: First of all, social work constitutes a feminized activity of low professional prestige; secondly, prior to becoming part of the university, social work schools were associated with those who promoted it, such as the Catholic Church, and the organization *Female Section of Spanish Falange* (women's wing of the Party)*;* last but not least, lacking historical research on these issues hides relevant contributions of social work not only to Spanish Democracy (1978

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onwards) but also to the welfare state system. In fact, social assistance has allowed women to get out of the "domestic realm" to reach public spaces, thus accumulating knowledge and experiences that further contributed to personal female empowerment, and to the advancement of certain disadvantaged groups. *The School of Social Studies for Women*, founded in Barcelona in 1932, trained a small number of bourgeois female students for the so-called Social Assistance. Students of the Andalusian Schools of Málaga (1959), Sevilla (1960), Huelva (1966), and Granada (1962) usually came from the middle and working classes.

We shall introduce Social Service in Spain to "make known this profession of social worker, both in terms of principles, and methods, that constitute its contents, and applicability to work carried out in various fields of action" (Vázquez 1971, 56). The expansion of Social Assistance Schools gained pace by the Francoist *Economic and Social Development Plan* (1964-1967), which hinted "the urgency of training four thousand social workers for development purposes."[3] Since 1981, already as part of the college curricula, social workers have challenged its identity as a feminine and feminized professional activity, and contributed to the Public Social Welfare System, since an important number of professionals were employed there. The discipline of social work was established then, and have since been transformed into a profession committed to principles of equality, dignity, and freedom.

Keywords: schools, social work, gender, history, Spain

Thus, for women, State has been both oppressive
(in its macho ideology) and liberating (in offering opportunities
to mitigate individual control by men over women).
Mary Evans[4]

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is aimed at showing the depth and historical continuity of aid practices as they account for the production of female knowledge, and its associated characteristics, all which constitute the basis of a particular way of conceptualizing, implementing, and evaluating forms of social care;

[3] Presidency of the Government, Commissioner of Development Plan of July 1963, 63.
[4] From Evans 1998, 46. Translated by authors.

from an image of "angel of the home" (*ángeles del hogar*, in Spanish) to that of "social angel" (*ángel social*), as women were by then so characterized. For Perrot, women dedicated to these tasks soon became "ministers of the poor [...], mediators of those who, in their own image, had no voice, nor could vote" (2001, 491). Along the way, their ideas of the world, and even of themselves, experienced quite a change.

Social Work: A Feminized Profession, and for Women

Women of course knew how to seize spaces that were left and/or entrusted to them, thus extending their influence right up to the very doors of power. They soon were acquainted with a specific culture, crucial for developing a "gender consciousness." Women also tried to "leave" restricted spaces and to "finally" have a "place everywhere." To get out physically [...], and out of typically assigned roles, to be able to forge an opinion, and to move from submission to autonomy, all of that could be done both in public, and privately (Perrot 2001, 485).

Most works addressing the development of social work identify the following four precedents of social aid systems: Charity, philanthropy, welfare, and social action. Through charity, women got in touch with society, even though that contact was partial, cautious, often (if not always) mediated, and guarded by men. The "unnatural" occupation of public space by women entailed a rigorous process of male "control and subjection" over women. Research conducted for this chapter has revealed an excessive male leadership that underestimates, and most certainly, hides women's contributions to social issues, and to social work itself; just the opposite of what, in fact, historical accounts reveal. Applying a gender perspective does not imply to put into question, those who were part of social work, but to review (and complete) official accounts in order to enlighten the past, while finding clues that help us understand the present, and also to plan and enrich the future. Given the persistent feminization of social work, it remains crucial to "highlight and claim women's place in

social life, building upon female models and values, also potentially relevant to reach other women" (Casagrande 2001, 106).

Great male philanthropists, laden with honors, decorated, and immortalized in statues, are always remembered, but we have forgotten a majority of women who organized assemblies and wrote reports, at least during first third of the twentieth century (Perrot 2001, 486).

Feminization of the social work profession for today´s social worker, both male and female, is closely related to the alleged "natural" women's capacity for caring, helping, and servicing others. When ladies "crossed" the domestic threshold, they did so as an extension of those tasks; a formula for acquiring status and social recognition as well. The latter was not reached without resistance and obstacles, since women had to struggle to maintain control over *ways of knowing* and *doing* in relation to aid while keeping female identity, and authority too, over servicing actions to others. All of those social roles have provided women a form of subsistence and also certain social status. Social institutions have and continue to constitute an especially attractive area for women who wanted (as they still want) to play an active role in the public sphere of their communities.

Through charity, women seem to finally contact the world beyond houses and monasteries; a world populated by the marginalized, poor and sick people, crippled persons, vagabonds, and beggars; always a world that, even for a short time, pulls them out of domestic silence while imposing on them social contacts, alien to the family [...]; charity itself is subjected to control as a series of rules and precautions, presiding over charitable actions [...]; with charity, a woman undoubtedly has a contact with society, but it is a partial, cautious contact, often mediated, and always guarded (Casagrande 2001, 139).

First Spanish Schools of Social Work

In Spain, the professionalization of social work began three decades later than in Europe. It was linked to the Catholic Church since the state did not provide a system of social welfare until the period of democracy

(1978). However, social workers did not come out of nowhere. They had to travel a difficult path to identify and systematize a theory, to regulate a professional practice that exceeded charity (or charitable-aid-practices), and distinguished social workers from other figures such as those of social visitors, and volunteers.

The need to coordinate institutions and social forces responsible for ensuring common good, social peace, and promoting poor classes led a group of women linked to social Catholicism to create specialized centers, where they could learn to intervene socially, in a specific manner. Indeed, social and economic challenges due to weak industrialization processes in Spain ended up overflowing the carrying capacity of the Spanish liberal system at the time.

"The emergence of social work in an organized manner must be placed at the crossroads of religious rules, cravings for social reform, philanthropic wills, times of economic changes, and the need for fairer political legislations along the way" (Estruch and Güell 1976, 42).

DISCUSSION

Role of the Church, and Female Section of Spanish Falange, in Creating Schools of Social Workers (1932-1964)

Social work schools in Spain developed slowly and quite late, between 1932 and 1953; thus, only two schools offered social assistance studies (Barcelona and Madrid) for twenty-one years. These schools tried to overcome a deficient preparation of staff who already collaborated with social institutions, in order to avoid slowing down the assistance of individuals or groups residing in those first industrial enclaves. It was precisely those collaborators who were not only expected to attend, but also to become indoctrinated along the way. The school curriculum offered "a general feminine culture oriented towards moral civic duties, and complementary instruction in economics and social issues to make them

understand, and allow them to occupy their rightful place in the family and society level."[5]

The great expansion took place from 1958 to 1963 in the heat of Francoism, increasing the number of schools to forty two, the greatest number historically. According to Vázquez, it is difficult to say whether "this rapid growth [...] has started from previous planning or simply arose through social mimicry or, perhaps, came from the hasty optimism to give out professional vacancies at the regional level, short-term" (Vázquez 1970, 62). The expansion brought along the need to count on a structure to coordinate schools, and thus the Spanish Federation of Schools of the Church of Social Service (hereinafter, FEEISS) was born.[6] Nevertheless, the Female Section of Falange[7] did not belong to the federation.

There was no official nor unified social work curriculum until April 1964 when the Ministry of Education approved the Degree; after much discussion, it was agreed to name it Social Assistance, instead of Social Work, as in the rest of Europe.

The Female Section of Falange and Social Work

Since the early sixties of past century, the Female Section of Falange became interested in social assistance studies, and agreed to "assign a Social Assistant to each Provincial Disclosure Registry (*Regiduría Provincial de Divulgación*)."[8] The interest for these studies was reinforced after the attendance of some female national heads of Female Section of

[5] Study Program. School of Social Training for Women. Barcelona, 1933.

[6] At a professional level, the Spanish Federation of Associations of Social Workers (*Federación Española de Asociaciones de Asistentes* Sociales; Spanish acronym: FEDAAS) was created in 1962 to organize professional meetings, and to defend and promote professional interests.

[7] Full name of the Party was *Falange Española* (FE), in English Spanish Phalanx. It was a fascist political party, founded in 1934, that merged with the Council of the National Syndicalist Offensive (*Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista*, JONS), thus being named FE de las JONS. In 1937, during the civil war, became *Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista* (*FET y de las JONS*), in English: Traditionalist Spanish Phalanx and of the Councils of the National Syndicalist Offensive. In Francoist Spain was the only legal party until 1977. Sección Femenina (in English, Female Section of Falange) was the Women's Wing of Spanish Phalanx.

[8] Source: Spanish Royal Academy of History (*Real Academia de la Historia*; Spanish acronym: RAH), archives of the New Walking Association (*Asociación Nueva Andadura*; Spanish acronym: ANA), Red Folder, Document "Circular No. 356".

Falange to the *IX Congress of the International Catholic Union of the Social Service* (Brussels, 1958); they also attended the *International Conference of the Social Service*, sponsored by UNESCO in 1962. Having in mind that six countries had university linkages, and some degree of recognition or state regulation for social work, the Spanish delay in these matters was quite considerable.

The Female Section of Falange was used to exert control over all activities, services, centers; for that same reason, they created their own centers, thus ensuring their academic and ideological control. In fact, "they were primary sources of affiliates, gave prestige to the Female Section, and were very profitable for both the Disclosure Registry and the Chairs."[9] Thus, social assistants with greater connection to the Falange Women's Wing were hired to work in their own educational centers or on their network of social centers (such as Walking Chairs, Service of Divulgation, Social Centers, and Settlement Villages). In addition, governmental services: National Institute of Forecasting, Service of Protection to the Woman, Protection of Minors, and so on, contracted social assistants that graduated from these schools. From there on, the Female Section of Falange was able to ensure reproduction of the ideal "woman" that the Francoist regime actually wanted.

Social work then became a profession especially suited for women, as it still is today.

> *The multiplicity of functions that a social worker must perform, as responsibilities attached to them, make necessary an intense preparation that, in addition to endowing her with precise knowledge to better fulfill her mission, provides a solid human, social, and religious formation, indispensable for this goal*.[10]

[9] Source: Spanish Royal Academy of History (*Real Academia de la Historia*, RAH; Spanish acronym), archives of the New Walking Association (*Asociación Nueva Andadura*, Spanish acronym: ANA), Red Series, "Report of the Social Work Days of Barcelona" (1963). The Conference was organized by the *Santa Teresa* School of Social Assistants.

[10] Source: Spanish Royal Academy of History (*Real Academia de la Historia*, RAH, Spanish acronym), archives of the New Walking Association (*Asociación Nueva Andadura*, Spanish acronym: ANA), Red Series, Folder 1100, *Females Professions. Technicians of Social Assistance*. Female Section of the Falange Movement (not-dated), 4.

The Female Section of Falange put an emphasis on pressuring the government to give professional and legal credentials, to grant official degrees, and to get paid.

> *The evolution and progress of Social Sciences have made us see the need to give professional training to these people who are engaged in Social Work, and that is the reason why the School of Social Assistance Technicians was created* (Suárez 1993, 428).

Members of the Female Section of Falange soon recognized employment opportunities through social work, and its wide potential in the long run. In fact, within the *First Plan of Economic and Social Development* (1964-1967), social assistants were depicted as "indispensable personnel to address issues of childhood and youth, lazy people and crooks, to provide social assistance to women, deaf and mute persons, absolutely challenged people, the elderly, and to deal with community development [...]. Among personnel to be hired by social establishments and institutions, social workers stand out for their special function, [...] therefore having available assistants' impacts on the efficiency of resources, making them indispensable to have available for hire, the 500 graduates of this class [...]; at any rate, a minimum of 100 social workers is required not only to found but also to make operational social centers, particularly in their first stages of existence." (*First Plan of Economic and Social Development* 1964-1967, 27-38)

From Official Recognition of Curriculum to University Integration (1964-1981)

In the seventies, and prior to the incorporation of Schools of Social Assistants to the University (1981), the work carried out by these schools, professional associations, and students –not always coordinated nor synchronized – took place in a context of significant political and social turmoil in Spain. It was a dynamic, fruitful, and interesting period since both the object of social work, and the consistence of its teachings to

achieving that goal, were under discussion. At the time, teachers, students, and professionals were strongly influenced by Latin American movements such as that of the *Reconceptualization of Social Work*. Three events become particularly relevant at this point: First, studies on social assistance were recognized by the Spanish Ministry of National Education; secondly, the Official School of Social Work was founded (1967), and finally, the first National Congress of the discipline took place in Barcelona (1968).

In the pre-university stage, that is, prior to 1964[11], syllabi and curricula were distinctive, depending on who promoted them. Schools integrated in the Federation of Spanish Schools of the Church of Social Service (or *Federación de Escuelas Españolas de la Iglesia de Servicio Social*; its Spanish acronym: FEEISS)[12] shared a relatively homogenous curriculum since 1958. In fact, the proposal approved by the Spanish Ministry of Education was based on the FEEISS program.

The first *curriculum* (Ministry Order of July 31, 1964) "was quite consistent with a clear profile of the social worker that they wanted to train, and studies show specific objectives and purpose" (Molina 1994, 153). It described theoretical and practical teachings, in addition to subjects typically taught by members of the Female Section of Falange, such as political education, organization of the female section, home teaching, and physical education. Thanks to their influence, strategically placed at the heart of the Francoist State, the Women's Wing of Falange were able to introduce those subjects at all levels of the educational system: primary school, secondary school, and college; of course, not without controversy or resistance by religious schools. Catholic personnel were in charge of teaching these two compulsory courses: Social Doctrine of the Church and Professional Moral.

Schools led by the Female Section of Falange sought a "comprehensive theoretical training [...], training to perform professional

[11] Decree 1403 of April 30, 1964 by which the studies are recognized, and Minister Order of October 26, 1966 of Recognition of New Curriculum. Spanish Official Bulletin (*Boletín Oficial del Estado*; Spanish Acronym: BOE), 1 December 1966.

[12] The Federation integrated Schools of Social Assistants promoted by Cáritas National, the Congregation of the Daughters of Charity (both of the branch of San Vicente de Paúl, and of Santa Luisa de Marillac) and of the so-called Diocesan Schools. All work by these organizations was carried out until 1981.

functions in all public and private social welfare organizations"; they "prepare personnel potentially capable of eventually taking on management tasks in social fields" (Molina 1994, 184). This goal brought them closer to philosophy, and approaches of the only Male School of Social Assistants (Barcelona),[13] quite different from other schools in the country, more focused on meeting the needs of the individual, group, and community. This fact seems quite remarkable since although in practice there were no differences in training profiles between schools run by the Female Section of Falange and others, the former showed a degree of professional competence still demanded by professionals today and acquired through theoretical and practical training.[14] To that effect, rather than a simple supervision of students, a "super vigilance" was exercised.

As social work studies were offered in a variety of religious and private centers, it became necessary to count on official status, to validate degrees obtained through revalidation tests, and to become licensed for professional practice. Thus, 2,118 graduates in social assistance validated their degrees in 1965. According to Vázquez "this recognition arrived late for these pioneers of the social service; many in fact had already withdrawn professionally for a number of reasons. Others placed themselves in activities alien to social service; quite a few even ended up deceased" (Vázquez 1971, 35). The 1964 curriculum was in force for nine years until the passing of the university curricula (1983).

To overcome differences between distinctive training programs, the International Associations of Social Work made periodical attempts at organizing and coordinating among themselves. All professionals, whatever activities or tasks at hand, evidently needed to deepen their knowledge on human kind and society, to further explore methods and techniques, and to get to know better institutions and social services.

[13] The Male School of Social Assistance (*Escuela Masculina de Asistencia* Social) in Barcelona had as goal the training of men to lead and chair ecclesiastical social institutions.

[14] According to Molina (1994, 188), the Federation of Spanish Schools of the Church of Social Service (or *Federación de Escuelas Españolas de la Iglesia de Servicio Social*; its Spanish acronym: FEEISS) curricula contained 850 theoretical hours and 1,200 practical hours while in those of the Female Section of Falange counted on 920 theoretical hours, and 1,098 practical hours. The 80 theoretical difference was due to the teaching of specific subjects such as those of "Organization of the Female Section" and "Home Teaching".

Acquiring skills to be applied professionally, of course also became imperative. Last but not least, social workers had to take on a certain degree of social responsibility, based on their respect for human beings and their dignity.[15]

Schools of social work in the period of Spanish democratic transition had to manage to resist at a time of major political and economic challenges. Great social and educational changes put them at serious risk of disappearing. Those critical events demanded implementation of all kinds of bargaining strategies, negotiations, and even resistance by teaching bodies and professional collectives. That was the case until reaching university integration (1981).

During this same period, important research and training work was carried out by social workers. For instance, investigations by Estruch and Güell (1976) documented how the institutional framework of the Church and the Women's Wing of Falange was crucial to the crisis that social work was experiencing at the time. Thus, social workers' attempt at disassociating themselves from religious and/or Francoist origins; was most likely due to an erroneous (and even naïve) belief that social work could in fact reach new goals, and adopt new signs of identity.

During those years, many schools found it quite difficult to continue because of the lack of female students. Of 1,518 officially registered students in 1970,[16] 76% chose to enroll in one of the twenty-nine schools run by the Church, and 24% in other schools (Vázquez 1971, 63-68). Schools and professional associations strengthened ties, and worked together to defend social work interests as a discipline and profession before the state administration; also "to collectively address current problems posed by professionals, and other agents involved".[17]

[15] Words pronounced by the Secretary General of the IASSW at the International Congress of Schools of 1978 held in Jerusalem.

[16] For more information on schools of this period see Vázquez (1971, 63-68).

[17] Source: Spanish Royal Academy of History (*Real Academia de la Historia*; Spanish acronym: RAH), archives of the New Walking Association (*Asociación Nueva Andadura*, ANA; Spanish acronym), Red Series, Folder 1100, "History and situation of the profession of Social Assistant in Spain, current problematic of the society and necessity of this profession" February of 1971.

The most interesting and rich aspects of this period were, on the one hand, a generation that had wide and critical discussions regarding professionalism, training, teaching, and responsibilities on professional and teaching updates. Students related it all to the fact of social work "being a private teaching [that] carries a strong ideological burden, whether coming from the Church or the Female Section of Falange, since these institutions have great control over most schools".[18] On the other hand, creating professional associations of social assistants and a special force of social assistants within the state administration was key. Although social workers were already hired by "public institutions such as those of Social Security, Health, Protection of Minors, Provincial and Town Councils [...]; the General Direction of Social Assistants was pioneer at developing a special body of social workers in the state administration."[19] In 1977 there were one hundred job vacancies aimed at replacing "the previous Force of Inspectors, Instructors, and Visitors of Public Assistance of 1934."[20]

Restricted connections of Spain with other European countries –an isolation imposed by the Franco regime at all levels– clearly affected the discipline of social work. Thus, the turn to the Latin American context by Spanish social workers, particularly the influential *Reconceptualization* Movement, initiated in countries such as Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina during the sixties and so on;[21] created quite a vivacious generation of Spanish teachers, and professionals, having been inspired by such a movement, even nowadays.

From a current perspective that represented "a very rich stage in experiences that culminated in the resurgence of social work, more rooted in the real issues of Spain" (Colomer 1990, 6). Social work's destiny ran parallel to political changes, but also with great contradictions, needless to

[18] MARÍN, Karmentxu "Social Assistants: A profession to take seriously" *El País Newspaper* (20 may 1978).

[19] Ibid..

[20] Source: Provincial Historical Archive of Granada (Andalusia, Spain; in Spanish: *Archivo Histórico Provincial de Granada*, and Spanish acronym: AHPG), Box No. 4, Relation No. 1, "Interview with Gregorio Rubio Nombrela, Deputy General Director of Assistance Actions" (1977).

[21] More data on "Document Araxá". *Revista de Trabajo Social* (*Journal of Social Work*), January-March 1990.

say, a pressing urge to reach recognition, and legitimacy at all costs. For Estruch and Güell (1976), the crisis lay on a perception that social work had "come of age" professionally (already enjoying a degree of official recognition). "[T]here resides the core of the current crisis of social work in Spain: A framework judged inadequate has been abandoned, although with strong bases; thus, great efforts to find consistency within the occupational field itself emerged".

> [Social Work] *began to postulate its independence from the religious and political institutions that had initially welcomed social work [...], to start a process of self-empowerment and detrimental to the ideological frameworks that had given its existence and which up to this point had lent it support [...], to find definitions of its own in order to challenge an identity that has been provided only from the outside. This all began with the desire to professionalize, to transform occupation into profession [...]. Fortunately, or unfortunately, easy and happy paths that supposedly lead to autonomy sometimes have truly a tragic destiny, such as falling into ideological frameworks perhaps narrower and even more coercive than those from which the profession was trying to free itself.* (Estruch and Güell 1976, 49)

The status of social work schools in other areas of Spain was uneven, each university with its own specific circumstances. A myriad of situations emerged depending on whether or not support was provided to host the degree, and to incorporate the curriculum and teachers. As personnel of diverse schools began to raise their voices in demand for a dignified presence within the university structure, both students and teachers started looking for solutions to keep centers status quo. After all, they had been trained there. The same goes for professionals working for the public system of Social Services.

It was precisely those professionals trained as social workers in that context who were the ones who reinforced a certain public image, and extended institutional influence in the process of developing the Public Social Services System in Spain.

Part of the University at Last

Royal Decree 1850/1981, of August 20, "about incorporation into the University of Social Work Curricula as College Schools of Social Work" (BOE, No. 29; August 28, 1981; Spanish acronym: BOE, *Boletín Oficial del Estado*) granted university rank to social work.

Teachings of social assistance have acquired a degree of importance and maturity that made it advisable to incorporate these curricula into college studies as university schools of social work. Adapting to organizational structures provided for in the Spanish General Education Law, and adopting the usual name in the international framework resulted in Art. 4º: The students [...] will obtain the Degree: Diploma in Social Work (Royal Decree 1850/1981, of August 20, Official State Bulletin No. 29; August 28, 1981).

The thirty-six university centers that currently offer a Degree in Social Work come from schools of social workers who, to achieve this goal, had to work simultaneously on many fronts: negotiations, infrastructures, and venues; services personnel, teachers, students; licensure and professionalization; officers and job vacancies; academic training extension to teachers etc. Along the way, roles played by some female and male chairs, professional groups, and students were decisive. Their links, personal relations, and networks with Spanish Democratic Parties allowed social work to finally become a part of the college curriculum. Thus, their proposal went through Parliamentary procedures and was finally approved. Among favorable arguments provided at the time, echoed by the Spanish national press[22], they alleged the following:

In Spain, social policies currently being carried out do not yet conform to the constitutional framework born in 1978, since Public Administrations, Social Security, and other various entities collaborating with the former keep acting paternalistically, and base their actions on pre-constitutional laws that, while still effective, to a good extent contribute to maintaining welfare institutional practices […]; thus developing alternative constitutional precepts related to social rights […] goes imperatively

[22] "Socialist proposal to transform schools of social workers" *El País* Newspaper (October 20, 1979), p. 78.

through planning and organization of Social Services […]; in fact, effectiveness of actions and initiatives by the public sector in matters of Social Services depended upon the existence of well-trained personnel, such as social assistants already assigned to those same services.[23]

Along with negotiations to achieve university recognition, members of professional associations, coordinated by the Spanish Federation of Associations of Social Workers (*Federación Española de Asociaciones de Asistentes Sociales*, acronym: FEDAAS), demanded of parliamentary groups, a law to create Official Schools of Social Workers, and thus the congress passed it in November of 1979, in order to consider them "Corporations of Public Law, by legal persons with full capacity for fulfillment of their purposes, and subject to the law."[24] Soon after, such an Official School was founded.

CASE STUDY

Social Work in Southern Spain: Granada

The history of social work in Spain constitutes a growing field of research for teachers and professionals alike. Investigations, PhD dissertations, and publications in scientific journals and/or books by social work faculty –and sometimes by professionals who enrolled in graduate studies, and have obtained PhD Degrees– are clearly contributing to strengthen social work, further disseminating the most innovative aspects of the discipline (Molina 1994; Oslé 2000; Barbero 2002; Báñez 2003; Miranda 2003; Cordero 2009; Morales 2010), to mention just a few.

[23] "Proposition, no of Law, for transformation and classification of Social Work as undergraduate University studies, and creation of the degree of Diploma in Social Work; also changes of the Schools of Social Assistants".

[24] Source: Archive of the University School of Social Work in Granada (in Spanish *Archivo de la Escuela Universitaria de Trabajo Social de Granada*, acronym: AEUTS), Archive of the School of Social Workers Santa Teresa (Granada, Andalusia, Spain), in Spanish, *Archivo de la Escuela de Asistentes Sociales Santa Teresa* (Spanish acronym: AEASST), Folder No. 3, Document entitled "Proposed law of creation of the Official Associations of Social Workers", by Congress Socialist Parliamentary Group (October 31, 1979).

The School of Social Work at University of Granada (today College of Social Work, *Facultad de Trabajo Social*), to which the authors belong, has been a relevant and interesting example of resistance, perseverance, and agency. The connection of the school with the Francoist Female Section implied certain advantages, although great difficulties as well; its Falangist connection soon became a problem in Spanish democratic times (1978 onwards). The college integration process required putting into practice all kinds of strategies to survive in a particularly complex decade, where enormous (political, social, cultural, economic, and so on) challenges and transformations took place at the national level; all with clearly positive implications assigned to the arrival of democracy. This scenario offered quite a few possibilities that, well managed, as was the case, allowed for the survival of social work, despite the odds, in a very convulsed period from 1977 to 1985.

However, the price to pay was high. At key moments along the way it meant the denial of social work origin and history. Very relevant negotiations and political pacts were made by women to gain the support later received by Andalusian universities as well. By June 1984 the school's management team contacted the vice-rector of College Schools at University of Granada in order to defend the important continuance of teaching social work, and thus training professionals to get jobs in state social services. In barely four months, the School of Social Work had to merge with the university, under penalty of disappearing. At the time, efforts by management team members were extraordinary. First steps were given, but adscription to the university became urgent during the academic year 1985-1986. Besides, the curriculum of 1964 was soon to be extinct due to curriculum put into place from 1983 onward.[25]

Foundations provided to reach the university were both academic, staff-related, and useful for the Andalusian community, Granada in particular, as a whole. In fact, it was the only School of Social Work at university level that offered such a curriculum, not only for the city of Granada, but also for bordering provinces. The School of Social Work was

[25] Ministerial Order of April 12, 1983 on guidelines of the Plan of Studies of the Diploma in Social Work. Official State Bulletin of April 19, 1983.

effectively, and finally, incorporated into the University of Granada in the academic year of 1985-1986. Nationally, it was the second one to do so, since the University of Madrid took that step earlier.

Curricula

Analysis of the curricula has been complex due to the lack of related documents in the archives; lack of available syllabi on courses given. Other teaching materials of this first period also became problematic while conducting research. In the Archive of the University School of Social Work of Granada (in Spanish *Archivo de la Escuela Universitaria de Trabajo Social de Granada*; acronym: AEUTS), a majority of documents have disappeared or have been destroyed[26] in successive transfers of headquarters, thus showing the limited value given to these sources by people at the time.

Syllabi for the Degree of Social Assistance Technician (1964) indicated that students had to "prove good moral and political background through diplomas issued by a competent authority." In addition, there was a test on "personality vocational aptitude, intelligence, and vocation," and a qualifying exam to enter the school as well[27].

That is, profiles of female candidates to study social work were carefully screened and selected. Religious background and physical education became especially relevant, as we have pointed out earlier. The exclusive competence of the Women's Wing Section of Spanish Falange at all levels of female education were always present in the curricula, namely "Religion" (second year) and "Physical Education" (third year) as shown in Figure 1 below.

[26] Those same interviewees told us that with each transfer they would select and "threw" many documents.

[27] Source: Spanish Royal Academy of History (*Real Academia de la Historia*; Spanish acronym: RAH), archives of the New Walking Association (*Asociación Nueva Andadura*; Spanish acronym: ANA), Red Series, Folder 1070, "Ministerial Order by which regulates the norms of the title of technician of Social Assistance"

Course 1966-1967	Course 1967-1968	Course 1968-1969
First Year: -History of Social Assistance -Social Assistance Technique -Sociology -Psychology -Civil Law -Administrative Law -Statistics -Demography -Religion -Child Care -Physical Education (Sports) -Politics -Practical Work (450 horas)	Second Year: -Social Case Service -Social Group Service -Sociology -Social Psychology -Religion -Labor Law -Social Security -Formation Policy -Economics -Physical Education -Psychopathology -Practical Work (475 hours)	Third Year: -Moral Issues -Social Community Service -Psychology -Medicine -Social Research Techniques -Physical Education -Practical Work (540 hours)

Source: Data collected by authors, Archive of University School of Social Work, Granada.

Figure 1. Curricula of "School of Social Assistants of Granada".

University curricula incorporated new training goals that enable students to look at and "to interpret situations of micro social scale with a macro social and globalizing eye; to perform tasks of organization, mobilization, and social promotion […]; to be able to scientifically connect practice and theory […]; to participate in the transformation process of society along with other professionals, associations, and popular groups…"[28] Evolving from an individual to a collective view was essential to widen students' perspectives.

Full integration in the University of Granada put an end to the perception of the School of Social Work as a training institution, isolated from college dynamics as a whole, and acquiring a better training, thus being exposed to college professors rather than only to technical teaching staff as before. Once affiliation to University of Granada was achieved, one of most pressing problems to solve was adapting curricula, and the degree itself, so that teaching staff of social work university schools

[28] Source: Archives of the School of Social Workers Santa Teresa (Granada, Andalusia, Spain), in Spanish, *Archivo de la Escuela de Asistentes Sociales Santa Teresa* (AEASST), Folder No. 2, Document No, 15, entitled "Report on the adscription of the Technical School of Social Workers to the University of Granada" (July 1983),

complied with Ministerial Order of April 12, 1983 (State Official Bulletin of April 4, 1983; Spanish acronym: BOE, *Boletín Oficial del Estado*).

At the time, female teachers who had only been qualified as social workers by existing schools, prior to university merging, were placed in an inferior position. Thus, only people holding a bachelor's degree were considered for management position offices. This apparently unimportant circumstance allowed to have, for the first time, a man as Chair of the School of Social Work. In fact, a Professor of Constitutional Law was appointed as Dean of the School of Social Work by the Rector of University of Granada, despite not belonging to the discipline or having enough knowledge for that matter. Needless to say, after twenty-three years of history, female leading roles vanished at a stroke, just like that; as if they have never existed.

In August 1990, the creation of a specific "area of knowledge" (*área de conocimiento* in Spanish) named "Social Work and Social Services" was a vital event for consolidating undergraduate studies of social work at the university level, finally counting on a teaching and research space of its own. Nowadays, eight Andalusian Universities offer this training, those of Granada, Huelva, and Jaén being the only ones with independent colleges or School of Social Work (in Spanish, *Facultad de Trabajo Social*), integrated within the university structure. The rest (Universities of Almería, Cádiz, Málaga, and Sevilla), are part of a College of Social Sciences. At the department level, only that of the University of Granada has an entity of its own, while other teachers of Social Work in Andalusian Universities share a department with Psychology, Sociology, Law, Anthropology or Health. The University of Granada offers a Bachelor's Degree in Social Work, and its faculty also teach in several masters and doctoral programs. Students at University of Granada access different graduate programs to expand their training further and do research. In fact, a growing number become doctors after defending their dissertation.

Faculty and Management Teams

In the first stage, the School of Social Work counted on male teachers and faculty of recognized prestige for subjects such as Medicine, Law,

Sociology, and Statistics. At the time, teachers made their teaching and/or professional activity in other institutions compatible, with teachings at the school. The integration in the University of Granada forced them to decide whether to keep working at one or the other institution. "Subjects related to social work, both theoretical and practical, are taught by social assistants. Other theoretical subjects are taught by more qualified teachers."[29] This became highly controversial for years to come (as it is still today), when a broad discussion arose regarding the several options to teach subjects related to social work by teachers who actually, were not really qualified to do so.

Throughout its history, management teams at Granada School were formed exclusively by women, an accurate reflection of the feminized image of social assistance. Demands of adaptation to college context limited leadership options for women or *féminas* at schools. This fact remains especially significant when considering that, throughout the country, members ascribed to the area of knowledge (so-called "Social Work and Social Services") were mainly women.

The situation changed with the integration in the University of Granada, since it was demanded that the director be "a teacher of Social Work of the School in possession of any degree that enables him or her to exercise."[30] Unfortunately, as we already mentioned, not being able to find a suitable female candidate to fill such a position, a law professor was appointed to lead the School.

Social work teachers were well aware that having only minimal qualifications left them in very precarious position as compared to that of

[29] Source: Archive of the University School of Social Work in Granada (in Spanish *Archivo de la Escuela Universitaria de Trabajo Social de Granada*, acronym: AEUTS), Archives of the School of Social Workers Santa Teresa (Granada, Andalusia, Spain), in Spanish, *Archivo de la Escuela de Asistentes Sociales Santa Teresa* (AEASST), Folder No. 1, Document No. 3, entitled "Current situation of the Santa Teresa School of Social Workers" (September 12, 1983), p. 2.

[30] Source: Archive of the University School of Social Work in Granada (in Spanish *Archivo de la Escuela Universitaria de Trabajo Social de Granada*, acronym: AEUTS), Archives of the School of Social Workers Santa Teresa (Granada, Andalusia, Spain), in Spanish, *Archivo de la Escuela de Asistentes Sociales Santa Teresa* (AEASST), Folder No. 1, Document No. 2, Annexed enttiled "Academic agreement for collaboration with the University of Granada" (1983), p. 6.

other teachers. Therefore, they claimed that their academic trajectory be recognized and positions of chair and head of studies be filled by "teachers of the School of Social Work."[31] This period began a stage of institutional guardianship, not only of teachers, but also of social work, social services and social policy subjects that were forcibly linked to Departments of either Political Science or Work Law. Teaching staff were of course welcomed but not integrated in equal terms as the rest of the faculty. In return, the school continued to enjoy certain autonomy as far as management of the center, public competitions based on merit to cover job vacancies, promotion of institutional agreements for student practical training, and so on.

In August 1990, as already mentioned, the Council of Universities approved "Social Work and Social Services" as an area of knowledge, a decision justified by homogeneity as an object of research, a shared historical tradition, and the existence of relevant research and academic communities at the national and international level. As this area of knowledge became crucial for the university establishment, subjects on Social Work, Social Services, and Social Policy, before being dispersed into different departments, were now key.

As has been the case (and it is still) with students, majority of whom are women, the social work faculty is mostly female. At present, twenty-five women and four men comprise the Department of Social Work at University of Granada. This feminization shows social work origins and trajectory, but also points to important implications as far as studies, scientific production, and status at university level. No doubt, "gender is a key factor to understand academic careers at the university, particularly in the social sciences" (García de León and García de Cortázar 2001, 9), and data discussed here clearly put gender perspective and analysis into value.

[31] Source: Archive of the University School of Social Work in Granada (in Spanish *Archivo de la Escuela Universitaria de Trabajo Social de Granada*, acronym: AEUTS), Archives of the School of Social Workers Santa Teresa (Granada, Andalusia, Spain), in Spanish, *Archivo de la Escuela de Asistentes Sociales Santa Teresa* (AEASST), Folder No. 1, Document No. 2, Annexed entitled: "Academic agreement for collaboration with the University of Granada", (1983), p. 6.

Who were They? Students Profiles

Students of all social work schools in the country were only female until 1964, the year in which the Santa Teresa School in Barcelona authorized male enrollment. Men have represented, and still do, hardly 4 percent of students. The first teaching curriculum (Barcelona, 1933) was aimed at preparing women with "vocation for the social, mature, and emotional balance; spirit of service and sacrifice; joy and responsibility; solid moral formation, sympathy, decision, understanding, enormous patience, and respect towards every human being. Being prudent and keeping professional secrecy was also part of it all."[32] Social work studies interested women from a wide social and economic background. Nevetheless, first years there were;

> *Some willful and open-minded young ladies, belonging to a class that does not allow them to join Catholic labor movements, but at the same time full of "social unrest" and, otherwise, free from any commitment. They go to the training schools of social workers to study something that "is more than a profession*" (Estruch and Güell 1976, 51)

However, not all women responded to the profile of "social angel" but showed a desire to be trained in a new field that offered certain possibilities for professional placement and social recognition. Later on, they opened up, as the following news clipping indicates: "A profession that interests both men and women," "many possibilities and fields to work," "a profession of great future," "Ladies, gentleman: You must become social workers. It is a good profession and with an extraordinary future."[33]

Men entered the classrooms of Schools of Social Workers and began to obtain their degrees from 1964 on, precisely in a school (Barcelona, Santa

[32] Source: Provincial Historical Archive of Granada (Andalusia, Spain); in Spanish: *Archivo Histórico Provincial de Granada*, and acronym: AHPG, Box No. 4, Envelop No. 5 "Do you want to become a Social Worker?", p. 4.

[33] Source: Provincial Historical Archive of Granada (Andalusia, Spain); in Spanish: *Archivo Histórico Provincial de Granada*, and acronym: AHPG, Box No. 4, Voice of Granada (in Spanish, *La Voz de Granada*), radio show, "Slogan proposal for the School of Social Workers Santa Teresa de Granada". The budget for the broadcast for 15 days, logging twelve daily texts, amounted to 8,644 *pesetas* [former Spanish currency, before Euros] (September, 1973).

Teresa School) chaired by members of Women's Wing of Spanish Falange. Thirty years had to pass for a man to become interested in becoming a social worker. Since 1960, when the discipline was finally considered professional, it was studied by some men, although many of them were actually Catholic priests.

Male students were then a minority, as they are nowadays. In the forty-two existing Schools of Social Work in Spain, according to Vázquez's report (1971), only sixty-two students were male (4.1 percent) of a total of 1,456. No male students were enrolled in the other twenty-four existing schools at the time. Only when social assistance became relevant, visible, and prestigious did men enter these schools. Perhaps they did in fact enter as these new professional fields opened up, and gained higher professional and academic status. By 1969, 1,618 (36.4 percent) were employed of the total 4,445 registered social workers (Vázquez 1971, 63-68).

A new national context derived from Spanish democratic transition, a Special Force of Social Workers was created in June of 1977, and a national call of one hundred and thirteen job vacancies for social workers (August 1977), placed by the General Directorate of Social Assistance (in Spanish, *Dirección General de Asistencia Social*), clearly seemed to reactivate interest in social work, resulting in new student profiles and the opening of new professional opportunities.

Regarding curricula, students were always conflicted with the training they have received; professional practices, in particular, since there was little presence of social assistants in social institutions at the time, and professional supervision was also questionable. Those deficits were compensated by teachers turning into supervisors. Since centers where social workers did practical training and those to conduct compulsory Women's Social Service (*Servicio Social de la Mujer*) were often the same, a controversy developed in Schools of Female Section of Spanish Falange.[34] This fact alone has led to much confusion, greatly amplified by the terminological similarity of "Social Services", "Social Assistance", and

[34] The Women's Social Service was a compulsory social benefit that all the young female of the country had to carry out in order to work, to study, and to have a passport or to have a driver's license issued. It lasted from 1937 to 1977.

"Women's Social Service." Schools managed by the Church showed less conflict, because there was a network of social infrastructures, ad hoc residences, nurseries, schools, and parishes.

Students of the Granada school were very dynamic, and thus they were part of the Provincial Labor Commission for the *First World Conference on Women of the United Nations*. In that context, these students conducted, for instance, a situational analysis on *Women and Work* and were active contributors to other sociological studies, research projects, and reports. "Many of these activities were carried out in cooperation with school teachers or as part of professional practices […], being those services provided to families not only as welfare but as promotion and development."[35] That institutional ideology had to change.

Beyond those activities, we want to highlight the active role of students, quite involved in activism at times when social work studies seemed to be endangered. Their accurate observations and criticisms were directed to "the purpose of creating a permanent dialogue between members of different school districts, leading to updating and improving the school."[36] That is to say, it was always about having women involved in important issues, and that "no organism, institution or person could, arbitrarily make decisions that affect all agents involved, without their consultation and approval, as a democratic guarantee." The ability for students to belong to different commissions and collegiate bodies of schools, and "a methodological and ideological update to the socio-political context"[37] were some of their relevant demands.

The Constitution of 1978 was under discussion at the time. Social workers began to mobilize themselves as members of the "Andalusian Coordinating Board," and demanded "a new professional organization to

[35] Source: Archive of the University School of Social Work in Granada (in Spanish *Archivo de la Escuela Universitaria de Trabajo Social de Granada*, acronym: AEUTS), Archive of the School of Social Workers Santa Teresa (Granada, Andalusia, Spain), in Spanish, *Archivo de la Escuela de Asistentes Sociales Santa Teresa* (acronym, AEASST), Folder No. 1, Document No. 1, entitled "Report on the Santa Teresa School of Social Workers" (not dated, 1981-82?], p. 1.

[36] Source: Provincial Historical Archive of Granada (Andalusia, Spain; in Spanish: *Archivo Histórico Provincial de Granada*, and acronym: AHPG), Box No. 4, Envelop No. 6, "Statement written by students and addressed to Chairs" (January 1, 1975).

[37] Ibid.

promote authentic social work, beyond charity work". Contributions by the board added a great value not only for their critical approach to teaching, but also for the creative proposals being made at the time.[38] "Social workers find extremely pertinent professional social actions in the promotion of cooperative work, association, [for the creation of] centers of sociocultural animation, and for professional and vocational orientation [...]; only through union and work could they change their status quo [and advance professionally]."[39]

Student movements in Granada played an important role in times of crisis, since they turned into a sort of engine towards impulse and transformation. Often, though not always in coordination with their teachers, students acted on their own. Social work resurfaced and got revitalized precisely in those times of political turmoil. A majority of students saw the teaching staff as anchored in the past [...]; Social Work is by its very nature maybe not leftist in itself, but most certainly democratic, and open to transformation. At least it should be like that; ratherthan opposed to retrograde ideas where they are anchored in the past.[40]

At present, 180 students are enrolled at the University of Granada for all four years of undergraduate to achieve their Bachelor's Degree in Social Work. The alumni profile has no doubt changed, but feminization is recalcitrant; coming from diverse social and economic backgrounds, and they seem to agree in pointing out her "vocation for help" as the main motivation for choosing this discipline.

METHODS

For this research, authors have made use of primary and secondary sources. Primary sources have been in-depth interviews of teachers,

[38] Source: Archive of the University School of Social Work in Granada (in Spanish *Archivo de la Escuela Universitaria de Trabajo Social de Granada*, acronym: AEUTS), Archive of the School of Social Workers Santa Teresa (Granada, Andalusia, Spain), in Spanish, *Archivo de la Escuela de Asistentes Sociales Santa Teresa* (acronym, AEASST), Folder No. 1, Document No. 5.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid.

students, management teams, and professionals from different stages of the Social Work Schools of Granada. In addition, archival research has been conducted and thus relevant data have been collected and analyzed from the following key institutions: First of all, Royal Academy of History (Madrid, Spain; *Real Academia de la Historia*, Spanish acronym: RAH); secondly, Provincial Historical Archive of Granada (Andalusia, Spain; in Spanish: *Archivo Histórico Provincial de Granada*, and acronym: AHPG); third, Archive of the School of Social Workers Santa Teresa (Granada, Andalusia, Spain), in Spanish, *Archivo de la Escuela de Asistentes Sociales Santa Teresa* (AEASST); and last but not least, personal files (diaries, picture, magazines, and so on) of some interviewees, key informants that kindly made them available to us.

We are well aware that all research that is nourished by oral sources and testimonies must avoid most typical prejudices of historiographies of any ideological depth. However, documenting and explaining the obvious or dealing with everyday issues is one inescapable greatness of the field of gender and gender studies. There lies the ignored and invisible powers of women, the always capable agent, and not the passive beings as they are often depicted. Secondary sources have been provided by current literature on the topic, but also doctoral theses, mainly written by faculty of schools from all over the country. The inquiries, articles and books they've authored, have enriched our analysis.

CONCLUSION

The specific weight and intentional prominence of the Catholic Church and the Women's Wing of Spanish Falange in the creation of Schools of Social Assistants is unquestionable from 1932 to 1981 –years in which Social Work Studies got University status. This fact has no doubt had a great impact on the professionals who graduated from them.

Both institutions, the Catholic Church and Female Section of Falange walked together, although not always to the same beat; both aspiring to take control of a new field of training: social assistance first, and social

work later. Those institutions were the only ones that could do so at the time, with their privilege and influential position. Being part of the Francoist state, was most certainly also helpful.

Schools of Social Work thus became a strategic space to control everything related to social action, especially because they involved the welfare services of the Falangist institution (and their specialized areas: dissemination, chairs, social centers). Since social assistance was clearly feminized, the Women's Wing of Spanish Falange could not only control, but also promote specific female models and ideals. Affiliates of Female Section, as in other kind of fascist states, got only restricted spaces for their own promotion, and a non-emancipating, not very encouraging citizenship. For that same reason, they place themselves in the only spaces that were not attractive to men; namely, social assistance and education.

With social assistance, a female and feminized activity, there was a gap with enormous potential; a professional and attractive niche for a large number of women who were allowed to "walk" into *public* and *public life* without raising the most common (and stereotypical) suspicions derived from their "femininity."

Feminization of professional social assistants (social workers nowadays) was, and is, closely related to the supposedly "natural" capacity of women for caring, to help and service others as we documented and analyzed in this chapter. Paradoxically, all Spanish schools of social assistance/work, especially the first ones, such as those of Madrid and Barcelona, were promoted, founded, and run by women. Hardly any men got into social work, only at the university stage, from 1981 onwards. It was the same as far as national and international associations of social work are concerned. They were mostly led by women throughout history.

To say that social work is a feminized area is not gratuitous; it is a fair reflection of its origin and trajectory. No doubt, it has very important implications for the curriculum, its status as a discipline, and its predicament within the university structure; for instance, regarding value given to scientific production by social workers or its indexing in scientific journals. Furthermore, as already mentioned, gender analysis of social

sciences academic and professional careers shed light on the invisible and apparently non-existent careers.

Denying that fascism can coexist with social mobilization is one of many prejudices that, although uncomfortable for leftist people, such as the authors of this chapter, clearly responds to reality. Agency and empowerment are quite interesting but transversal concepts also apply in this context. Perhaps we must revise further links between states and women, politics and women; quite a few feminists have already been pointed out in the different field of social sciences. If we agree that women have the ability to act, we must also recognize their agency regardless of political signs in specific historical periods. One relevant finding of our research has been to document and analyze where the female leaders of the Women's Wing of Spanish Falange are today. Funny enough, they have found new opportunities for promotion beyond social work. Some buildings used by them several decades ago, today are public venues for relevant social and political institutions.

In our view, this clearly points to a strategy of female *empowerment*, that is, a clear ability to control one's own life (as far as access to resources and to decision-making, for instance). In other words, women have counted on the ability to associate with, and join others with common political goals and objectives in order to fight for rights and reach opportunities. Frequently, *empowerment* has been defined and applied to developing contexts rather than more developed ones. Nira Yuval-Davis (1993) states that the approach of women to groups or organizations with a fundamentalist or fascist mark often fulfills the objective of achieving a parcel of freedom, and reaching whatever would not otherwise be obtained.

In Spain, the creation of a state based on autonomous political entities, such as that of Andalusia and sixteen others, plus two autonomous cities (Ceuta and Melilla), brought along the welfare system among other things. Social assistants were going to play an important role in those nascent institutions, services, and social programs; they helped to redefine the social assistants' role as well. Social work faculty, mainly women, and also female academics from other disciplines, shared constraints that were (and even are today) clearly discriminatory.

We could say that the *glass ceiling* is unattainable because *sticky floors* keep us in place. Individual and collective strategies are necessary to overcome this clearly inadmissible predicament for women. Thus, we must put into practice the principle of empowerment to its fullest potential; much the same way that Paulo Freire did with indigenous peoples, and that feminist movements have taken as a theoretical approach and methodology to work with all kinds of women's groups, from everywhere and in all conditions. This statement allows, among other things, to value the enormous potential of social work, and to overcome the many prejudices that prevent us from feeling first class in such an elitist environment in the university.

Pointing out the disparity between one's perception and the profession's social importance is also key here. The role of university teaching centers, their faculties, and university policies in the reproduction of unequal and, in many cases, even discriminatory systems must be questioned, and thoroughly reviewed. Otherwise, we run the risk of continuing to promote –if we are not doing so– new promotions of *social angels*, whose *blessed work* (please allow us the expression) maintains the status quo.

Thus, incorporating a gender perspective into professional action and discipline, both as theoretical-epistemological approach, and as professional practices and social action, is extremely necessary. Research must be directly connected with social action by enriching networks, and creating productive ways of working both academically and professionally.

Along those same lines, the acquisition of a feminist consciousness is indispensible to the evolution and professionalism of the discipline of social work. Beyond the typical resistance that the term quite often generates, feminism is understood as awareness of both a discriminatory condition and position in which women of any country, class, ethnicity, and so on, are installed… This is, no doubt, a common issue for us all. Such recalcitrant subordination of women vis-à-vis men is anathema to not only the Code of Ethics of Social Workers, but also the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.

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Chapter 7

DENMARK: THE THIRD WAY?

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ABSTRACT

This chapter will first provide a short overview of the main content in the historical phases in the Danish Welfare State development, including historical compromises (and reasons therefore) between workers and farmers, as well as the Keynesian expansion of the Danish welfare states in the golden time of the growth of welfare states from 1960 to 1973. How the oil-crisis and the rise of monetary economic theory influenced also the Danish welfare state will then be discussed, this as there was at the same time both expansion in some areas and retrenchment in others. Still, despite influence from liberal thinking, also in Denmark, in the mid-nineties again a Keynesian inspired expansion of the economy reduced the high level of unemployment. From the early part of this century and 10 years ahead, a liberal government changed part of the welfare state towards more marketization, choice among providers, and partly privatization, at least by encouraging the inclusion of private providers. This will be linked to the debate on deserving/non-deserving that seems to be on the rise in the wake of more populist stance also in

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relation to European and international migration. Finally, the article will sum up whether the historical driven emphasis on issues such as equality and full employment is still prevailing in Denmark or whether the third way between state and market still have a chance in a universal welfare state as the Danish.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Danish welfare state has developed gradually over the last close to 200 years, albeit this article focusses on the development since 1880. There has been, in general, strong consensus on the development of the welfare state despite also political struggles and ideological differences. Part of the reasons for consensus therefore has been the historical compromises between workers and farmers (Baldwin, 1990). This as the farmers were aware of the need for social protection arising in the wake of the industrial revolution, but did not want to pay for them, and therefore supported state financing. Compromises and consensus have continued to be part of the Danish welfare states development often based upon work in commissions and their suggested changes in the system. The next section (section 2) will shortly depict the development until the oil-crisis, including what has been seen as the golden growth of the Danish welfare state from around 1960 to 1973.

From then, in section 3, focus is on changes because of the oil-price crisis in the 1970s with economic stagflation and change in ideological position and how these approaches that came about and how this influenced the welfare state until the beginning of this century. The fourth section will discuss the development over the last 20 years. Finally, some concluding reflections will be offered related to whether a compromise between the use of market and state has been and still is possible.

As always there is restriction on the depths of historic details, however, very detailed historical accounts of the development in Denmark can although be found in a very elaborated depiction of the historical

development of the Danish welfare state[1]. The first more than 100 hundred years will be, just shortly, presented. Still, it aims at framing and explaining the development and why, despite changes in recent years, there is still overall a strong commitment to a universalistic type of welfare state. This includes recalibration of the outcome of market forces in order to ensure at least some degree of equality.

The chapter will by presenting information on central changes in the institutional and legal framework and by this try to depict how the welfare state first expanded and then later continued its development. This includes the core actors that have been involved herein. This will relate to a few central data related to inequality and overall level of spending and taxation. In connection hereto changes seen as related to an understanding of how a universal Nordic welfare state looks like and have changed will be included. The historical development will be relatively brief described, although still with the aim of being able to paint a picture of how and why the Danish welfare state gradual came about, presumably not as a result of strong class struggles, but more in line with compromise and consensus. This despite that the often-strong impact on the development by the Danish trade-unions can be interpreted also in the light of class struggle. A fifth section will discuss the options of combining market economies, with its failure, with a state policy that redistribute from rich to poor and over individual's life time. Finally, some thought about how to interpret the last twenty years changes will be given, linking it to populist and nativist stance on who is deserving and who is not seen as deserving a variety of welfare benefits and service. Briefly, the core question to investigate is whether the Danish welfare state still can be understood as a universal, comprehensive and egalitarian society. Thereby indicating a third way between a pure market and pure command economy, while at the same time still be a generous Nordic universal welfare state (Greve, 2019a).

[1] This is a detailed set of six books labelled Dansk Velfærdshistorie by Petersen, J.H., Petersen, K. and Christiansen, N. Published from 2010-2014, where one can find detailed depictions on changes and arguments pro et con a number of these in different branches of the welfare state.

2. CENTRAL HISTORICAL ISSUES UNTIL THE OIL-CRISIS[2]

Historically, welfare policy in Denmark has mainly been the responsibility of the families and only if the families where not able, then the church, the private sector or state (or more precisely local authorities) took over. There were thus already Poor Relief Acts in 1798, 1802 and 1803. In the beginning, no loss of civil rights was connected for those in need of receiving public support, but from 1824 people getting poor relief was not allowed to marry without the acceptance of the public authorities also implying a strong stigma related to receiving welfare benefits. Overall, this further reflects that there were family obligations so that one has to pay for the subsistence of one's family as long as one is married and live together. Though it is not as in other countries that children have to provide for their parents, albeit in the early days they did on the countryside by providing food and shelter for their parents.

In some communities[3] there was even one person employed to prevent people from entering the local areas and sending them back to the community where he/she came from in order to minimise local costs of providing support, although it was very minimal support at the time compared to what it has later developed into and how it is today.

The first move towards care for children in Denmark was made around 1820 in the form of private child asylums, where the aim was merely to take care of the children when the mothers were working (Socialministeriet, 1998). The first law on primary education came in 1814 and might be interpreted as the first push towards a more comprehensive state intervention in order to have qualified citizens and workers.

When the first constitution was drawn up in 1849, it implied that people, at that time only men, receiving poor relief lost their right to vote, so not only restrictions as mentioned above on marrying, but also democratic rights were reduced. Later changes were made which established a division between those seen as deserving (who kept their

[2] Part of this section is based upon Greve, 2002.

[3] The Danish welfare state has always relied upon a very decentral approach and the last structural reform of municipalities was in 2009 continued this, although in recent years payment of benefits has with the use of new technology been centralized.

rights) and those as undeserving (who lost them). This distinction has in fact still an impact albeit less visible as it was at the time, see later. One is deserving if one was because one's own fault (for example, being old). However, one was considering undeserving if, for example, one had left a job, being alcoholic etc.

The central tenets of the historical path approaching a modern welfare state can be found in four new laws enacted from 1891 and onwards. The first was a new poor law. The other main reforms before the First World War were the Sickness Insurance Reform (of 1892), the Accident Insurance Reform (of 1898) and the Unemployment Insurance Reform (of 1907). These classical four areas, often the first in most welfare states, indicated the social need arising for welfare reform in the wake of the industrial revolution with many moving from the country sides into the cities.

These four different laws can be interpreted as a first step towards a welfare state even though the emphasis was more on self-reliance, than the more comprehensive state support as in the period after Second World War and from the 1960'es and onwards. The use of insurance can be seen as being inspired by Bismarck's Germany, but never with such a strong emphasis on social insurance, as there also in Denmark was a tendency to use public support and a broader access to benefit when a social contingency occurred. This as part of the changes in social security system reflected the movement from the countryside to the cities, where more people were left without the, albeit limited, support of food and shelter that was part of the life at the farms. Thus, the path towards a universal approach was taken, although it has since been argued that the universality of the Danish welfare state first in reality was enacted when the universal old age pension was decided in 1956. One central exception from the more universal type of legislation, and, still to a large extend is, that in order to get unemployment benefit one needs to be member and pay into an unemployment insurance fund. This as Denmark enacted a Ghent-unemployment system with legislation in 1907 and where the state also took economic responsibility in times of crisis where the payment from the

members where not sufficient[4]. Still, it is an insurance-based system albeit not in the hands of a pure market based system, as it has been administered mainly by trade unions based upon state rules. However, in recent years more people supplement the state unemployment insurance with a supplementary private insurance due to the reduced replacement rates as a consequence of real decline in the level of unemployment benefits.

One of the central aspects important for the understanding of the Danish welfare states development was also that the Danish Labour market became more and more organised on both sides, e.g., trade unions as well as employers' organisations where established. In 1899 an agreement was made between employers and employees, which still today is known as the Constitution at the Danish Labour Market. Thereby the labour market partners, even if the compromise was mainly firstly about collective agreements, became central actors for the Danish societal development, and still today are highly influential in the welfare state, especially related to labour market development, including education. This thereby also reflects a corporative structure in the Danish societal development, by including the actors in decision making and administration of part of the systems. The labour market partners are also engaged in negotiations of changes. This further indicating that a pure marked based capitalist system has in reality in modern times never been the case, but always an interaction between state and market, and, often also including civil society.

Gradually new laws in different fields were covered by legislation and public involvement. The gradual expansion of the welfare state has also since been a central tenet of the Danish welfare states development. Changes were often in response to varies types of societal crisis, but also reflecting needs of the citizens. One of the most important historical decisions was implemented in a period of economic depression and high

[4] Later on, employers also contributed to the funds and the insurance element has further been weaker in the sense that all members of unemployment insurance pay the same despite variation in risk of unemployment across different sectors of the economy. Since the late 1960's the state have had the marginal risk with fixed payment per year from employers and employees not dependent on the level of unemployment, so that the state costs is highly dependent on the economic business cycle.

unemployment rates, but also a period where many changes in both economic and social policy were carried out by coalitions between workers and farmers. In the beginning of 1933 an agreement (Kanslergadeforliget) was made between the Social Democratic (labour party) led government and the Agrarians party (Venstre) to devalue the Danish Kroner by 12% (Hansen and Henriksen, 1984). This was combined with state intervention through public investments in order to create new jobs and further a new social reform.

Kanslergadeforliget can be labelled Keynesian in the sense that it was an attempt to regulate demand in the economy in order to increase both employment and reduce unemployment rates in a period of slow economic growth and high levels of unemployment. One of the intentions of the reform was further to change the organization of the Danish social system whilst at the same time make it simpler by reducing about 50 different laws into four main laws (Steincke, 1933 p. 6). Historically, there has been a constant need to change and simplify the welfare system, while also gradual expansions of and coverage of new social policy areas were covered, including later on also new social risks.

When benefits became universal or not can be questioned, and thereby also when one can argue that Denmark turned into a universal welfare state. However, it is often argued that old age pension reform from 1956, which also were part of longer discussion on who should be economic responsible for the pension system (Greve, 1998), is often maintained as the first clear path towards a comprehensive universal welfare state.

Whereas the first part of the Danish welfare states development focused on a variation in the number and size of income transfers to ensure some buying power also for those not on the labour market. The 1960'es were further a time of strong expansion of social services. Although also in the sixties a large compromise as part of the need for economic reform took place. The solution called "Helhedsløsningen" (1963) was an early example of income policy, which prolonged the settlements of collective agreements and at the same time introduced the supplementary labour market (A.T.P.) pension from 1964 paid by employers and employees. The size of the supplementary pension depended on the number of years, spent

working in the labour market, and in this way an early example of that universality was not and presumably never will be fully part of the Danish welfare state and its development. The law was part of a packet decided in parliament in 1963, but in agreement with the labour market partners. This is therefore another example of the tradition in Denmark of making changes in broad political coalitions and at the same time involving the labour market partners.

The sixties also witnessed development in family policy as a new field of the welfare states development. Concerning care for children, widowers and single parents were in this period given extra support to take care of children and in addition the possibility for day care free of charge. In this period, it became gradually part of the welfare service to provide day-care for children also including a pedagogical approach, and, not only being a place where children have to be kept, while also a field were user charges was part, as it still is, of the system. In the sixties local child minding started to exist in Denmark. The possibilities for both men and women to be on the labour market thus gradually where created (with strong expansion also later on), and, thereby lay the foundation for a dual-earner system instead of as in many other countries and how it historically was in Denmark a male-breadwinner system.

Direct general support to families with children was enacted in 1967 and changed from a deduction in taxable income to direct support to families with children, which was considered as a social security benefit. Furthermore, a special cash benefit for all pregnant women was introduced.

Overall, the growth in public sector spending was from 24.8% in 1960 to 40.2% in 1970, later to 56.2 in 1980 (Greve, 1992)[5]. This implied a need for increases in taxes and duties, this is shown in Figure 1.

[5] It has since again been lowered so that in 2018 public sector spending is around 45%, http://www.skm.dk/skattetal/statistik/generel-skattestatistik/skattetrykket-i-danmark, accessed December, 2018.

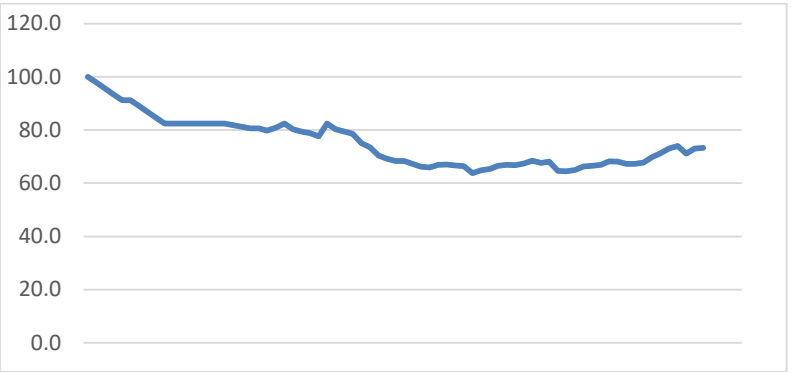
Source: Danmarks Statistik, 2014 (data accessed the 9th of February, 2019).

Figure 1. Taxes and duties as percentages of GDP 1947-2012.

Figure 1 clearly indicate, which later was used against the development in public sector spending that when economies were gradually more open, that expansion of the welfare state made is necessary to increase the overall level of taxes and duties.

An interesting issue is that it was possible to expand the welfare state, increase public sector spending and taxes and duties, and at the same time become a richer society (including that private as well as public consumption increased in real terms). The sixties and until the first oil-crisis was in fact a time with high economic growth rates. Thereby, it was with growing employment and low levels of unemployment at the same time possible to reduce the degree of inequality even when not taking the taxes and duties into consideration, see Figure 2, also being an aim of the Nordic welfare states, such as Denmark.

Figure 2 is a clear indication of that it was possible to reduce the level of mainly market based inequality before tax until mid-80/90ties so that inequality was reduced at the same time when the expansion of the welfare state took place, see later on the future development and when taking the redistributive impact of taxes and duties into considerations. However, a strong indication of that there need not be a conflict between use of the market as part of the economic marked based structure of a society and the growing welfare state spending.



Source: Danmarks Statistik, 2014, data accessed the 9th of February, 2019.

Figure 2. Inequality development before tax 1939-2011 with 1939 =100.

The expansion of the welfare state came seemingly to a halt after the economic crisis starting with increase in oil-prices in the early seventies. It increased the balance payment problems, the level of unemployment and inflation, while the economic growth stagnated – giving name to stagflation.

3. From the Oil-Crisis to the New Millennium

Even if compromises, mainly between workers and farmers parties, where central for the societal development, ideas did also have an impact. Thus, the normative basis of the Danish welfare state can be understood as a Christian secularized society with a strong protestant work-ethic (Petersen, 2017). He has also argued that the development in Denmark from 1973-to 1993 was a time with a debate on the crisis of legitimacy for the welfare state, including whether the taxpayer got value for money of the welfare states intervention. Further, from 1993 to 2001 were a time where rights and options for citizens in the welfare state were replaced by rights and duties. In contrast to the monetary economic influence in the 1980's, the 1990's can still be considered a time when a Keynesian type of economic steering was used to increase overall economic activity in Denmark (in Denmark labeled Kick-Start). Thus, from a welfare state with

a strong focus on solidarity towards a welfare state questioning who is deserving and where work-first and duties being central for the understanding of what is happening in the Danish welfare state seems to have been at the core of the development from 1973 to around 2000.

This time period is in a sense a time of conflicting perspectives. There was a reduction in working time and longer holiday so that the weekly working time was reduced to 37 hours a week (from 44 in the 1960's) and holiday increased to five weeks. Increase in maternal, paternal and parental leave and legislation on equal pay for men and women took place in the eighties. At the same time, mainly with political agreements in the seventies, lot of economic initiatives tried to cope with the increase unemployment in the wake of the international crisis, but also a freeze and even reduction in real level between 1982-1984 in the level of unemployment benefit (Danmarks Statistik, 2014). This while the length of time to receive unemployment benefit was also extended and supported employment also counted towards being eligible for continuation on unemployment benefit.

In 1979 as an attempt to cope with unemployment and help those who were no longer able to continue on the labour market a reform related to options for early retirement benefit was introduced. It implied a possibility to retire, when having been member of an unemployment insurance fund for a number of years and paid into it, on the general level of unemployment benefit without having to search for a job etc., as is the conditions for people on unemployment benefit. This was expected to get more elderly above the age of 60 to leave the labour market and make it possible for young persons to get a job. It was partly successful in the sense that it opened for retirement for workers in reality not able to work, although as a consequence of the crisis a more limited number of young people were able to get a job than was expected from the reform. From the late seventies and onwards stronger focus on active labour market policy could also be witnessed, including training, upskilling etc.

Another important change in the Danish welfare state took place in the late eighties were agreement were reached between the state and the labour market partners on establishing pension funds starting with small

contributions in percentages of the wage (from employers as well as employees) so that the pension moved away from overall to be a universal pay-as-you-go (PAYG) system towards a combination between a PAYG and Funded pension system. This trend has in a variety of ways been followed in other countries. At the time of the decision the implication was perhaps not clear for all, and, the contribution has with several later collective agreements been increased, but gradually the overall replacement rate when retiring was no longer alone a question on the state universal old age pension, but also the income during working life and contribution rate to a funded pension system. This further due to, that in 1993 a change in the pension system implied that the states supplementary pension was reduced when all income was above a certain threshold, and, the basic pension if wages income exceeds a certain level. This has implied that now, 40 years later, a reduced number receives the supplementary state pension, making a split between those only having the universal pension, and those also having an occupational based pension.

In the middle of nineties, where the level of unemployment was still high, a Keynesian inspired Kick-Start with public investment and an ambition still to create equality and an active labour market policy with the aim of integration on the labour market were seen as central issues. In this way the 1990's can be seen as the latest longer time-spell where Keynesianism strongly inspired the political and economic development in Denmark.

One can thus also argue that what has later been labelled flexicurity was established during this time through a combination of strong economic security in case of unemployment, a high focus on job-security while at the same time accepting that it could be simple for employers to hire and fire. Therefore, this time period also helps in explaining, what will be returned to in Section 4, that Denmark as a Nordic welfare state have had earlier a strong focus on active labour market policy as well as relatively generous welfare benefits, and a focus on equality – both economic and between men and women. Thus also trying to combine state and market in such a way that equality was a central aim of the policies.

4. NEW PATHS: END OF THE UNIVERSAL WELFARE STATE?

The Nordic welfare states are seen as universal, comprehensive and egalitarian societies also with a strong focus on equal options for men and women, and an active labour market policy (Scharpf, 2000, Kvist and Kangas, 2019, Greve, 2017). A core question being whether this has been transformed into a welfare state no longer as distinct as it used to be (Kvist and Greve, 2011). During the right-wing government from 2001-2011 it has been labeled a period towards "Incentives in the limelight" (Pedersen, 2017, p. 152), and finally there has been a time with a stronger focus on the "necessary politics", including what was labelled the competition state. The period from 2001-2011 was further a time where there was a political imposed tax-freeze, implying that there was fewer resources available for the expansions of the welfare state than earlier. It was further in the time from 2001-2011 that a stronger focus on "something for something"[6] where introduced. This can be argued to be in contrast to a focus on citizenship and universality, but to a higher degree a focus on conditionality and contribution to society in order to be eligible to benefits, and, if you get a benefit then you have to do something in order to continue to be eligible for the benefit. Understood in this way this can be seen as a first step towards what has been a buzzword in Danish labour market policy over the last 10-15 years – it should pay to work.

The conflict between the ability to finance the welfare state and the variation in the economic business cycle also have had an impact. Until the financial crisis unemployment rates were low, and there was a fear of lack of manpower in the future, imply a welfare agreement in 2006 which increased the pension age and age for receiving early retirement benefit, and, further has laid the path towards abolishment of the early retirement benefit scheme.

The time has further been characterised by increased focus on individual user's position in the welfare system with the enactment of more

[6] The then prime-minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen introduced this as an approach – called in Danish "noget for noget".

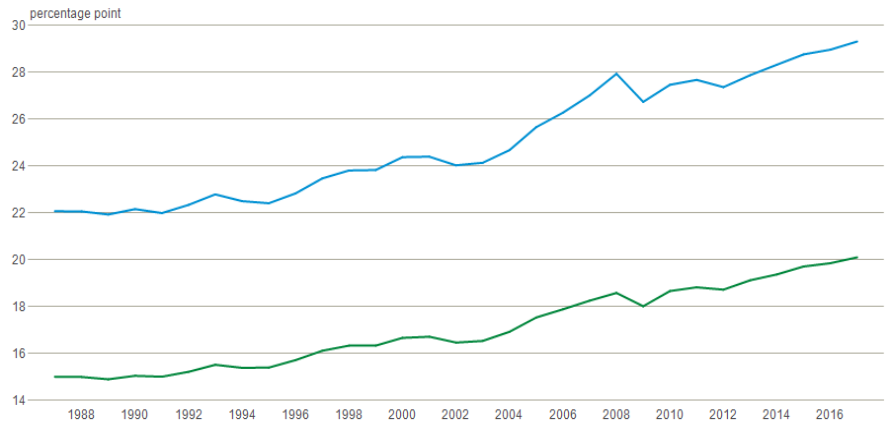
choice, especially in relation to care for elderly. It has for a long time been there in relation to primary education, albeit here a shift from public provision to a private implied that there were user charges although on-top of a state subsidy. Free-choice is in principle also possible in relation to kinder-garden and general practitioners – in both cases if there is more than one supplier – and therefore the choice is often restrained by actual supply of providers (Greve, ed. 2010). The impact of more choice on the development in a universal welfare state such as Denmark it still open for interpretation. Free-choice was part of how the liberal ideas influenced the development of the Danish welfare state as the ambition was that the public sectors provision to a large degree should mirror the way market work. This is also the reason why marketization can be seen as a way of describing part of the Danish welfare states development, including in part of welfare services, such as long-term – and this not only in Denmark, but in several European welfare states (Greve, 2017a).

Another important change has been in relation to levels and conditions of benefits. This can be shown by, for example, the change in replacement rate for people on unemployment benefit, ceiling on social assistance etc. It also had an impact on the degree of equality, where the development has clearly been towards a more unequal society, see Figure 3.

Figure 3 shows the development in the Gini-coefficient and the Hoover index (what is needed to transfer in order to get equality) and its development since 1987, where especially the development in this century indicates a path away from an equal society. This as a consequence of changes in both benefits and the tax-system, and by this questioning the traditions of a Nordic welfare state. The many tax-reforms[7] over the last 20 years has also been part of the reason for the increase in inequality as the lower tax-rate, abolition of the middle-income tax and fewer persons who has to pay the top-income tax in combination with lower marginal tax-rates has implied that the after-tax income distribution has become more unequal. This while at the same time the gender pay gab has been reduced

[7] For a descriptive overview see Danmarks Statistik (2016), Syv skattereformer siden 1995: Udviklingen i provenuet fra indkomstskatter. Dst Analyse. København, Danmarks Statistik.

(to 13% in 2017, based on figures from Statistikbanken, accessed February, 2019).



Note: Top line is Gini, bottom-line is Hoover-index.
Source: www.dst.dk/ifor41, accessed the 9th of February, 2019.

Figure 3. Gini-coefficient and Hoover-index and their development in Denmark since 1987.

The division between deserving and undeserving can be witnessed in the way part of the welfare system has been changed since the millennium. In 2002 a so-called start-help and introduction benefit were introduced. These benefits were at a lower level than ordinary social assistance, and, those mainly receiving them were immigrants. They were by some seen as scroungers, and, by reducing the benefit, the expectation was that they would be more on the labour market and there would be less need for public support. In 2003 all married people got a reduction in social assistance after 6 months and a ceiling on the total benefits were enacted. A further change in this direction was a change in 2006 where for most on social assistance it was changed so that after two years each person on social assistance should have at least 300 timers un-supported work in order to continue to be eligible for the benefit. There was also an integration benefit, which was abolished with a new government in 2012, but reinserted in 2015 when there again was a shift in government, and, as argued above also a change in the pension system towards later retirement.

This implies, that despite people in old age were still seen as deserving, in order to reduce access to benefits for migrants and refugees demand for stay in Denmark, ceiling on social assistance and integration benefits were re-introduced. There has also been a debate on the level of family benefits to migrants' workers from within the European Union, and, only the EU-rules has prevented this from becoming into force in the Danish system with lower benefits for migrants and refugees.

The focus on migrant's position on the labour market and how to ensure integration hereof has been the reason for 7 policy interventions in 2015 and 2016 (Finansministeriet, 2018), often with a negative approach on how to ensure integration in the sense of reducing inflow of migrants from countries outside the EU and stronger rules for entitlement and lower levels of benefits. The migration can thereby be argued to have been used as scapegoat for changes at least in some areas of the welfare state, especially with regard to part of the income transfer system.

One of the historical strong aspects of the Danish welfare state, as mentioned earlier in relation to Figure 3, was its high degree of equality and low level of poverty, and the change herein. This seems, when looking into both indicators, see Table 1, although not still to be the case when looking into the development since the millennium.

Table 1. Development in the Gini-coefficient of equivalized disposable income and at risk of poverty in selected years since 2000

	2000	2005	2010	2015	2017
GINI	22 (2001)	23,9	26,9	27,4	27,6
At risk of poverty	16,9 (2003)	17,2	18,3	17,7	17,2

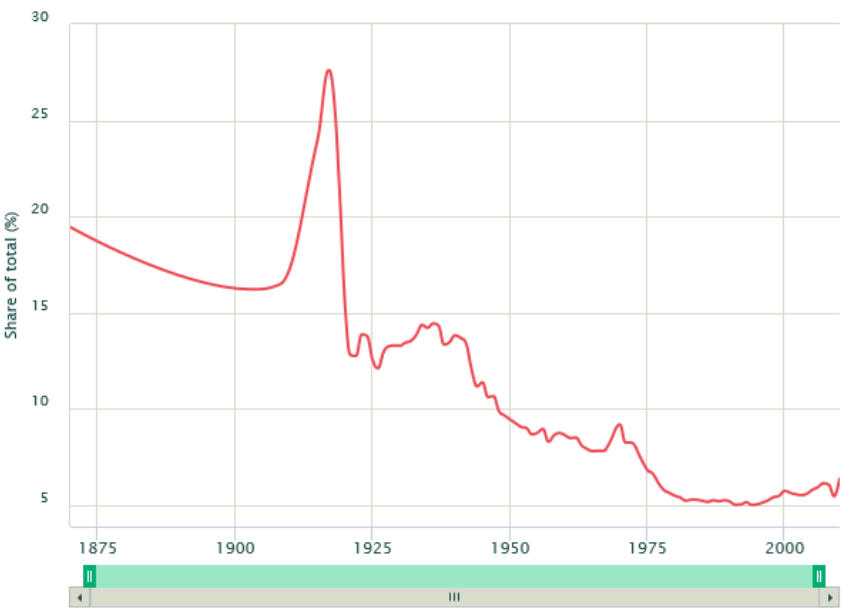
Source: EUROSTAT, sdg_10_40, accessed February, 2019, ilc_peps01, accessed February, 2019.

Table 1 shows very clearly that there has been increase in inequality, which is to a large degree the consequence of changes in the tax-systems over the last 20 years, but also gradually reductions in the replacement rates especially within the unemployment and social assistance system. Overall, a clear indication of that what historically was seen as a landmark of the Nordic welfare states, do no longer prevail to the same extent as earlier. Some of the reasons for the development is change in demography,

but also a more unequal distribution of capital income, combined with lowering of income taxes for the highest income earners (De økonomiske Råd, 2016), and, also the change in the level of the benefits influences this. Part of this reflect arguments on that it "should pay to work" with a understanding from neo-classical economics that without sufficiently strong incentives people would not be working. This in fact without any evidence how strong economic incentives are needed in order to get people to work, also reflecting that people is not only homo-oeconomicus, but also a social animal (Brooks, 2011).

Over the long run this is also reflected in the share of pre-tax income the highest 1% income earners gets, see also Piketty, 2014. The long-term Danish development is reflected in Figure 4.

Figure 4 indicates that in times where the inequality has been on the rise so has the best earning 1% of the population share of the income as well, where the lowest level was reached in 1990 and then gradual increasing.



Source: https://wid.world/country/denmark/, accessed the 9th of February, 2019.

Figure 4. The 1% highest income earners share of the pre-tax income 1870-2010.

Table 2. Activity and employment rates (end November) 2008-2016

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Employment rate									
Total	76.0	72.8	72.1	71.8	71.3	71.3	71.6	72.1	72.8
Men	78.3	73.9	73.5	73.6	73.1	73.0	73.5	74.0	74.9
Women	73.7	71.6	70.7	70.0	69.5	69.5	69.8	70.1	70.8
Economic activity rate									
Total	77.8	76.4	75.8	75.3	75.1	74.8	74.7	74.9	75.5
Men	80.3	78.4	77.8	77.4	77.0	76.7	76.5	76.8	77.6
Women	75.3	74.4	73.8	73.3	73.1	72.9	72.8	73.0	73.5

Source: www.dst.dk, ras200 accessed February, 2019.

Whereas the economic inequality has been on the rise, the picture related to gender equality is less clear in the development. There is still a gender pay gap, although it has been slightly, as argued earlier, reduced. The case for the employment and activity rate, so that it by now is very close to that men and women participate at the labour market to the same extend, see Table 2.

This development has been influenced by higher level of educational attainment among women, increase in maternity, paternity and parental leave and a stronger focus on gender equality.

Table 3. Development in social protection expenditure overall and selected areas from 1990 to 2015

	1990	1995	2000	2005	2008	2011	2014	2016	Change 1990 to 2016
Total	9.222	11.316	11.525	12.902	13.226	14.074	14.806	14.481	57,0%
Sickness/health Care	1.794	1.955	2.261	2.599	2.846	2.882	2.847	2.868	59,9%
Old age	3.285	4.138	4.261	4.704	4.738	4.929	5.312	5.173	57,4%
Percentages of GDP	27,7	31,4	28,1	29,5	28,9	32,1	32,8	31,6	3.9 points

Source: Eurostat, spr_exp_sum, accessed February, 2019. Note: It is in fixed 2010 prices and EURO per inhabitant.

In Table 3 is shown the development in fixed 2010 prices for total social protection expenditure and specifically on health care and old age.

Except from 2014 to 2016 there is an indication of reduction in the overall spending on social protection in Denmark, however so that still

today there is overall more money available for social protection than earlier. Naturally, this do not imply that all citizens are satisfied, and the change in demography can also imply that some areas has been witnessing that they have had to reduce quality of the service they deliver. This among other things due to that delivery of services includes both fixed and variable costs, and, therefore given change in the demographic composition where more money in recent years has been needed within care for the elderly, although many elderly today are in better health than earlier (Greve, 2017a). Still, the development does not in itself lend support to strong retrenchment and austerity in the Danish welfare state, but more to a stop towards further increase in spending, and, again a decline in the relative level might imply that expectations for better quality and more services has been broken leading to a feeling of reduced service. Part of it also reflects that most parts of the public sector in Denmark now for many years have had a demand for a 2% reduction in available money from one year to another – argued as demand for increase in productivity, ability to use new technologies etc. This while at the same time decision makers use reductions as means to expand in other welfare areas, such as health care. This has together with, like also earlier in Danish social policy, a constant pressure of rules difficult to follow, implied a risk that some feel that they spend more time on administration than service. Political ambitions to deliver also new types of services, including new medicine, can be a pressure so that even if the level of spending is at par, then in order to give these new types of services this will have a negative impact on other types of services.

5. THE MIDDLE ROAD BETWEEN MARKET AND STATE

Markets fail to ensure equality. Market failure might and often have negative externalities, such as related to impact on environment. Monopolies will charge to high prices and imply high unequal distribution of wealth in societies. The overall question being whether it is possible to combine a strong market economy with state intervention. This, as it has

been questioned whether and how the necessary taxes and duties needed to finance the welfare state could be harmful for the overall economic development, and as a consequence of the possible erosion of the tax-base, including political cost of financing welfare activities (Morel and Palme, 2019). A liberal comment on the implication of the level of taxes and duties and also that the market might be more effective to deliver service has implied a weaker role for the welfare state at least in certain parts of the welfare state.

Looking into the development the latest around 20 years and after the financial crisis, there is seemingly still a strong focus on using market mechanism within the Danish society. There has even been stronger focus on marketization in the delivery of welfare services over the years indicating that profit is acceptable in relation to deliver of welfare service, also in areas where this historically has been seen as not acceptable (elderly, active labour market, for example). Part of this reflects increased focus on free-choice, where the aim has been to ensure that citizens also in relation to welfare services could act as customers like in a traditional market. Whether this reduces access to services depends on the specific rules attached to the free-choice, and, so far there seems only limited indication of that this has increased inequality in access. Recent year's numbers of closures within especially cleaning companies within the long-term care sector has questioned whether the market in fact is better to deliver these kinds of services.

There has also been an increase in health care insurances as well as supplementary unemployment insurance[8], with more than 270.000 having one. In 2017 1.7 million Danes had a health insurance and the premium paid around 2 billion Danish Kroner[9]. In this way a less egalitarian health care system has developed. This as many of those having a health insurance is working on the private labour market and often with a higher income than those not having a health care insurance. Thereby a division in

[8] See www.forsikringogpension.dk.
[9] https://www.forsikringogpension.dk/statistik/sundhedsforsikring/, accessed the 9th of February, 2019.

society not reflected in the historical approach to welfare development has emerged reducing the overall universality of the Danish welfare state.

Part of the development reflect also a critic of who gets welfare and to whom is the population willing to pay for welfare services. A critique that have had to do with refugees and migrants, including those using the right to free-movement of workers within the European Union. This critique and growing support for more populist parties has on the one hand implied less support for an overall universalistic welfare state with strong focus on equality, while at the same time implied that there has been focus on the development in two specific welfare areas: health and old-age. Thus, there is still strong support for spending and increased spending in relation to health care, and, also to care for the elderly, whereas benefits that might be linked to newcomers to Denmark, such as refugees, has implied lower level of benefits and stronger conditions attached to be eligible for the benefits.

The stronger focus on it "should pay to work", where economic incentives has been argued to be the main driver for people to search for a job has also had consequence. This has, for example, implied that those on the margin of the labour market, including a number of young people not able to get into the labour market have got gradually lower level of social benefits when outside the labour market, and, has thereby implied an increased split in the Danish society. Overall, indicating a less solidaristic approach to welfare than what has historically been part of the success of the Danish welfare state.

6. Some Final Reflections on the Development

Historically, the Danish welfare state can be argued to have been a third way even before this was used as a concept by Giddens (1998) and later Tony Blair as prime-minister in the UK. This in the sense that the market in Denmark have had and still have a strong role in producing goods and services, and in provision of jobs although the welfare state gradually became a central player with regard to the number of jobs in

society. The strong role of the market was connected to a strong welfare state, and as argued earlier in order to finance it, there were, especially in the 1960's, a rapid increase in the overall tax-level in Denmark. Taxes and duties are further still relatively high in international comparisons.

The universality of the Danish system has gradual in several areas come under pressure, despite that overall the spending has not been reduced in the last 25 years. Thus, for example, access to pension albeit still with a universal approach, has by now a strong component as part of occupational welfare (Greve, 2018), and indicates that changes which has taken place a long-time ago first later has an impact, as pension change started in the late eighties and early nineties. Change in rights to pensions with gradual tightening of the conditions in order to even get a state pension, including demand for longer stay in Denmark during the life-course has finally reduced universality. Besides there has been increase in the age when one can get old-age pension and also the early retirement benefit enacted in 1979 are gradually on its way to be history after a long time with stronger demand for membership of unemployment insurance fund and fewer years of benefits and as with old-age pension higher age before being eligible for the benefit. Age before being able to get pension is further expected to rise in the years to come. For those who is not able to continue as long on the labour market this will imply reduced living standards.

The generosity of the benefits has also been gradual reduced, so that replacement rates for unemployment benefit now is lower than before, and the length of when one could get unemployment benefit, which was gradually in the wake of the oil-price crisis increased, has been reduced to two years with stronger demands before a person again can be eligible. There are lower benefits for persons who has not lived in Denmark at least 7 out of the last 8 years (integration benefit), implying a stronger focus on that native can get better benefits, and will be extended to 9 out 10 years from 2019. This in combination with that the level of the benefits has been reduced implies that the historical generosity of social benefits has been

reduced. It has also implied that more than 200.000[10] Danes now has a supplementary insurance in order, if becoming unemployed, to have a higher level of benefits, indicating that the generosity of the Danish welfare state benefits has been reduced so that many families do not find that they can get sufficiently coverage. This also increase the inequality between those who can afford to pay for extra insurance, including sickness and pension, and, those who can't.

The Danish welfare state developed with a strong role for the state, then even without direct retrenchment, reduced the influence of the state by marketization and increase in the use of private providers. The historical strong focus on achieving a high degree of economic equality seemingly been reduced so that inequality in Denmark is no longer exceptionally low compared to other European countries. This while at the same time gender equality has improved, albeit not fully, so that there, for example, still is a wage gender gap with higher wages for men, mainly due to that they more often than women are employed in the private sector. Employment and unemployment rates for men and women being at the same level. Even though more women than men still works part-time. Recent years has further seen more women taking a higher education than men, and, men still have shorter life-expectancy than women.

Recent years has witnessed stronger support for developing health care and support to the elderly seemingly as a response towards a more nativist approach to welfare state development (Greve, 2019). Thus, despite strong focus on and a negative stance towards migrants and reductions in benefits related hereto at the same time it seems to continue the historical development within sectors where those receiving it are seen as deserving, and, this is the case within old age and health care.

Overall, this question whether Denmark still can be perceived as a strong universal welfare state with high degree of equality and active labour market policy, while at the same time spending and focus on classical social policy aspects still are high on the agenda for the development in public sector spending. However, it can still be considered

[10] See http://www.forsikringogpension.dk/presse/Statistik_og_Analyse/statistik/forsikring/antalpolicer/Sider/ArbejdsloeshedsforsikringAntalforsikrede.aspx, accessed February, 2019.

a third way where the welfare state is having a strong role side-by-side using a market approach in the private sector.

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